THE INDIAN

QUARTERLY REGISTER

July-Dec. 1929.

VOL. II.

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INDIA IN HOME POLITY

July–Dec. 1929.

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Chronicle of Events.

30 June '29 Trade Disputes in India—There were 47 industrial disputes in British India during the quarter ending June 30. Of these the largest number of disputes occurred in Bombay where 1,30,000 men were involved in 20 disputes. In Bengal 11 disputes occurred involving about 6,000 men. The figures for the disputes in the other provinces are: Assam 5, Madras 4, the United Provinces 3, the Central Provinces 2 and Bihar and Delhi 1 each. The total number of days lost due to these disputes was about 5 millions and the total men involved were 1 and half millions. Of the 47 disputes, 10 were successful, 7 partially successful, and 23 unsuccessful. The grievances which brought about these strikes mostly concerned questions of wages and personnel. Cotton and woollen mills suffered worst by these disputes as no less than 22 disputes occurred in this trade, jute mills had 2 disputes and engineering work-shops 5.

July 1929.

1 July '29 As a result of the Conference held in Calcutta of 27 members of the existing Mahomedan parties in the Council, a United Moslem Party was formed called the Bengal Moslem Council Association to work the Montford constitution, to advance the cause of the community and to form a Tenant's Party.
Monster meeting held at Poona under the presidency of Mr. M. S. Aney—Pt. Malaviya's soul-stirring appeal for boycott of foreign cloth.

2 July do. Opening Day of the new Bengal Legislative Council in Calcutta (p 180). In the Commons in the course of his speech Mr. MacDonald, the Premier said that India was not mentioned in the King's Speech because an exploration was still proceeding. (Referring to the Simon Commission). (p. 462).

3 July do. Passing away of His Highness Sir Rameshwar Singh, Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga—A man of many-sided activities he was rigidly conservative where religious ideals were concerned and always preached the possibility of advance along the lines of Hindu Dharma.

5 July do. Congress Working Committee at its meeting held in New Delhi recorded its opinion that all members of the Legislatures should resign their seats and resolved to decided the question finally at the A. I. C. C. meeting on the 26th July. Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and C. P. Congress-men expressed in favour of work in Councils in view of the fact that several important questions vitally affecting the presidencies may likely come before the Legislatures and their interests may prejudicially be affected by their absence.
Death of the Hon'ble Justice Pt, Gokaran Nath Misra, for some time General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee.

6 July do. Bundelkhand Youth Conference held at Jhanshi under the Presidency of Dr. Mahomed Alam appealed to young men to rid the country of political slavery and to revolt against the demon of communalism. (p. 409)
Strike of 3000 workmen in the Alliance, Meghna and Baranagore Jute Mills in Calcutta owing to the change of working hours and days in the Jute industry from 55 hours in the course of five days

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to 60 hours during six days adopted from July 1. There was no disturbance.

7 July '29 Thanksgiving services were held all over India at the recovery of His Majesty the King.

Madras Nationalist Party formed under the presidentship of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu. The programme of the party stated that it would co-operate with the Government whenever necessary, but non-co-operate and obstruct it whenever the Government tried to tighten its grip on the nation and launch a policy of repression. The Party would also fight against communal and anti-national activities. (p. 27)

Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmipathi presided over the All Ceylon Indian Youths' Conference at Kandy, Ceylon. In the course of her presidential address she observed that India and Ceylon had very many interests in common. "The noble island in all its natural riches is culturally one with India and retains some of her traditions even though western civilisation has unfortunately denationalised its people to a certain extent."

8 July do. Presiding over the Jessore District Conference, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose sounded a note of warning by stating that the repression resorted to by the Government since the appointment of the Simon Commission were directed against the most peaceful and legitimate political movement of the people. He wanted to see a new India where every man and woman will have all facilities and rights to grow to their full stature—Resolutions of far-reaching importance including one asking Congress members of the Legislature not to resign until next year when independence was expected to be declared were adopted.

Congress Muslim Party formed in Bombay to carry on a vigorous propaganda in the presidency in support of the national cause and to induce Moslems to join the Congress in large numbers. (p. 28)

10 July do. Opening day of the Lahore Conspiracy and Saunders Murder Cases at Lahore. (p. 23)

12 July do. Police opened fire on a crowd of strikers who followed three leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag Union) after the later had been arrested for defying police-orders and were being taken to a police station—Several people were injured including the president of the Union.

Annual meeting of the Anglo-India and Domiciled European Association held at Calcutta under the presidency of Col. Gidney. (p. 390)

13 July do. In his evidence before the Bombay Riots Enquiry Committee, Mr. K. M. Munshi, a member of the Bombay Council, alleged that the main causes of the communal riot in Bombay was Government's favouritism to Moslems as a make-weight against Hindu nationalists.

Arrival of Lord and Lady Irwin at the Victoria Station, London.

15 July do. Rai Bahadur P. C. Bose and Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, nominees of the Nationalist Party, appointed Ministers to C. P. Government.

16 July do. The Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court dismissed the application of 30 accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case for transfer of the Case to Allahabad.

19 July do. Amazing revelation of the intensely humiliating position occupied by the members of the India Council was made by Mr. S. N. Mullick in his evidence before the Simon Commission in London. Mr. Mullick said, virtually the military and political departments are dictators and can get done whatever they want. The Secretary of State did not know the Indian members and once Lord Birkenhead called him (Mr. Mullick) "Dr. Paranjpye". When questioned why he did not protest against his views being not heard, Mr. Mullick said that he had done so in the beginning, but the Secretary of State dismissed him with the reply that he could not carry out an individual member's behests.

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20 July '29 The Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism held on the Frankfurt-on Main. (p....282)

22 July do. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu reached Bombay and was accorded a public reception. While narrating her varied and stimulating impressions of her recent extensive tour in Europe and America she observed : "Mr. Gandhi is a great influence right throughout the World. Almost every man whether he is an anarchist, imperialist or democrat has praise for Mr. Gandhi. People devour with great avidity all his works. What has influenced them most is "Gandhi—the myth."
Bombay Council—Opening day of the July Session at Poona—Swarajists did not attend owing to the Working Committee's resolution. (p 157)

23 July do. Bombay Land League inaugurated with a view to carry on an agitation against the present land revenue policy of the Government. (p. 30)

24 July do. The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad announced a prize of Rs. 1,00,000 or £7,700 to the winner who will hand over to the Council on or before the 30th October 1930 a spinning wheel or a combination of spinning wheel and carder fulfilling, among others, the following conditions : It should produce 16,000 yards of yarn of 12 to 20 counts in 8 hours ; it must be such as not to tire a woman working eight hours continuously ; the price should not exceed Rs. 150 and the wheel must be handy and substantial and of such construction that the wornout parts can easily be replaced ; it must be made available in India ; patent rights will remain with the A. I. S. A. and not with the designer. In a note in "Young India" (-8-29) Mahatma Gandhi wrote : "Sjt. Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri has succeeded in persuading the Council of the Association to announce a price that would attract even the western inventors to compete for it.....I hope that the prize will produce a spinning Singer who would raise the income of village spinner eightfold."

26 July do. Opening day of the Punjab Legislative Council at Simla. (p 193)
All-India Congress Committee meeting held at Allahabad. (p. 157)

27 July do. A Conference of a new party, called the All-India Muslim Nationalist Party held at Allahabad under the presidency of Moul. Abul Kalam Azad—The objects were to promote among Moslems a spirit of Nationalism, to develop a mentality above communalism, and to inspire greater confidence in Indian National ideas. (p. 350)
Owing to sharp difference of opinion, the question of the boycott of or resignation from the Legislatures was postponed by the A. I. C. C. for decision to the Lahore Session. Mahatma Gandhi in moving a resolution proposing the postponement of the subject said that he was so anxious for discipline and organisation in the Congress that he had appealed for those Congressmen who were opposed to the boycottt to be allowed to continue work in the Legislatures. He emphasised however that the idea underlying the resolution was to prepare the country for non-violent non-co-operation after December 31, and all Congressmen must by then be prepared to withdraw from the Councils. (p. 258).
Punjab Council—Sardar Ujjal Singh's motion for compulsory primary education in the Punjab carried. (p. 194)
Report of the Bombay Simon Committee issued. (p. 108)

29 July. do. A meeting of the Bombay Congress Muslim Party held under the presidency of Mr. S. A. Brelvi. (p. 351)

30 July do. Police opened fire at Bangalore in the Mysore State on a vast crowd of Hindu students and public who had assembled in violation of the police order at the Sultanpet Middle School to offer prayers in memory of the hardships and privations which the community had suffered owing to the alleged excesses committed by the Mahomedans on the 30th July 1928. About 50 shots were fired

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lasting nearly half an hour and 40 Hindus including a lady were injured.
Report of the Punjab Simon Committee issued (p. 109)

August 1929.

1 Aug. '29 In abdicating the presidentship of the Congress and recommending Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru for the high honour. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in "Young India" : "I know that I am not keeping pace with the March of events. There is a hiatus between the rising generation and me."

2 Aug. do. The Madras Simon Committee Report issued on this day recommended grant of full responsible Government and a declaration by the British Government of full Dominion Status with the British Empire within a reasonably definite period. (p. 112).
Bombay Council—Heated debate on a motion for supplementary grant for the improvement of Fuleli Canal. (p. 163).

3 Aug. do. The Bengal Simon Committee Report issued on this day recommended complete provincial autonomy as Bengal's ultimate goal. (p. 111).

4 Aug. do. Mass meeting of Moslems organised by the Raja of Salempore, Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Shafee Daudi held at Lucknow with a view to elicit moslem opinion on the Nehru Report.

5 Aug. do Khawaja Hassan Nizami, a well-known Moslem Pir of Delhi and up till now a staunch supporter of the Shafi Moslem League wired to Dr. M. A. Ansari to the effect that the political salvation of Indian Moslems lay in their joining the Indian National Congress from the platform of which they could ventilate their grievances and get them redressed. To leave the Congress was to commit political suicide.
The Burma Simon Committee Report issued on this day recommended the immediate separation of Burma from the rest of British India. As an alternative the Committee recommended that Burma be given at least the same advance as is granted to the major provinces of India. (p. 116)

6 Aug. do. Opening day of the Autumn Session of the Madras Legislative Council. (p. 176)

8 Aug. do. Bengal Council—Government sustained a heavy defeat on the question of giving Military Training to College Students. The resolution sponsored by the Congress Party was carried by a large majority of 35 votes. (p 182).

9 Aug. do. The Third Provincial Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference held in Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar passed resolutions congratulating their comrades in jails on their hunger-strike and deprecating the forced feeding resorted to by the Government.
Bengal Council—Dr. B. C. Roy's adjournment motion censuring Government for its attitude of indifference towards the Jute Mills Strike on both sides of the Ganges extending over an area of 30 miles carried without a division.—Early in July the mills proposed to increase the hours from 55 to 60 hours per week. The wages allowed were differently calculated by different mill-owners. The majority of mill-owners agreed to increase the rates but refused to a proportionate increase of the bonus on the out-turn or to continue giving "Khoraki" The strike commenced on the 6th July resulting in a long chain of mills from Halisahar in the North to Garden Reach on the South closing down throwing no less than 2 lakhs of people out of work. Out of 30 mills only 3 mills were working till recently. (p. 182)
In Calcutta Police issued orders, apparently to stop the celebrations of the Political Sufferers' Day on the 11th, prohibiting meetings and processions for a week except with the previous permission of the Commissioner of Police.

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10 Aug. '29 Bombay Council—The Criminal Intimidation Bill to make the offence of criminal intimidation cognisable in times of emergency passed the third reading and became law. (p. 165).—The Presidency Area Safeguarding Bill empowering the police to remove bad characters from the city in cases of emergency introduced by the Government. (p. 169).

11 Aug. do. A closely guarded and secret meeting of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and Ali Brothers was arranged by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at Bombay ostensibly, it was assumed, with a view to amend the Nehru Report in such a way as to make it fully acceptable to all sections of Moslems. The conversation was not however made public.
All Bengal Political Sufferers' Day in Calcutta observed by a peaceful procession led by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress leaders with posters and inscriptions of "Long live Revolution," "Down with Imperialism" etc. The police in the attempt to snatch away the posters charged the processionists and in the melee that ensued several members of the procession received injuries—Elsewhere resolutions were passed in meetings expressing sympathy for the hunger-strikers in Lahore and condemning the barbarous and inhuman treatment meted out to them by the Government.
At the general meeting of the Allahabad Youth League held at Allahabad a resolution declaring that the object of the League is to promote Union among the Youths with a view to bring about a newer, better and more youthful order of Indian Society, was adopted.
Huge public meeting of the Moslems of Bombay held in the big Dongri Maidan under the presidency of Seth Sardar Suleiman Kasim Mitha, passed a resolution expressing its inability to accept the Nehru Report. (p. 351)

12 Aug. do. Mr. Ramananda Chatterji of "Modern Review" sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default three months' simple imprisonment on a charge of sedition by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta for publishing the book "India in Bondage" by Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America.
Madras Council—Congress Members walked out in a body when the Madras Simon Committee Report was presented. (p. 178).
Pt. Motilal's invitation to the Chamber of Princes to discuss the constitutional position and status of the Indian States in the future Common-wealth of India. (p. 31)

14 Aug. do. Madras Council—The Public Services Commission Bill passed into law. (p. 179)

16 Aug. do. The Calcutta Jute Mills' Strike ended in a settlement at the announcement made by the Indian Jute Mills' Association, namely, to pay a correct and proportionate increase in the total earnings for the extra hours worked and to pay "Khoraki" on the same scale as before—Up to this day 38 out of 54 Mills in 24-perganas, 4 out of 14 in Hooghly and none out of 17 in Howrah were affected involving 1,58,000 out of 3,26,000 operatives. The total working days lost were 17,25,000 and the loss of wages were approximately 19 and half lakhs of rupees.

18 Aug. do. Mahatma Gandhi elected President of the Lahore Congress by the Reception Committee—10 Provincial Committees including the Punjab voted for the Mahatma, 3 for Sardar Vallabhbai Patel, 3 for Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and one for Mr. N. C. Kelkar.

21 Aug. do. Under the auspices of the All Bengal Students' Association Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave an address on the Youth Movement at the Albert Hall, Calcutta. In the course of his lecture he said : "The Youth movement would bring revolution in the widest sense of the term to usher a change for the better. It is a mentality of revolt against everything that is evil, a mentality that does not wait, wait and wait".
Opening day of the C. P. Legislative Council at Nagpur. (p. 203).

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24 Aug. '29 Changes in the Assembly rules curtailing the power of the President announced by the Government of India. These changes in general direct that when a bill is under discussion in the House its further progress should be left to the vote of the House and not to the discretion of the President. (p. 124)

25 Aug. do. The Non-Brahmin Youth Conference held at Madura under the presidency of Mr. N. Sivaraj. (p. 411).

26 Aug. do. The Report of the Age of Consent Committee published. (p. 225)

27 Aug. do. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference held at Dacca under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona. (p. 334)

29 Aug. do. The strike in the Tinplate works at Golmuri continued—Pt. Rajendra Prasad's statement reviewing the strike situation issued to the press. (p. 31)

30 Aug. do. Addressing a meeting of the Hindus at the Albert Hall, Calcutta Dr. B. S. Moonjee advocated the development of a martial spirit among them.
Congress Muslim Party campaign meeting at Surat—Mr. Abbas Tyabji's appeal to sink communalism to win Swaraj.

31 Aug. do. On the eve of the Assembly discussion on Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Bill an orthodox Hindu Deputation from Madras waited on the Viceroy and warned him that the Assembly had no right to alter *Smirities*, since it did not consist of men with the requisite qualifications.
Thirty-third Session of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference held at Vedanarain under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. (p. 363)

September 1929.

2 Sept. do. Opening day of the autumn session of the Legislative Assembly at Simla—Mr. Patel's statement in communicating to the House the correspondence that passed between Lord Irwin and himself—Authority of the Chair upheld. (p. 121).
In deference to the request of the Jail Enquiry Committee Members, the Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners discontinued hunger-strike from this day.

3 Sept. do As a sequel to the disturbance arising out of the All Bengal Political Sufferers' Day procession on the 11 August, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress leaders summoned and arrested on a charge of sedition.
Opening day of the B. & O. Legislative Council at Ranchi. (p. 205)

4 Sept. do. Indian women with placards paraded the streets near the Legislative Assembly Hall at Simla appealing for support for the Sarda Bill which aimed at abolishing child marriages.

5 Sept. do. The U. P. Simon Committee Report issued on this day recommended :—Complete provincial autonomy, special powers for the Governor and Moslems' rights based on Lucknow Pact. (p. 106).

6 Sept. do. Behar Council—Government censured for its indifferent attitude towards the Golmuri Tinplate Workers' Strike. (p. 207).

7 Sept. do. The third session of the Calcutta Teachers' Conference held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Shymaprosad Mukherjee. The president remarked: We do not want to give the large powers of control in sphere of education, secondary or otherwise, to the Government. In an inorganic state, like ours, where the interest of rulers and the ruled do not actually coincide, educational policy must be under the control of people's representatives who are intent upon national welfare and efficiency,
Indian Air Mail starting from London and due to arrive at Karachi on this day caught fire and crashed at Jask—Three killed: mails completely destroyed.

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7 Sept. '29 Opening day of the First Session of the New Assam Legislative Council at Shillong—Mr. Faiznur Ali, Swarajist, elected president. (p. 214).

8 Sept. do. Executive Board of the All India Moslem Conference at Simla passed a resolution advising Mussalmans not to attend the Lahore Session of the Congress. (p. 353).

9 Sept. do. Legislative Assembly—Introduction of the Hunger-Strike Bill by Sir James Crerar. (p. 133).
The Report of the Assam Simon Committee issued. (p. 117)

10 Sept. do. Sir Denys Bray made an important statement in the Assembly on the position of Indians in America. (p. 33).

12 Sept. do. Legislative Assembly—Sir James Crerar moved the Hunger-Strike Bill enabling a court to hold trial in the absence of the accused. (p. 139)

13 Sept. do. **Death of Sj. Jatindranath Das** at Lahore, after a prolonged hunger-strik of 64 days as a protest against the treatment meted out to political prisoners in jails. He was one of the accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

14 Sept. do. In the Assembly Government censured for their policy regarding the treatment of the Lahore accused which resulted in the death of of Jatindranath Das. (p. 144),

15 Sept. do. The first Provincial Youth Conference held at Lucknow under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who said that independence was not isolation from other nations of the world and demanded equal footing with the rest of the world. (p. 401).

16 Sept. do. The Hunger-Strike Bill in the Assembly came to an abrupt end as a result of the Home Member's statement in accepting Mr. Kelkar's motion for circulation of the bill. (p. 145)
Opening day of the Council of State at Simla. (p. 216)
The **body of Jatindranath Das,** the hunger-striking undertrial prisoner in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, who died in the Lahore jail on the 13th was taken out in procession from the Howrah Town Hall (where it reached on Sunday evening and where it was kept lying in state) to the Keoratola, (Kalighat, Calcutta) burning ghat for cremation. The procession was over two miles long and the number may be easily much over 3 lacs. Jatindranath Das was the Assistant Secretary of the South Calcutta Congress Committee when he was arrested in Calcutta about three months ago and taken to Lahore. He went on hunger-strike as a protest against the treatment meted out to political prisoners in jail. Public meetings all over the country were held and resolutions recording respectful homage to the immortal soul of Das were passed. He was described as the second greatest martyr of the world after Macswiney of Ireland.

17 Sept. do. The Legislative Assembly—A resolution moved by Mr. M. R. Jayakar urging that all military schools be thrown open to Indian boys, irrespective of creed and family connections but subject to the passing of the prescribed examination, was passed without a a division. (p. 146)

The Report of the B. & O. Simon Committee issued. (p. 118)

18 Sept. do. Opening day of the autumn session of the Punjab Council at Lahore—Debate on the Punjab Simon Report. (p. 196)

19 Sept. do. **Death of Phoongi U. Wizaya** undergoing imprisonment in Rangoon on a charge of sedition after a prolonged hunger-strike of four months. He claimed that Phoongis in prison, whatever their offence, should be allowed to wear yellow robes, which being refused by Government he resorted to hunger-strike from April 6.

21 Sept. do. Mysore Economic Conference held at Bangalore under the presidency of Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore.

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21 Sept. '29 Nawab of Bhopal on Indian aspirations—"Nationalist" Nawab's advice to Legislators while inaugurating the fifth session of the Bhopal Legislative Council. (p. 497)

22 Sept. do. Two prominent Muslims honoured the memory of Maharaja Shivaji at Poona. Nawabshah Rookh Yar Jung Bahadur presented the Municipality with a portrait of Shivaji and it was unveiled by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, General Member of the Bombay Government.

23 Sept. do. The Assembly passed the final reading of Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Bill prohibiting marriages of girls below the age of 14 from April 1930 onwards. (p. 149)

24 Sept. do. Legislative Assembly—Pt. Nilkanta Das's motion to withdraw protection to the Tinplate industry for the treatment meted out to labourers at Golmuri carried by 51 to 42 votes (p. 150.)—Mr. J. K. Munshi's motion censuring Government for their treatment of prisoners in Burma carried by 47 to 46 votes (p. 152)
Europeans and Reforms—The changed aspect in the political affairs of India and the necessity for a corresponding change in the attitude of the European community were stressed by Mr. Chapman Mortimer at Bombay. (p. 34)

25 Sept. do. Legislative Assembly—Demand for a grant to defray expenses for the post of a Director to control Medical Education was held by a chorus of protests and refused as being insulting to Indian Universities. (p. 153)

26 Sept. do. Addressing the convocation of the Kashi Vidyapith at Benares, Mahatma Gandhi said that the principal aim of all national institutions like the Vidyapith should be to import education which would enable them to become fit soldiers in the battle of Swaraj. The diplomas awarded here were not of a high market value and those who regarded them as such must necessarily be dissatisfied.

28 Sept. do. At a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Lucknow, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was elected president of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore. (p. 261)

30 Sept. do. Dr. Muhammad Alam as president of the All Bengal Students' Conference at Mymensingh addressed the students as "My Young Mates of the Prison" for, he continued, "your status to-day as well as that of mine in our own country is no better than that of a prisoner." He advanced a vigorous plea for the abolition of communalism from the country in every shape or form (p. 423)

October 1929

1 Oct. do. Labour Party Conference at Brighton—Mr. Fenner Brockway, (Independent Labour Party) moved a reference back of the closing paragraph in the Parliamentary Report on the ground that there was no reference to the question put in the Commons regarding the prosecutions in India and the Government's unsatisfactory replies—Dr. Drummond Shiels, the under-Secretary for India, replied that the Government believed that there was the utmost freedom of speech in India consistent with the preservation of public order. The Labour Party would remain true to its principles and pledges. He denied that the Meerut prisoners were being charged in the capacity of Trade Union leaders—The reference back was defeated on a card vote by an over-whelming majority. (p. 488)
The Governor-General signed his assent to the Sarda Child Marriage Bill. The Act comes into operation from the 1st April 1930.

2 Oct. do 61st. birthday of Mahatma Gandhi celebrated throughout India with great enthusiasm by the holding of processions and public meetings. India is justly proud of her great and illustrious leader, one of

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the greatest figures among men in historic times whom the whole world regards with unqualified esteem and affection.

4 Oct. '29 Bombay Council—The Presidency Area Safeguarding Bill passed the third reading and became law. (p. 173)

5 Oct. do. The Eleventh Session of the South India Non-Brahmin Confederation held at Ellore under the presidency of Rao Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu. (p. 357)

9 Oct. do. The Hartog Committee Report to make enquiries into the growth of education in British India issued. (p. 98)

10 Oct. do. Thirteenth Session of the International Labour Conference commenced at Geneva and continued till the 16th October. (p. 471)

11 Oct. do. Arrival of the Labour Commission at Bombay with its chairman the Rt. Hon. J. H. Whitley.

12 Oct. do. Eleventh Session of the Sikh League held at Lyallpur under the presidency of Master Tara Singh who wanted the British to govern India as the Sikhs did not want a Moslem Raj in the Punjab.

16 Oct. do. The Simon—MacDonald Correspondence referred to in the parliamentary debates on India. (See p. 463)

18 Oct. do. The C. P. & Berar Women's Third Annual Conference held at Yeotmal, under the presidency of Mrs. Ramabai Tambe urged Government to introduce compulsory education throughout the province within 20 years.

19 Oct. do. The Punjab Students' Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. (p. 415)

20 Oct. do. The 14th. session of the All-Orissa Students' Conference held at Berhampore under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Reddy. (p. 418)

21 Oct. do. Autumn session of the U. P. Legislative Council opened at Lucknow under the presidency of Rao Bahadur Lala Sitaram. (p. 187)
Maharaja of Bikaner's appeal to support the Round Table Conference in an address to the Administrative Conference of his State. (p. 409)

22 Oct. do. Lahore Conspiracy Case—Allegation of ill-treatment (beating and caning) against the police were made by prisoners before the Magistrate. It may be mentioned that the trying Magistrate ordered the prisoners to be hand-cuffed while in the court-room and while being brought from the jail. They stoutly protested against the order and refused to come out of the jail with hand-cuffs on. Next day Bhagat Singh informed the Magistrate that he had been roughly handled while Dutt said that he was kicked on his chest by the police. The Magistrate declined to remove the hand-cuffs.

24 Oct. do. U. P. Council—The Minor Girls' Protection Bill passed into law. (p. 189)

31 Oct. do. The **Viceroy's historic announcement** on the Round Table Conference to setttle the Indian political problem to be convened after the Simon Commission have submitted their report. (p. 47)

November 1929

1 Nov. do. **Leaders' Conference at Delhi** following the Viceroy's announcement —Mahatma Gandhi emphasised that the Viceroy's offer could not be accepted without conditions whose fulfilment must precede the acceptance of invitation. He laid down four main conditions. (p. 49)

2 Nov. do. The adjourned Conference of prominent Indian leaders at Delhi came to unanimous conclusion on the reply given to the Viceroy's offer of a Round Table Conference. (p. 50)

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2 Nov. '29 Moslem Ladies' Conference at the residence of Mr. Justice Sulaiman at Allahabad condemned Purdah, Polygamy and the shocking illiteracy of the Moslem community.
In the course of a press interview the Maharaja of Bikaner said: "The Princes and the Government of Indian States have no desire to hamper the attainment of Dominion Status by British India or to be a drag on its constitutional advancement. The Princes desire the maintenance of their honourable position as perpetual allies and any adjustment of their future relations with British India should be settled only with their free consent. (p...500)

3 Nov. do. The Andhra Youth Conference held at Bezwada under the presidency of Mr. K. F. Nariman who in the course of his address wanted to impress upon his young friends that first and foremost they must be sincere and honest in their dealings, no matter what the consequences may be. (p. 409)
The 11th Session of the Andhra Provincial Conference held at Bezwada under the presidency of Mr. N. V. L. Narsinha Rao. (p. 367)
The Andhra Mahila Mahasabha held at Bezwada under the presidency of Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi. (p. 396)

5 Nov. do. The House of Lords debate on the Viceregal announcement—No immediate Dominion Status for India—The Viceroy's Statement nothing but reiteration of 1917 Declaration. (p. 441)

7 Nov. do. The House of Commons debate on the Vicerigal announcement—Hollowness of the announcement exposed. (p. 444)
The Andhra Hindu Sabha Conference held at Bezwada under the presidency of Dr. B. S. Moonjee. (p. 341)

8 Nov. do. Hyderabad State Women's Conference passed a resolution welcoming the Sarda Act and the lead taken to introduce a Child Marriage Bill for the State.

9 Nov. do. Influential Moslem Deputation from all parts of India waited on the Viceroy at Delhi pleading for the exclusion of the Moslem community from the operations of the Sarda Act and for an amending bill to be enacted by the Government accordingly—The Viceroy in his reply said that the action taken by his Government was one with which he whole-heartedly concurred, and the Government was bound to adhere to the position which, after a most careful consideration, it felt it right to adopt.

12 Nov. do. Death of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kasimbazar at Calcutta—A great philanthropist, the Maharaja spent over a crore of rupees in the cause of education in Bengal and was a generous patron of letters and helped the industrial regeneration of the country with munificent contributions.

13 Nov. do. The C. P. and Berar Depressed Classes' Special Conference at Nagpur welcomed the Viceroy's announcement but insisted on proportionate representation for the depressed classes on the Round Table Conference and supported the Sarda Bill.

16 Nov. do. The Punjab Political Conference held at Cakara under the presidency of Sardar Sardul Singh Cavesheer. (p. 370)

17 Nov. do. First Death Anniversary of Lala Lajpat Rai observed at Lahore with due solemnity.
Madras Women's Social Reform Conference held at Madras under the presidency of Mrs. Srinivasa Iyengar. (p. 400)
The First South African Moslem Conference opened at Lourenco Marques. Many whites were present including the British Consul-General. A large number of delegates from throughout the Union, including members of the Malay community attended, this being the first time that Malays and Indians have met at such gathering. Maulana Shaukat Ali delivered the presidential address in English. He said: "India, our Motherland, sooner or later will gain its

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independent position and I think it will gain it sooner than late. We will then be in a position to retaliate and bring down the arrogant, narrow and bigoted Governments to their proper senses. No Empire, however powerful, can endure if such acts are allowed or practised."

18 Nov. do. A conference of representative political leaders at Allahabad, called to review the position and if necessary to revise the Delhi Manifesto in view of the statements made by official spokesmen in the Parliament and the reply of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to Mr. Baldwin categorically denying that there had been any change in the British policy towards India, adopted a resolution expressing its decision to stand by the Delhi Manifesto and hoping that a full and early response would be made to it by the British Government. (p. 51)

20 Nov. do. Princes and Future Constitution—Maharaja of Patiala explains the Rulers' claims on the occasion of his birthday celebration at Patiala. (p. 504)

22 Nov. do. Addressing a crowded audience of lady students and others at the Workmen's Intermediate College Bangalore, Dr. P. C. Roy said in the course of his speech: "Imitations of western fashions deprived their motherland of crores of rupees every year. Many of them, almost all of them, were poisoning themselves with tea and coffee daily whose cumulative effect on the system was simply indescribable. Women must come forward and play a great r part in the civic and national life. They must realise that an uneducated woman was a clog in the wheel of progress and acted as a drag on her educated husband. The woman must be better educated to train up our future citizens".

24. Nov. do. Mahatma Gandhi, on the completion of his U. P. tour, made his last speech at Etawah during the course of which he said that the United Provinces lacked in discipline, determination, and the will to act up to its decisions. However he was very grateful for the great regard and affection shown towards him. He asked the students to be like Chinese students, courageous, pure and strong. Being asked to give a message to the province, the Mahatma said: "I want it to be like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru."

23. Nov. do. The third annual session of the Oudh Women's Conference held at Lucknow under the presidency of Mrs. Iravati Mehta.

25 Nov. do. Death of His Highness Maharaja Chandra Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal.

26 Nov. do. Delhi Women's Conference under Mrs. B. L. Nehru passed resolutions to prevent Child Marriage, to make the Sarda Act effective, to end the purdah system and to extened Municipal and District Board franchise to women.

29 Nov. do. C. P. Youth Conference held at Nagpur under the presidency of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. (p. 405)

30 Nov. do. St. Andrews' Day Dinner at Calcutta—Governor's appeal on the need for goodwill and trust in view of the Viceroy's Statement. (p. 384)
The Tenth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Nagpur under the presidency of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. (p. 424)

December 1929

1 Dec. 29. All India Trade Union Congress Split at Nagpur—Important Labour leaders seceded from the Congress together with representatives of 24 Unions on the ground that the policy of the majority

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was opposed to the genuine interests of the working classes. The secessionists included Mr. N. M. Joshi, the founder of the Textile Union, Bombay, Dewan Chaman Lal and Mr. V. V. Giri, who represented Labour at Geneva and Mr. B. Shiva Rao, a prominent Labour leader of Madras. The Secessionists formed a central organisation known as the All-India Trades Union Federation to work on purely trade union lines.
C. P. & Berar Students' Conference held at Amraoti under the presidency of Sj Subhas Chandra Bose. (p. 419)
States' Subjects' Conference held at Akalkot under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkars (p. 508)

2 Dec. do. The Punjab Provincial Jails' Enquiry Committee's Report issued. (p. 230)
The seceders from the All-India Trade Union Congress met at Nagpur to discuss the situation created by the split, Dewan Chamanlal presiding, and declared that they were free to develop a sound working-class movement free from the embarrassing entanglements of the last few years. The meeting unanimously resolved to form a central organisation to be called the All-India Trades Union Federation desiring to work purely on sub-committee for the purpose of drafting a provisional constitution. It was understood that the meeting warmly approved the suggestion to keep out from the Federation unions with leanings towards Communism.

3 Dec. do. Punjab Council—The Punjab Pure food Bill passed (p. 199)

6 Dec. do. Punjab Council—Keen debate on the Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill continued till the 14th when it was passed by the council. (p. 201)

7 Dec. do. The differences between the two rival sections of the Bengal students since the last Provincial Conference at Mymensingh, manifested themselves at the Convention of the Bengal Presidency Students' Association held in the Albert Hall, Calcutta under the presidentship of Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu. Admission was by cards and several students, who failed to secure entrance, forced open the doors. There was a clash between the two rival groups resulting in exchange of blows in the course of which one student received serious injuries. The President's attempt to restore order having proved abortive, he converted the Convention into a condolence meeting at which homage was paid to the memory of Prof. Lalit Kumar Bannerjee.

8 Dec. do. The Fourth Session of the Gujerat Provincial Women's Conference held at Ahmedabad under the presidency of Mrs. Indumati Dewan. (p. 394)

9 Dec. do. 28th. Session of the Bihar Provincial Conference held at Monghyr under the presidency of Babu Rajendra Prosad. (p. 369)

12 Dec. do. U. P. Council—A Swarajist motion urging the Government to make arrangements for the training of boys for national defence adopted. (p. 190).
The Annual Conference of the European Association held at Bombay under the presidency of Mr. W. L. Travers. (p. 383)
Behar Youth Conference held at Monghyr under tne presidency of Pandit Projapati Misra. (p. 405)

14 Dec. do. U. P. Council passed resolutions demanding release of political prisoners and general amnesty and the use of khaddar in all Government departments. (p. 191)
Third Session of the Bombay Youth Conference held at Allahabad under the presidency of Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhya. (p. 403)
State People's Conference held at Wadhwan under the presidency of Mr. Manilal Kothari. (p. 511)

15 Dec. do. Independence Conference held at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta passed resolution declaring complete independence as the immediate objective of India and regarding Dominion

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Status as the consolidation of Imperialism with the aid of native capitalism, landlordism and feudalism.
Bombay Youth Conference held under the presidency of Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhya at Allahabad passed a resolution declaring complete national independence as the immediate objective of India. (p. 403)
Bengal Council—Revival of ministry for the fifth time.(p. 183).

16 Dec. '29 Eleventh Annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India & Ceylon held at Bombay under the presidency of Mr. G. L. Winterbotham. (p. 430).
The London Congress Committee in a resolution appreciating Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's feat of vision in discerning the pre-arranged traps laid in the Viceregal pronouncement and the Delhi Manifesto asked him not to fail at the Lahore Congress to put up a strenuous fight for complete independence.

17 Dec. do. The Associated Chambers of Commerce—Important statement explaining the Government of India's position in regard to the extension of the air service from Karachi to Delhi, Calcutta, Rangoon and Bombay was made by Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, member for Industries and Labour, Government of India. (p. 430)

18 Dec. do. Hyderabad State Subject's Conference held at Bombay under the presidency of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. (p. 512)

19 Dec. do. The Madura Ramnad Youth Conference held at Madura under the presidency of Dr. G. Ramiah. (p. 410)

21 Dec. do. The C. P. Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference held at Pendra Road under the presidency of Babu Jagatnarain Lal. (p. 344)

22 Dec. do. The Congress Exhibition opened at Lahore by Dr. P. C. Roy in the presence of a gathering of 50,000 men and women.
Princes and the London Conference—Maharaja of Bikaner's observation on the Viceregal announcement in a speech proroguing the State Assembly (p. 506)

23 Dec. do. Report of the Central Simon Committee issued. (p. 73)
A dastardly attempt was made to blow up the special train in which His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Irwin was returning to Delhi from his South Indian tour near Nizamuddin station about six miles from New Delhi. No one was injured. The bomb, which was buried between the rails, exploded when the fourth coach was passing over the point, while the Viceroy's saloon was two coaches behind. A concealed cable running to a small battery about three hundred yards from the railway station was subsequently discovered,
The All India Suppressed Classes' Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi. (p. 326)

25 Dec. do. The Punjab and Frontier Hindu Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Kelkar. (p. 346)

26 Dec. do. The Forty-second Session of the Indian National Social Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Mr. Harbilas Sarda. (p. 372)
The All India Arya Mahila Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Comrade Suhasini Nambiar. (p. 330)
The All India Shia Conference held at Allahabad under the presidency of Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan. (p. 379)

27 Dec. do. The fourth meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Lahore—Annual Report for 1929 presented (p. 263).—The Bengal Election Dispute taken into consideration. (p. 284)
The All India Hindustani Sevadal Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar. (p. 328)
The Punjab States' Peoples' Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Mr. P. L. Chudgar. (p. 513)
The All-India Library Conference concluded its eighth session at Lahore after passing sixteen resolutions. These *inter alia* recom-

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mended the opening of libraries in all towns and villages, the starting of correspondence courses in various subjects by colleges and universities and the provision of adequate facilities by the management of public libraries for the promotion of adult education and appealed to all persons interested in the library movement to subscribe to the Indian Library Journal.

28 Dec. '29 Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in the course of his presidential address before the Prohibition Conference held at Lahore said : "Even if there has been no kind of economic loss to the individual or society, drink is brain poison, and man cannot afford to allow the allurement of such poison to have free play among men and women of varying degrees of resistance, even if it were available like fresh air, cost ing nothing in money."

The Indian Economic Conference held at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr. N. S. Subba Rao. (p. 434)
The All India Political Sufferers' Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Lala Hanwant Sahai. (p. 327)

29 Dec. '29 The Forty-fourth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore under the presidency of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who declaring himself a Socialist and Republican delivered a striking address advocating complete national independence, immediate boycott of the Legislatures and organisation of a peaceful mass movement for a no-tax campaign. (p. 286)
Twelfth Session of the National Liberal Federation held at Madras under the presidency of Sir Phiroze Sethna. (p. 319)

30 Dec. '29 The All-India Conference of Indian Christians held at Lahore under the presidency of Revd. B. A. Nag. (p. 331)
The All-India Students' Convention met at Lahore under the presidency of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya. (p. 413)
The Sikh Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Sardar Kharak Singh. (p. 333)
The Bengal All-Parties' Moslem Conference meeting at Calcutta adopted a resolution expressing indignation at the Delhi bomb outrage and thankfulness for the providential escape of Lord and Lady Irwin. Resolutions welcoming the Viceregal announcement, condemning the Sarda Act, and protesting against the Bengal Tenancy Act were also adopted. Dr. A. Suhrawardy, presiding, said that Mussalmans, on no account, would tolerate the substitution of British domination in India by Brahminical domination or by the tyranny of the majority. The Nawab of Dacca welcomed the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee, and claimed that half of the members of the proposed Round-Table Conference should be Mussalmans.

31 Dec. '29 Second day of the Congress—Mahatma Gandhi's resolutions on Bomb Outrage and Complete Independence. (p. 298)

The All-India Khilafat Conference opened at Lahore in a big shamiana in the Islamia College grounds. The proceedings commenced with the singing of verses from the Holy Quoran. The audience raised shouts of "Down with great Britain, "Up with Revolution", "Down with Capitalist Leaders". Maulana Shaukat Ali objected to the revolutionary shouts and in the course of his speech made references to Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal and Pandit Jawaharlal which were resented by some youths and noise and confusion followed. When order was restored Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read his address. Later Nawab Ismail Khan, President of the Conference, exhorted the Mussalmans to support the Khilafat Committee with men and money, as that organisation alone was best fitted to protect the the interests of Indian Mussalmans. He welcomed the announcement regarding the Round Table Conference, and trusted that Mussalmans would avail themselves of the opportunity of stressing their view-point. He protested against the Sarda Act.

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Lahore Conspiracy Case

The Lahore Conspiracy and Saunders Murder Cases opened on the 10th July 1929 before Rai Saheb Pandit Srikishen, Special Magistrate, in the Lahore Central Jail. All approaches to the jail as far as the Lawrence Garden were strictly guarded by the police and the streets were patrolled by European sergeants on motor cycles. As the accused were brought a large number of youngmen, who had collected in the Jail Road, shouted "Long Live Revolution" etc.

There were in all 32 accused. Of this 7 turned approvers, 9 were absconding and the remaining 16 were being actually tried. All the accused had been in police custody for about two months and a half ever since their arrest. The following were the 16 accused :—

(1) Sukhdev, a native of Lyallpur, arrested on April 15 in Lahore bomb factory. (2) Kishorilal Ratan of Hoshiarpore bomb factory. (3) Sheo Varma arrested in Shaharanpur. (4) Gayaprasad of Cawnpore arrested in Shaharanpur. (5) Jaidev arrested in Shaharanpur. (6) Jatindra Nath Das, Assistant Secretary, South Calcutta Congress Committee, arrested in Calcutta. (7) Bhagat Singh arrested in Delhi and a convict in the Assembly Bomb Case. (8) Kamal Nath Trivedi, a student of Vidyasagar College, Calcutta arrested at Bettiah. (9) Batukeshwar Dutt, son of G. D. Dutt of Burdwan, Bengal, arrested in Delhi, a convict in the Assembly Bomb Case. (10) Jatindra Nath Sanyal of Allahabad arrested on July 4. (11) Agyaram of Sialkot District. (12) Desraj, student D. A. V. College Lahore. (13) Premdutt of Gujrat, ex-student D. A. V. College Lahore. (14) Surendra Nath Pandey, arrested in Cawnpore on July 8. (15) Mahabir Singh of Dist. Etah. (16) Ajay Kumar Ghose arrested in Cawnpore on July 8.

The absconders according to the police were :—

(1) Bhagabati Charan of Lahore. (2) Yashpal of Dharamshala. (3) Bejoy Kumar Sinha of Cawnpore. (4) Chandra Sekhar Azad of Bhilapore, Benares. (5) Raghunath of Benares. (6) Kailash of Jhanshi. (7) Satgurdayal Avasthi of Cawnpore, arrested in May and subsequently bailed out now absconding.

The following were the approvers. They were granted Crown pardon and their confessions recorded by the City Magistrate :—

(1) Joygopal arrested on April 15 in Lahore Bomb Factory. (2) Hansraj Vorah, student Foreman Christian College Lahore. (3) Ramsaran Das of Karpurthala, convicted to transportation in connection with the bomb outrage on His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Hardinge in 1914. Lalit Mukherji son of an Allahabad advocate. (5) Brahma Dutt arrested in Cawnpore. (6) Phanindra Ghose arrested in Calcutta. (7) Monmohan Mukherji of Champaran.

Mr. George Trevor Hamilton Harding, Senior Superintendent of police, Lahore, was the main complainant in the case. Submitting a *charge sheet* under Sections 121, 121-A, 122 and 123 I.P.C. the complainant said that the accused along with others had, at Lahore and other places in British India at various times and occasions, commencing from the year 1924 and continuing up to the present time of their arrest, been engaged in conspiracy to wage war against His Majesty the King Emperor and to deprive him of the sovereignty of British India and to overawe by criminal force the Government established by law in British India and collect men, arms and amunitions for or otherwise make preparation for the said object and purpose. They further concealed the existence of the design to wage war against the King Emperor, intending by such concealment, to facilitate, or knowing it to be likely that such concealment would facilitate, waging of such war. With these objects these accused along with others formed a party known as the "Hindusthan Republican Association" and the "Indian Republican Army", and held their meeting at Lahore and other places in British India with a view to overthrow by force the Government established by law in India and to establish a Federated Republican Government in its stead.

Complainant further stated that the means devised to be adopted to attain these objects were as follows :—Collection of arms, men and amunitions and also money for purchase of arms and munitions, the obtaining of money for the same purpose by means of forcing and robbing banks and treasuries and by dacoities which necessarily involved murders, the manufacturing of explosive bombs for the purpose of murders and to overawe the Government, murder of police and other officials and persons interested in or assisting the administration of the Government of British India, of persons who obstructed the carrying out of the objects of conspiracy and persons who proved obnoxious to their party, blowing up of trains, production, possession and

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circulation of seditious and revolutionary literatures, rescue of convicts and persons in lawful custody, seduction of educated youths with a view to enlist them in the conspiracy to obtain relief ;subscriptions among persons in foreign countries who were interested in the accomplishment of a revolution in India.

That in pursuance of the said conspiracy in British India an attempt was made to murder Mr. Banerji, Inspector C.I.D. at Benares on 13-1-1928, embezzlement of Rs. 3190 was committed by Kailash Patti, alias Kali Charan (absconder) who was an employee in the sub-post office Burhalganj, district Gorakhpur on 26-6-28, to be utilised by the party in the furtherance of their common object. Dacoity at the Punjab National Bank, Lahore, was attempted on 4-2-28. Mr. Saunders, Assistant Superintendent of police and Chaman Singh, head constable were murdered in Lahore on 17th December, 1928. Bomb was thrown in the Assembly Chamber (Delhi) and shots were fired therein on 8-4-29 causing severe injuries to Sir Bomanji Dalal and others. Dacoity at Maulnia was committed on 7-6-29 causing the death of Banke Mahton Koeri, owner of the house. The accused along with others were manufacturing bombs at Lahore, Saharanpore, Calcutta and Agra, factories at Lahore and Saharanpore having since been captured. The accused visited different towns in British India to seduce the youths and to induce men to join their conspiracy,

That in pursuance of the said conspiracy in British India preparations for the following actions were made but did not succeed to blow up the train carrying the members of the Simon Commission by means of a dynamite, to rescue Jagadish Chandra Chatterji who was a convict in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy Case and Sachindra Nath Sanyal another convict of their party. The order of the Local Government was attached to the charge sheet.

The complainant also submitted that in respect of other offences committed by the accused separate charge have been presented to this court. It was also submitted that 9 among the 25 accused were absconding.

Opening the prosecution case Mr. Corden Noad, Government Advocate, said :—

"There are 32 persons involved in this case of whom 7 are approvers, 9 are absconding and are still at large, and 16 are placed on their trial and are present in the court. They will be tried under the ordinary criminal law of the land for offences alleged to have been committed by them, while evidence will be recorded under Section 512 Cr. P. C. against 9 absconding accused. I desire to emphasise the fact that this is an ordinary trial under the ordinary law and no political section or system is in any way involved. No social, religious or educational body or institution is, or can be affected by the outcome of this prosecution, except so far as it is in the interest of all citizens of a civilized community.

It may not be out of place at this stage to recall the occurrence of the murder of Saunders, A. S. P. and Chaman singh, head constable. Two armed men were shot down on broad day light in the streets of Lahore on 17th December, 1928 and the police were unable at once to apprehend the culprits. Coupled with universal condemnation of this dastardly murder, severe criticism was levelled against the police in the Council and in the newspapers because of the delay which took place in the detection of the culprits."

Speaking of various intentions, designs and acts which form part of the subject matter of the case, Mr. Noad said : The accused were members of a revolutionary party which became active throughout northern India. At a meeting held at Delhi in August 1928, a central committee was constituted representing different provinces. In that meeting following plans and resolutions were adopted and passed :—

(1) Phanindra Nath, approver, was elected officer-in-charge of Behar and Orissa, Sukhdev and Bhagat Singh, accused were to be in charge of the Punjab, Shiv Varma, Bejoy Kumar Sinha and Chandra Sekhar Azad (last two absconded) were to be in charge of the United Provinces, Kundan Lal, *alias* Partab (absconding) was elected for Rajputana and the Central Provinces. Chandra Sekhar Azad was also to be in a charge of the Military Department.

(2) It was decided that officers in charge should be held responsible for any work or action to be accomplished in the province.

(3) All matters relating to finance were to be dealt with by the Central body.

(4) All arms and ammunitions should be placed with the Central body.

The main aims and objects were (1) to establish Republican Government by means of organisation known as the Hindusthan Republican Association and Indian Republican Army.

(2) To establish a reign of terror by murder of officials who took prominent

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part in such cases as Kakori Conspiracy Case and other persons who were for various reasons obnoxious to the conspiracy.

(3) To organise escape of convicts.

(4) To raise funds by every possible means by voluntary subscriptions, by dacoity or by contributions from abroad.

(5) Seduction of educated youths with a view to enlist them in the Indian Republican Army.

Overt acts committed in the furtherance of the conspiracy include :—

(1) Murder of Mr. Saunders and Chaman Singh.

(2) The Assembly Bomb Outrage.

(3) Dacoity at the Punjab National Bank, Lahore.

(4) Dacoity at Maulnia in Behar.

(5) Attack on Mr. Banerjee D.S.P., C.I.D. of U. P.

(6) Embezzlement of Rs. 3,190—Kailash Pati, an employee in the post office in the district of Gorakhpore was one of the members of the revolutionary party and embezzled Rs. 3190 from the post office on 26-6-28 for the furtherence of the common objects.

(7) Manufacture of Bombs—The members of the conspiracy manufactured bombs at Lahore, Saharanpur, Calcutta and Agra. The factories at Lahore and Saharanpur have since been captured.

The following crimes were discussed and planned but not carried out :—(1) To blow up the train carrying the members of the Simon Commission by means of a dynamite. (2) To make arrangements for the escape of Jogesh Chatterjee, a convict in connection with the Kakori case and also of Sachindranath Sanyal, another Kakori convict.

Discussing how the conspiracy was unearthed, Mr. Noad said that during the course of investigation of the Dushera festival bomb outrage near Roshani gate, it transpired that two ex-students of the Oriental College had been frequenting the boarding house situated on the first and second floor of Roshani gate where the bomb exploded. As a result of a statement made by one of them, the police for the first time came to know that Bhagat Singh accused, was one of the murderers of Mr. Saunders and Bhagawati Charan was the chief lieutenant in the Punjab.

Shortly before this, certain persons had engaged some iron moulders of Lahore to make certain oblong implements which on enquiry were stated to be parts of a gas machine. The curiosity of local workmen was aroused and they mentioned these facts to a constable of acquaintance. Information passed on the police who instructed their informer to watch the individuals who had given orders and follow them. Sukh Dev was followed to 69 Kashmir building and this house was pointed out to the police and secret enquiry showed that the tenant of the premises was Bhagawati Charan.

In the meantime, information from Delhi showed that the bomb which was thrown in the Assembly corresponded closely with the description of the alleged oblong gas machine parts. Careful watch kept on the house eventually resulted in information which led to the raid on 15-4-29 and Sukhdev, Jaigopal and Kishorilal, accused were captured. From the facts disclosed by these accused, the whole history of the revolutionary organisation came to light.

Charges against the accused included murder, abetment of murder, and conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to revolution and other offences against the State and also offences under Explosive Substances Act."

Madras Nationalist Party

The Madras Nationalist Party was formed under the presidentship of Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and the first meeting under the auspices of the party was held at Madras on the 7th July 1929. The following statement embodying the political programme of the Party was adopted and issued for publication by Dr. Naidu :

"We are all agreed that India should be free, but the methods of achievement of freedom must be decided upon by time and expediency. It is wrong to say that Swaraj could be gained only by non-co-operation. Methods should vary according to the circumstances ; patriotic men must co-operate with the Government wherever it is necessary for the good of the citizens, but non-co-operate or obstruct the Government wherever it tries to tighten its grip over the Indian nation or launch on a policy of repression. We cannot shut our eyes to the communal and anti-national propaganda that is being vigorously spread in the Madras Presidency.

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Unless it is checked, it would outgrow all proportions and become a danger and menace to the growth of national life. Forces of reaction, both social and political, are straining every nerve to consolidate their position under cover of communal advancement and political freedom. The social system obtaining in our midst to-day and the political system under which we live, are alike unsuited to our future growth as a nation. We feel that the time has come, so far as this province is concerned, for a thorough overhauling and readjusting of the political and social programmes pursued hitherto by Congressmen or nationalists in the Madras Presidency so that the local bodies and the Legislative Council may be captured by genuine Nationalists pledged to the ideal of political freedom and social justice. We are opposed to the boycott of the Legislatures and Ministerships by Congressmen or Nationalists, now or in the near future, because the principle of renunciation or abstention although hypothetically tenable runs counter to the very principles for which the Congress stands, when applied to the practical politics existing in the Madras Presidency. We feel that taking the circumstances of this province into consideration, the Congressmen and Nationalists should unite together and capture the local bodies and the Legislative Council and help to strengthen the people and weaken the present system of Government and its allies. We feel that for the above purpose and for the objects noted below, a separate political party should be formed with a view to run elections to the Legislative Council and to the local bodies on a definite nationalist programme in order that they may be made the instruments for the speedy attainment of Swaraj!

(1) To work by honourable means for the attainment of Swaraj in which the Government would be responsible to the people of this country. (2) To educate and organise public opinion for securing and maintaining nationalistic ideals in all political and Governmental organisations in the country. (3) The work for the amelioration of the conditions and the status of the depressed classes by securing for them free education, free lands and facilities for the use of public roads, schools and wells. (4) To work for the initiation, protection and development of hand spinning and hand-weaving and other cottage industries, in every possible direction with or without the help of the Government of the province. (5) To support the labourers in India and abroad in their efforts to better their condition in all respects such as, provision against sickness, accident, infirmity, old age and death, healthy housing conditions and medical treatment and help them to become self-respecting citizens of this country with necessary education. (6) To work for the dissemination among the masses of scientific knowledge in agriculture and industries and principles of good health and long life. (7) To work for an immediate total prohibition of all intoxicating drinks and drugs. (8) To develop the utilitarian and cultural aspects of the national literature in accordance with the present day needs of the country, (9) To work for the equality and liberty of man by removing caste and race distinctions and creed antagonisms. (10) To oppose all those who have failed to support the cause of Indian freedom by siding with the Government. (11) To secure the abolition of all restrictions against Indians in the departments of artillery, air force and chemical warfare. (12) To secure the establishment of an Indian National Military Academy, an Indian National Naval Academy and other necessary institutions for training Indian officers in India. (13) To introduce compulsory military training in Indian High Schools and Colleges. (14) To demand equal rights for Indians all over the world and to remove all racial differences. (15) To oppose all forms of so-called Imperial preference and advocate measures for the protection of Indian industries and to establish up-to-date technical and industrial institutions. (16) To adopt measures to oppose all forms of unfair alien competitions in Indian industries and support measures to build an Indian Mercantile Marine and to reserve the Indian coastal trade to Indian shipping".

Congress Muslim Party

The anti-Congress agitation carried on by organisations like the All-India Muslim Conference Association, which recently made a bitter attack on Pandit Matilal Nehru and decided to send a deputation to England to counteract pro-Congress propaganda, quickened the Nationalist Muslims into activity and the formation of a new body called the Congress Muslim Party was the concrete result. The movement towards this was started early in July 1929 with a circular issued by Messrs. S. A. Brelvi, Yusuf Meherally and others.

The circular inter alia stated : "The need for concerted action on the part of

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Muslim Nationalists to fight the forces of reaction has long been felt, but till now no practical step has been taken in Bombay to marshal the forces of Muslim nationalism in the service of the Motherland. You will no doubt agree with us that we are passing through an epoch-making period when the fate of India is hanging in the balance and the community which at this juncture deserts the cause for freedom or fails to play a proper part is doomed. Unfortunately, some reactionaries are calling on Muslims to boycott the National Congress and make common cause with the alien bureaucracy. No more suicidal step could be taken. If immediate steps are not taken by well-wishers of Islam in India to counteract this wicked propaganda, the Muslim Community which is already sufficiently backward will be irretrievably lost. It is therefore proposed to form the Muslim Nationalist Party "to carry on vigorous propaganda in this presidency in support of the national cause of freedom and prepare the Muslims for taking a proper share in the coming fight for freedom."

In response to this circular, a meeting of Muslims was held at Bombay on the 8th July. Mr. Brelvi, presiding, explained the object of the meeting and emphasised the imperative need of Muslims joining the Congress in large numbers. A discussion ensued on the following resolution moved by Mr. Meherally and adopted unanimously :—

"The name of the Party will be the Congress Muslim Party and its object will be to carry on propaganda in the Bombay Presidency in support of the Congress policy and programme among Muslims and induce them to join the Congress. The party shall combat the forces of communalism and reaction. Subject to this, it will endeavour to safeguard the legitimate interests of Muslims through the Congress."

The first meeting under the auspices of the newly formed Congress Muslim Party was held at Bombay on the 20th July amidst considerable hostile demonstrations from a section of Mussalmans in the audience. Maulana Mahommed Ali (not the younger of the Ali Brothers) addressed the meeting on the objects of the new party, but was constantly heckled. Except for frequent shouts indulged in by a small section of Mussalmans, Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech was generally applauded. He said : "If we study the present situation carefully we shall at once see that much of the anti-Congress agitation is only skin deep and bolstered up to its present prominence by the Anglo-Indian Press. It cannot be gainsaid that every bureaucratic rule has its henchmen, title-hunters, and sycophants, who like Saul have sold a kingdom for a mess of pottage. The meeting presided over by the Aga Khan and sponsored by Sir Mahomed Shafi and other title-holders has no more right to speak on behalf of the Muslim community than the motor bus driver in London has to speak on behalf of the Russian Soviet. The Muslim community presents a very sorry spectacle to-day. Torn by internecine strifes, ridden by illiterate, selfish Mullas verging on the brink of economic bankruptcy, its future is very dark indeed unless Nationalist Muslims gird up their loins, and make a desperate effort to save it from the inevitable ruin. The Congress Muslim party has been formed for that purpose."

Subsequently Pandit Motilal Nehru sent the following message to Mr. S. A. Brelvi, congratulating him on the creation of the New Congress Muslim Party :—

"I heartily welcome the formation of the Congress Muslim Party and wish it every success. Nothing can be more disastrous to our political emancipation than the hostile attitude adopted by some Muslim reactionaries towards the Indian National Congress. They are trying to revive the early days of the Congress when Mussalmans kept aloof from the great national institution on unwarranted suspicions similar to those they are now instilling in the minds of their co-religionists. Their suspicions were happily dissipated in the years that followed when broad national interest prevailed upon narrow communal prejudices and Mussalmans began to join the Congress in increasing number year after year. I have no hesitation in saying that the high position which the Congress occupies to-day not only in the country but outside is due no less to the patriotism and selfless devotion to the work of its Muslim members than that of its other members. The tragedy of it is that some of those very Muslims who have in the recent past contributed to a considerable extent to the greatness of the Congress have now arrayed themselves among its enemies.

"I ask all impartial Mussalmans to examine carefully the reason why these gentlemen have taken up such an attitude. The All-Parties' Committee Report has got on their brains and they smell in it disaster for Islam. A little reflection

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will show the true position. Leaving aside the mushroom associations specially got up to vilify the All-Parties' Committee report and confining ourselves to the premier Muslim political organisation, the All India Muslim League, we find that the only modifications the League proposed to the report on behalf of Mussalmans related to six definite points. The Convention accepted two of these. The remaining four which were not acceptable to the Convention were (1) that one-third of the elected representatives of both Houses of the Central Legislature should be Mussalmans, (2) that there should be reservation of seats in the Punjab and Bengal in the event of adult suffrage not being established, (3) that residuary powers should rest with provinces and not with the Central Legislatures ; emergency powers of the central legislature to interfere with provincial legislstures being confined to times of war or rebellion and schedules of subjects being revised accordingly and (4) that separation of Sind should not be made to depend upon the establishment of the Commonwealth. These questions are still open to negotiations and discussion.

"In the name of common sense I ask Mussalmans what disaster will befall Islam if these suggestions are finally rejected. In the name of common sense I ask Hindus what disaster will befall Hinduism if these suggestions are accepted. Quite apart from theory they do not in my opinion matter in practice one way or the other. The question is whether the Mussalmans can successfully achieve their object by being in the Congress and pressing their claims upon it or by standing out and abusing the Congress. Let the British Government once agree to the immediate establishment of full responsible Government of the Dominion type in India and I am sure that these and any other differences that may arise will be adjusted in no time. The formation of the Congress Muslim Party is a move in the right direction and I hope and trust that Hindus and Muslims will sink their petty differences and present a united and determined front to the bureaucracy." An All India Conference of the party was held at Allahabad for the proceedings of which see p. 350.

Bombay Land League

A representative conference of the prominent elected members of the Bombay Legislative Council including the representatives of the Liberal Party, and the Congress and Responsive Co-operation Parties, and the representatives of the Shetkrai Parishad, and the leaders of the agriculturists in the mofussil, was held at Bombay on the 23rd July 1929 under the presidentship of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel when a league called the Land League, was inaugurated with a view to carry on an agitation against the present land revenue policy of the Government, and to introduce new changes in the Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill proposed by the Government on the following lines: (1) The proprietorship of the land should belong to the peasant, and (2) land revenue should be regarded as a tax based upon the profits of agriculture.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in his introductory speech, explained the aims and objects of the Land League, which was being started to carry on work for the welfare and interests of the agriculturists. He emphasised that the League wanted to carry on its work without any consideration of caste, creed, religion or the party to which the agriculturists belonged. He asked for a clear cut explanation of the words "progressive and sound legislation," expressed by His Excellency in his address to the Bombay Legislative Council on Monday last. He further demanded that the revision settlements introduced during the last ten years should be suspended.

After this, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was voted to the chair. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in his address to the conference, observed that the Government must take into consideration their experiences in the Bardoli fight. The Bardoli Committee's report had made it clear that the revision settlements made by the Government officers were not only baseless, but also unjustifiable. He failed to understand the meanings of the words "progressive and sound legislation, "as stated in the letter to Mr. Chhotalal Shroff, written by the Government. He declared that the present land revenue policy of the Government was, no doubt, a dishonest one, and such a policy would not be tolerated by any civilised Government.

Sardar Vallabhbhai emphasised that the question whether land revenue was a rent or tax, and the definition of profits of agriculture and the basis of revision settlements, should be dealt with by statute. He asked the Government to follow up

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an honest policy hereafter. Otherwise, he declared, the agriculturists would have no faith in the Government. They were prepared to give their lives for their lands. He appealed to the public to join hands with the League irrespective of caste, creed, religion or party, keeping in mind only the welfare and interests of the poor agriculturists, who formed three-fourths of the population.

After preliminary discussions the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

(1) This meeting of the Bombay Presidency Land League congratulates the Government on their decision to withdraw the Bill of 1928 in view of their intention to introduce early legislation on sound and progressive lines, as also on their decision not to proceed with the revision settlements in several talukas of this Presidency; and with a view to dispel all doubts in the matter, respectfully requests the Government to make an early announcement that such revisions as have been introduced since 1920 be cancelled, that the new legislation shall have retrospective effect as regards all revision settlements introduced since the date of the well-known recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and that as a result of such legislation, the amounts levied in excess be refunded.

(2) This conference welcomes the decision of the Government to introduce land revenue legislation of a sound and progressive character, and expresses its considered opinion that no such legislation could be acceptable, unless it is based on principles and practice approved by public opinion and the opinion of this League.

(3) This conference calls upon the Executive Committee to appoint a committee for the purpose of deciding and formulating the principles regarding ownership of the land, character of land revenue, pitch of assessment, methods of settlement and recovery, and other kindred questions relating to land revenue.

Pt. Motilal's Invitation to Princes.

In compliance with the resolution passed by the Calcutta Convention, Pandit Motilal Nehru wrote on the 12th August, to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes inviting the Chamber to appoint representatives to confer with the Committee of the Convention at a Round Table Conference, on the constitutional position and status of the Indian States in the future Commonwealth of India and the relations that should subsist between the Indian States and the Central and Provincial Governments of the Commonwealth. Similar invitations were sent to the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharaja of Mysore and the Maharani Regent of Travancore.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Secretary, All-Parties' National Convention, issued the following statement to the Press on the same day:—

"In the brochure entitled, 'The Indian National Demand' the following sentence occurs under the heading 'Indian States' :—'This invitation stands, and a favourable response is awaited.' This statement is likely to create an impression that a formal invitation had, before the issue of the brochure, been sent to the Princes to appoint representatives to meet the representatives of the Convention at a Round Table Conference, with a view to discussing the constitutional position of the Indian States in the future Commonwealth of India. This is not the case. The formal invitation was delayed, as it was proposed to send along with it, a full report of the proceedings of the Convention which was in the press. The report was published only this morning, and formal invitations have now been sent to the Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharaja of Mysore and the Maharani Regent of Travancore."

The Goulmuri Strike

Babu Rajendra Prasad who came to Jamshedpur to study the Tinplate Strike situation issued the following statement on the 29th August :—

"A strike in the Tinplate Works at Golmuri has been going on since the 7th April last. The grievances of the workers principally are low wages, insufficient housing accommodation, absence of leave rules and holidays, bonus and provident fund and insufficient supply of protecting equipments for the staff. That the grievances are just and genuine admits of no doubt as the wages are lower than what they are in the Tata Works and the other items cannot be seriously denied. Negotiations went on for some time and some sort of an arrangement was arrived at. The Company failed to give effect to the terms agreed to and fresh trouble arose. The

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management began to victimise the workers by transfers, suspensions, dismissals etc. They were written to on behalf of the Union but paid no heed to these requests. The strike commenced and has continued for more than 4 half months now.

"Attempts were m de by prominent labour leaders like Mr. Daud and Mr. Giri to open negotiations with the Company but it refused to talk to them. The workers approached the Government with a request that it should intervene. But the Government refused even to appoint a Board of Conciliation under the Trades Dispute Act. In the meantime the Comapny had been trying to secure new recruits and taken a certain number of labourers who were unemployed on accounnt of retrenchment in the Tata Works, and its attitude towards the workers had become even stiffer. The workers on their part had been approaching individuals and organisations for help and intervention. They had been fortunate in enlisting the sympathy of Sj. Subhas Chadra Bose and Baba Gurdit Singh who arrived on the scene to study the situation and after satisfying themselves abut the justice of the strikers' cause began to help them. The Union sent its Acting President Mr. J. N. Mitra to represent the case of the workers to the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad. The matter was considered by the Working Committee which directed the Secretary to put himself in communication with the management and to help the strikers in getting relief. After this although not a Trade Union man, I felt, I must see things for myself and paid a visit to Jamshedpur about 3 weeks ago. The situation then was that most of the workers of the Company had been on strike for about 4 months. They were naturally in great distress and were depending largely on public charity for support. Their conduct throughout all these four months had been exceptionally peaceful. They had explored all avenues for a settlement and sought the help and intervention of persons and organisations from outside. They had failed in their attempt to secure a settlement but the justice of their cause and the peaceful nature of the strike had secured for them in an ample measure the sympathy and support of the public. The Company on their side had been obdurate and the Government had refused to intervene.

"Considering the situation as a whole I felt it was no use my trying to secure a hearing from the Company which had refused even to see Mr. Giri, but that I might approach the Government and urge the desirability of its intervention. I accordingly saw the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa and had a long conversation with him. I got from him a confirmation of the version of the Company's case that had been given to me by the workers, but failed to persuade him to think that it was just one of those cases in which tho Government was not only entitled but bound to intervene.

"Since then fresh developments have taken place. There has been intensive picketing which has been quite peaceful as before. A lage number of the new recruits have also left the works and some of the old hands that had not joined the strike or had gone back have recently come out again. The Company has engaged a large number of Pathans and the workers on picket duty were one day assaulted and pelted with brickbats and stones. It is alleged that they retaliated. Police 'sowers' are said to have dispersed them but not without causing injury to several persons. Many labourers have received injuries including the President of the Union Mr. J. N. Mitra. One house was broken into by the Police and inmates were assaulted and two of them arrested. Several other workers have also been arrested and are to undergo prosecution. A notice was issued under sec. 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting the assemblage of more than 4 men at one place within the jurisdiction of Golmuri thana. But it has since been modified and the prohibited area now covers the main road leading to the Factory and grounds one hundred yards on each side of the road. The result of the notice is effectively to prevent picketing which had been carried on for a long time quite peacefully. It is reported that the notice is not supposed to operate against the Company as its Pathans and loyalist workmen have been seen in congregations of even a hundred or more within the prohibited area, while the Police have not been slow to tell strikers not to squat in batches of more than four even on the varandahs of the houses within the area notified.

"It is clear from all this that the Company is obduarte and unbending. It has been losing heavily but it is bent upon breaking the spirit of the workers. The Government is equally determined not to intervene. But its so-called non-intervention is nothing less than intervention in favour of the Company. If the police are there to preserve peace, the usefulness of the large number of Pathans in the employ of

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pany is not apparent unless it be to commit breaches of the peace. The are determined though in deep distress. They have all through been y peaceful. It is up to the public to support them morally and pecuniarily. also been suggested that the Councillors in the local Council should urge Government to intervene. Mr. Jogiah has given notice of a resolution in the bly to withdraw the protection which the Company enjoys. There has been pathetic strike in the works of the Burmah Oil Company which owns the of the shares in the Tinplate Company at Budge Budge. No one can tell her the Company will yield to what after all are the just grievance of its own workers.

"But the workers cannot be left alone in their just struggle and if these methods of bringing pressure on the Company fail others will have to be devised. There have been other strikes in the country but none has evoked such a large measure of public sympathy and received so scant courtesy from the management. It is really a fight between a rich and powerful Company on the one side which can afford to suffer temporary loss to teach its workers a good lesson and starve them to submission and the organised workers on the other fighting not for any other cause but for just living wages and those facilities which are enjoyed not only by labourers elsewhere but by their brethren next door in the Tata Works. By the justice of their cause and their peaceful behaviour they have fully deserved the public support they have so far received and it needs only to be supplemented to make the Company and the Government understand that the people cannot afford to let so many of their men to be broken and crushed as is evidently being attempted."

Indians in America

Sir Denys Bray made an important statement on the 10th September in the Legislative Assembly regarding the position of Indians in America. It may be remembered that in 1923 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in what is called the Thind Case that Indians were of Caucasian origin, that they were not "free white persons" within the meaning of the Naturalisation Act, and that hence they could not become American citizens. As a result of this decision as many as 45 Indians were deprived of their naturalisation rights; and it was apprehended that a rigid enforcement of the decision would involve the deprivation of citizenship rights and property of several hundreds of Indians living in various parts of the United States of America. Subsequent to this judgment, efforts were made by disinterested members of the Legislature in America to get justice done to Indians. A bill promoted by Senator Copeland declaring Indians to be entitled to full rights of citizenship had only passed the stage of first reading. The Government not only opposed this measure but placed obstacles in the way of the progress of another bill introduced with the object of restoring the rights of American women who had married Hindus naturalised in America, but who were deemed to have lost such rights because of the "denaturalisation" of their husbands. As a result of the agitation carried on in India, the Government of India moved the British Government, who on their part appear to have made representations to the authorities in Washington through their ambassador. Distinguished American missionaries working in the various parts of India also issued a statement condemning the attitude of the United States towards Indians and demanding in the name of fairplay and justice that not only should the 45 Indians who had been practically dispossessed of their property be restored to their original position but that the Naturalisation Act should be amended so as to declare that Indians did not come within the prohibitory clauses. The following statement was made by Sir Denys Bray, on the question of Mr. Gayaprasad Singh who asked: (a) Is it a fact that under the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1923, British Indians in that country are ineligible for citizenship, and incapable of holding lands in their possession? (b) If so, has any time been given for the Indian landowners in the United States to dispose of their properties? and, if so, what time? (c) Is there any similar law in India by which Americans are made ineligible for holding landed properties in this country?

Sir Denys Bray replied: "I have traversed most of the ground covered by the question in the previous answers. But, as the subject has stirred much public interest, and a misapprehension still exists about it, I propose, with your permission Sir, to state the general position anew. In 1923, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that Indians are and always have been ineligible for American citizenship. Seeing that it is restricted under the revised statute 2169 to persons of Caucasian and African race, a rigid application of this ruling would have involved

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the denaturalisation of several hundreds of naturalised Indians and in States like California, where the holding of lands by aliens even on lease is prohibited, summary eviction from the landed property they had *bona fide* acquired from the outset. Their unhappy predicament engaged the close and continuous attention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The difficulties of the case seemed almost insuperable for the ruling that an Indian is ineligible for citizenship under the American Constitution is the ruling of the Supreme Court. At first, it looked as if the full rigour of the American Law would be exercised, and some 50 unfortunate Indians were made to suffer the disabilities of denaturalisation. But concurrently with the various allegations that were, from time to time, secured, the position became gradually established that a certificate of naturalisation could not be withdrawn without a process of the courts in each separate case, a procedure which acted in the natural course of things as a salutary brake.

"Now, I am glad to say, we seem to have reached the stage when we can safely anticipate that, in the absence of any outside stimulus—the Hon'ble Member will forgive me, if I here refer pointedly to the unwisdom of the tentative suggestion in his last question—no further proceedings will be taken against Indians who acquired or were thought at one time to have acquired American citizenship prior to the decision of the Supreme Court. Hard as is the case of the 30 Indians who have suffered denaturalisation it is gratifying that immunity has thus been secured for several hundreds of their more fortunate fellows."

Europeans and Reforms

The changed aspect in the political affairs of India and the necessity for a corresponding change in the attitude of the European community were stressed by Mr. Chapman Mortimer, Assistant General Secretary, European Association, at an "At Home" Party of the Association at its Bombay branch on the 24th September. Mr. Mortimer declared that the rapid growth of democratic Government in India had given rise to a new situation which required new men and new methods. The time had come when the European community had to look to its representatives in the legislatures to safeguard its interests. Mr. Mortimer proceeded : "A prominent Madras politician recently declared that there can be no leaders without an organisation. Indeed it is obvious that every political party wants organisation, but nowhere is this more necessary than in the case of the European groups in the Indian Legislatures." Mr. Mortimer emphasised that the first of the chief functions of the European Association was to supply adequate secretarial assistance to the European groups in the legislatures. The second function was to maintain contact between the European community and its political leaders. He tried to dispel the idea prevalent in certain quarters that the European Association was dominated by Calcutta interests. Speaking of the work of the branches, Mr. Mortimer said : "Since I came to India 18 months ago, all branches have progressed, but none more than the Bombay branch, and though I know it is invidious to mention any particular name, I should like to say what great debt the Association in general and the branch in particular owed to Sir Hugh Cocke." Turning to the political situation, Mr. Mortimer referred to the dual safeguard the Association demanded of the Simon Commission in matters concerning protection for the minorities from unfair discriminatory legislation and the necessity for emergency power being vested in the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors. Mr. Mortimer continued : "We ask for these two safeguards in no spirit of hostility to the Indian nationalist aspirations, but because, looking round Indian conditions to-day, we believe them to be vitally necessary for the protection of the minority communities, Indian and European alike. Our claims are not unreasonable or selfish. It is interesting to note that the Madras Simon Committee have laid stress on the necessity that the Governors should retain powers of veto and that the Governor-General should retain also the power of certification. The recommendations of this Committee are more significant in that in Madras, dyarchy has worked more successfully than in any other province and Madras has also been comparatively free from grave, prolonged industrial and communal disputes such as those which so seriously injured Bombay and so threatened peace in this province as to cause no less a person than Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas to state in no uncertain language that the Government must retain strong latent powers to deal with a crisis such as that wherewith you here in Bombay were faced in the early part of this year. During the last five months there has been a marked change in the attitude of responsible Congress leaders, and the realisation by them of the reasonableness of

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the demand of the minority communities for safeguards. If Indian politicians approach the great problems ahead in this spirit, if they rid their minds of distrust of the Britisher and adopt co-operation and not non-co-operation as the motto, they will find our community ready and willing to help them."

Sukkur Barrage Scheme

Sir M. Visweswaraya and Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur, in the report published on the 9th October of their inquiry into the Sukkur Barrage project, dwell on some of its defects. But taking the scheme on the whole they declare that they can think of no better or clearer alternative. "It is not to be expected," they say, "that a great and complicated scheme of this magnitude will be perfect in all details. Natural conditions will not lend themselves favourably in every direction, and no big undertaking of this size can be carried out without risks and with some local interest or other. Should unforeseen risks or difficulties arise in the future, the resources of engineering should be able to cope with them."

The scheme, the report says, is expected to make an appreciable addition to production and food supply in this part of India, and it will bring prosperity to Sind. It pays a tribute to the officer-in-charge of the scheme, and makes recommendations for ensuring uninterrupted future progress of the scheme.

As the scheme is not expected to earn enough to pay full interest on the borrowed capital for 10 years after completion, the Government of India should be approached, the report suggests, to take over the whole of a substantial share of the debt and with it also a reasonable share of the future revenues from the scheme, the principal reason being that the scheme is too big a financial proposition for the presidency with its slender resources to handle till the work begins to pay. If this is not done and if the land sales fail to bring in substantial proceeds, the charges on revenues of the presidency may prove a heavy burden and a source of continued embarrassment to the Bombay Government, in the long term of years.

Labour Situation in Bengal

For a year past Bengal has been troubled by sporadic strikes culminating at the end of July in the big stoppage in the jute mills. These disturbances have all had the same character. Usually there has been no notice and no statement of demands to the management. The workers have simply walked out. Generally the strike movement was preceded by some loose formation of a union got together *ad hoc* by a lawyer or a politician and representing a mere fraction of the actual workers. The Indian is peculiarly susceptible to intimidation and to lying rumour, and a handful of determined men can get a whole population out on strike wrote the Calcutta correspondent of "*The Times*" to that paper under date 26 October.

Although the labour troubles in Bengal have not been attended by violent incidents on the same scale as in Bombay, loyal workers have been reluctant on many occasions to enter the mills. Strikes engineered in this way cannot be effectively settled in the absence of any union to which the workers owe allegiance. Partly by the intervention of the Government of Bengal, the jute strikes were nominally ended on terms accepted by the leaders. For weeks afterwards there was trouble first with one mill and then with another, the workers entering or leaving at their will. The normal condition for the last two months has been one of uncertainty and unrest, although practically all the demands of the strikers have been met.

By the time-table of the Indian National Congress, as laid down at Calcutta last year, mass civil disobedience is to begin on January 1, unless in the meantime Dominion Status has been conceded to India. Hitherto, the threat has been somewhat lightly regarded by European opinion, although the experience of 1920-21, showed that if the masses of the population could be aroused to refuse work and to agitate against the Government very real embarrassment could be caused to the Executive. Latterly Europeans have had reason to change their mind, because the form of the threat has changed, and with that change the prospects of serious disturbance are greatly enhanced.

The movement towards violence in Bengal was crushed in 1924 by the Bengal Ordinance and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. All the leaders who were then interned have long since been released. The promptitude with which the Government struck on that occasion shifted the centre of violence to the United

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Provinces and the Punjab, and compelled the Bengal leaders to the conclusion that unless their activities could be given a wider foundation they could never become more than a temporary nuisance to the Government and a menace to the police officers concerned in suppression. The weak spot in the movement was that it appealed not to the masses but to the relatively few hot-headed youths who having educated themselves, found that they had no likelihood of employment. Further mass organisation was restricted by Hindu-Muslim tension and by caste and communal dissensions. How small is what may be called the conscious political movement is shown by the numbers in the National Congress. After a year of intensive recruiting in Bengal 50,000 people have been secured as the total membership out of 46,000,000 people, although the qualification for membership is the payment of no more than four annas subscription.

The new developments are two, which are in reality one. Bengal Congress leaders have recognized that, if they are to make any effective and paralysing movement, they must obtain control of the masses, of illiterate and ill-organised labourers who work in the jute mills, in the docks, and by the riverside, and who serve most of the agencies of transport. They have recognized at the same time that the diligent spread of the doctrines of Communism is the most effective counter to communal dissensions and Hindu-Muslim hostility.

Hence the zeal with which men like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have thrown themselves into the leadership of strikes wherever these have broken out. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has just been elected chairman of the Indian National Congress for this year's gathering—Mr. Gandhi refusing the leadership—is also president since last year of the Indian Trade Union Federation. He has been active in various labour troubles, most recently in the strike at the Golmuri tinplate works. In 1928 he was chosen president of the All-Bengal Students' Conference, and in his address advocated not a pure Communism but Socialism and Internationalism. From that meeting was born the Independence League for Bengal, started by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose with the assistance of a number of ex-detenus.

The new body issued a manifesto dwelling of the principles of Bolshevism. The position that it was sought to create was plainly expressed in the columns of "Liberty"—the Swaraj organ which has arisen on the ashes of 'Forward' and is controlled by the Bose brothers. On September 1 of this year it wrote :—

'Organised, disciplined Labour is being harnessed to the coach of nationalism. More and more is Labour being identified with the national movement. More and more is the truth recognised by the mass that self-government is their salvation. * * * * * * In any national campaign of non-violent non-co-operation Labour will pull its full weight on the people's side. "Paralyse business" will be the winning slogan.'

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in an address at Lillooah said :—'The Labour movement is very closely connected with the Swaraj movement, and what is needed at the present movement is a co-ordination between the two in order to force the hands of an unsympathetic Government". This statement shows that neither Pandit Nehru nor Mr. Bose have any close knowledge of Labour ; they are well-to-do men fishing in the troubled waters of labour disputes. Yet it would be foolish to deny their influence. They have modes of appeal to the people through their own language, through the identity in their mode of thought, that are closed to the Englishman.

The condition of strike-fomented agitation, extending from the mills to the workers in the oil-depots at Budge-Budge, and to the tin-plate workers at Golmuri, is precisely what these political leaders desire. In the illiterate labourers, inclined to turbulence and readily moved by mass suggestion, they have precisely the weapon which they want for making the task of Government as difficult as possible. They have at command a type of man with far more physical courage than the average Bengali. If they can harness the million or so of operatives round Calcutta to the political movement then they can make a really impressive demonstration in January by bringing about something approaching a general strike. The talk is still of "non-violent non-cooperation," but the men who use the words with their tongues in their cheeks know well that "non-violence" is not in the dictionary of the men whom they are endeavouring to Sway.

At the moment the workers are held lightly in leash by the agitators. Work is going on, but assurances are quietly given that with the New Year a great effort will be made to 'enforce terms for the labourers.' The leaders know well

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with what fire they are playing. In all this mill area the tension between Hindus and Moslems is constant and tends to grow. The call for a general strike attended by picketing would turn almost automatically to communal riots beside which those of 1926 would be child's play. They could only be suppressed in bloodshed.

Threat of the British Medical Council

From the extended summary of the speech made by Sir Donald MacAlister at the annual session of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom at the end of November 1929, it is obvious that it is the intention of the Indian authorities to approach the Legislative Assembly again on the question of the appointment of a Commissioner on Medical Qualifications and Standards in India. SIR DONALD told the Council that "the India Office would ask the Legislative Assembly to reverse its decision in January, and would explain not only the unfortunate results on the prospects of Indian students which would follow from a definite refusal to appoint a Commissioner, but also the genuine desire of the General Medical Council to help India consistently with the obligations which British statutes imposed on them." We do not know why the India Office has assumed the responsibility for informing the British Medical Council that the Assembly would be asked to reverse its verdict. The public in India would like to know to what extent the Government of India must be blamed in regard to the advice tendered to the Secretary ot State. At the Simla session of the Assembly it was made perfectly clear to the Government that the whole medical profession in India, the Universities, the Inter-Universities Board, and the Medical Faculties of the various Universities were all united in their protest against the threat held out by the British Medical Council. Strong views were expressed in the Assembly and such defence of their policy as the spokesman of the Government of India was able to put forward, far from helping towards a better understanding between non-officials and the Government, only provoked the representatives of the people to stiffen their opposition. It may be true that to some little extent the prospects of Indian students might be endangered if the British Medial Council should carry out its threat of refusing to recognise Indian medical degrees. If, as we believe, the Assembly refuses to walk into Government's parlour, the Government will be forced to recognise that it is their clear duty to tell the British Medical Council that arrangements would soon be made firstly to make India self-sufficient in the matter not only of medical education but also of recruitment to the higher medical services and, secondly, to train Indian students in reputed medical institutions in the Continent where equipment, teaching and the facilities for making research are better than in the British universities. If this courageous attitude is taken up, as it must be if the Government wish to uphold the self-respect of India, then it will not be long before the British Medical Council behaves more sensibly and justly than it is doing at present. It passes our comprehension why, if, as it affects, it were benevolently inclined to India, that Council should not prolong the period of extension to two or three years more and thus give time to India to make her own arrangement for securing uniform and proper standards of medical qualifications in India. In regard to medical institutions in Great Britain which were called upon by that same Council to conform to certain standards prescribed by them, it is notorious that it has not been very anxious to punish them for delay in reaching the higher standard of efficiency. Why then should a different policy be pursued in regard to Indian universities? Any attempt made by the British Medical Council to dictate to Australia or South Africa in the manner in which India has been sought to be dictated to, would be keenly resented and repudiated by them. If the truth must be told the Council would do no such thing in regard to self-governing Dominions. This fact is made clear by DR. JIVARAJ MEHTA in a communication to The 'Times of India'. Dr. JIVARAJ MEHTA'S review of the position of India vis-a-vis the Medical Council is as exhaustive as it is a telling exposure of the untenability of the pretensions of the General Medical Council to supervisory and controlling powers over medical education in our country. In view of these circumstances it is surprising that the Government of India should again think of tabling a resolution before the Assembly for the appointment of a Commissioner nominated by the British Medical Council. Even now it is not too late for the Government to withdraw from this humiliating position, but if they persevere it is for the Assembly to show its resentment against this preposterous and indefensible procedure and

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not only declare that they have nothing to do with the British Medical Council but make speedy arrangements for the establishment of a Medical Council in India in order to prescribe the qualifications necessary on the part of the Indian medical graduates and for recruitment to the Indian Medical Services. (From the Hindu of Madras).

Accidents in Indian Railways

Altogether 7 Railway accidents occurred in the Indian Railways during the half year ending March 31, 1929. The Railway Board published a booklet giving the results of the enquiries into those accidents made by the Government Inspectors of Railways. The finding and recommendations of these enquiries undoubtedly give sufficient support to the cry raised by the public and the press for the betterment of the Railway Traffic service by engaging responsible and better-paid staff in it. It has been of common experience that the majority of the Railway accidents occur due to the negligence or inefficiency of the pointsmen, signallers, gatemen and others who are none but people getting salaries of Rs. 10 to 40, 50 a month and the bare fact remains that the safety of thousands of public travelling in Railways depends on these ill-paid and uneducated persons.

Out of the 7 accidents that occurred to different Railways two were at level crossing which, according to the findings of the enquiries, were due to nothing but negligence or rather absence of the Railway gatemen at the time when the accidents happened. One was at a station yard and that too due to nothing but negligence on the part of the station Jamadar; one was defective rolling stock ; one due to defective brakes ; one due to defective signals as well as carelessness on the part of the driver and the Assistant Station Master on duty and the seventh one was for some unknown cause which, the Enquiry Committee thought, was most probably due to negligence on the part of the travelling public.

The *first accident* occurred in the B. N. W. Railway at Bhatni station on January 3, 1929 when a passenger train being received on a wrong line by the station authorities collided with a shunting engine with the result that two passengers were killed and four passengers and two drivers were more or less seriously injured. According to the finding of the Enquiry Committee the passenger train was intended to be received at No. 1 platform line. But all the facing points had been set for No. 4 line just previous to the arrival of the passenger train to allow a shunting engine to attach to a rake of goods train and the facing points were not re-set, bolted and locked before the passenger train was received in with the result that the passenger train got into No. 4 line and collided with the shunting engine. The damage done to the rolling stock is estimated to be Rs. 25,000. Evidence recorded by the Enquiry Committee revealed the fact that the station Jamadar, whose duty it was to go to the signal point to set it all right, did not do that and was sleeping in a station verandah when the train came. The assistant Station Master on duty simply carried out the rules in letter by exchanging badges with the Jamadar. But he did not care to see that the Jamadar had gone to the point and done his duty properly. On the contrary he allowed the Jamadar to sleep in even when the train was coming. Mr. Jackson, Senior Government Railway Inspector, Lucknow Circle has also expressed opinion that had the driver of the passenger train lessened his speed which he should do according to the traffic rules, the collision could have been avoided. Mr. Jackson has also made the following recommendations :—"It is strongly urged that some system of interlocking points with signals should be introduced at an early date on the main line at least of the Bengal North Western Railway. The traffic has long warranted it and the present programme of a few crossing stations and one junction a year is very inadequate. A much more rapid programme is necessary."

The *second accident* took place on the Assam-Bengal Railway at Langcholiet station on December 11, 1928 when one wheel of a wagon attached to the Assam mail derailed on the way while the train was running. The wagon was dragged on for about two miles when the derailed wheel hit a crossing of the line and portion of the train was also derailed. Some passengers of the train were injured and damage of about Rs. 22,000 was caused to the Railway. The Enquiry Committee has expressed opinion that the accident was due to the derailed wagon being defective.

The *third accident* took place at the level crossing at Pilhuwa station on January 2, 1929. In the accident the engine of a goods train from Ghaziabad to Hapur ran the rear portion of motor bus when the latter had almost passed of the level cross-

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ng. As a result of the accident a passenger of the bus and the bus cleaner were killed outright and six other passengers were seriously injured. In thise case though the driver of the bus held primarily responsible for the accident by the Government Railway Inspector the Railway authorities has not been acquitted of their responsiblities in as much as the gates of the level-crossing were wide open when the bus entered the crossing and the accident occurred and the gate man was absent from the gate. The Government Inspector has strongly recommended that this gate should be turned into a II class crossing and he has added the following observation :—

"It is essential that at all such pucca road crossings, specially in a district where there is heavy motor traffic, there should be two men in charge and not one man for twenty-four hours."

Negligence on the part of the driver and the Assistant Station Master was responsible for the *fourth accident* which occurred at Duggirala station on the M. S. M. Railway on January 21, 1929. A passenger train while being received at Duggirala station collided with a goods train which had been previously received there and some six or seven men were more or less seriously injured. The responsibility in this case was of the driver of the passenger train who, according to the finding of the enquiry, was running the train at an excessive speed while entering the station yard. The Assistant Station Master of the station has also been held to be partly responsible in as much as he did not care to see that the defects in the outer signals reported to him by the driver of another train which had passed the station some time ago, were not properly rectified.

The *fifth accident* also occurred due to irregularities of gate keeping at a level crossing near Thaton station on the Burma Railways. In this accident a motor bus fully loaded with passengers was passing the level crossing between Thaton and Aungsaing Railway station when the engine of a goods train ran into it with the result that the bus was completely smashed and one woman passenger of the bus was killed, and 7 women and one man were injured. From the report of the enquiry into this accident it is clear that the bus driver entered the level crossing as he found the gates wide open and before he could fully clear off the engine came and collided with it. The gate at the level crossing were kept open by the gate-keeper who had gone to her home leaving the gates to themselves.

To crown the irresponsibility of the Railway authorities, the gates at the level crossing were placed in charge of a woman appointed by the Railway. The observations of the Government Railway Inspector holding enquiry into this accident no doubt speak for themselves. In coming to the conclusion of the enquiry the Inspector says : "The Permanent way Inspector and the Assistant Permanent Way Inspector who have been in charge of this length of the line both state that they have never made a night inspection. I do not consider this an excuse for their not knowing the state of affairs and that the general rules were being breached. They should therefore be suitably dealt with by the Railway Administration". "The enquiry Inspector continued : "This level crossing being on an important P. W. D. main road should be brought up to the standard of A class level crossing and all other similar crossings should be dealt with similarly. I recommend that fitting of these (high power electric) head lights to all train engines be completed at once."

Observing the arrangements for gate men at level crossings the Inspector says : "There have been numbers of cases of gate men being assaulted and in few cases even murdered. The pay of the gate-keepers is so low that only those incapable of demanding higher pay are found willing to take up this work. The gate in question was found to be in the charge of a woman who could not be reasonably expected to spend the night alone in this isolated situation knowing that she was liable to be molested. Further more, motor traffic is rapidly increasing so that while the duties to be performed were steadily becoming more arduous, nothing had up to the time of this accident been done to relieve her of the increasing responsibility.

The *sixth accident* and which involved the most serious casualties occurred between Chandpura and Barkana stations on the Gomoh-Barkana section of E. I. R. This accident, according to the enquiry report, was due to the hand lever brakes on the wagons of the ballast train which met with the accident jumping off and the failure of the driver to notice it in time. The train ran into a catch siding being out a control. One fireman, 2 ballast train coolies, one child and one key man were killed and the Assistant Permanent Way Inspector and 6 coolies were seriouly injured and 25 coolies were slightly injured.

In the *seventh accident* in the Rangoon-Mandalay Express train on March 10, 1929 a third clas bogie of the train was in flames when the train was stopped

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and the bogie in flames was detached. Many passengers jumped out of the carriage out of fear of life, and 70 passengers were injured, 5 seriously. According to the enquiry report the fire was caused by the ignition of some inflamable liquid split on the floor of the carriage by some careless passengers. (Free Press of India).

Arrests & House-Searches

The following bulletin was issued by the A.I.C.C. on the *11th July* :—

Jatindra Nath Sanyal has been arrested in connection with the Lahore conspiracy case. He was arrested in Allahabad where he was employed in a press. His two brothers Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Bhupendra Nath Sanyal were convicted in the Kakori case and are undergoing imprisonment, the former for life and the latter for five years. Other arrests include *Ajoy Kumar Ghose*, a young student of Cawnpore, who took his degree at the University this year, and Mr. *A Jain*, the editor of the weekly "Deshbhakt" of Meerut.

House searches continue in various parts of the country. On July 7 however a specially large number of houses in Lahore and Amritsar were searched.

Of the vast number of political cases and convictions that have taken place during the past ten years in India some of the saddest were in what is known as the *Bareilly shooting case*. In February 1922, when most of the Congress leaders were in Jail, a number of Congress volunteers gathered together in Bareilly city for a peaceful demonstration. This gathering was prohibited by the police at the last moment and was fired upon, several people being killed and a large number wounded. The police also pulled down the national flag and burnt it and raided the office of the Bareilly District Congress Committee in a part of the Town Hall buildings and destroyed all the Congress papers and records and burnt a number of spinning wheels. For a week or so afterwards the military were more or less in possession of the city and a large number of arrests were made.

Four months later three police constables on duty were shot down at different places in the city by some unknown persons who escaped. No arrest was made for this for a long time. Some months later three boys were arrested. One of these Shatrusudan Singh, aged 20, belonged to Bareilly. The other two—Tikam Singh, aged 18 and Shambir Singh, aged 16—were residents of other districts. Shambir Singh was actually arrested in an examination hall where he was appearing for his matriculation examination.

These three boys were tried for the shooting of the policemen. The principal evidence against the accused was the statement of an approver who, it was admitted, had been a police spy. On behalf of Shatrusudan Singh evidence was led to show that he was not in Bareilly on the day the shooting took place. Similar evidence was given on behalf of Tikam Singh and Shambir Singh. Indeed it was stated that these two boys had never been to Bareilly in all their young lives till they were brought there under arrest.

The Sessions Judge acquitted Shatrusudan Singh but convicted the other two on various counts to thirty years' imprisonment each. On appeal to the High Court the sentences on these two stood unchanged and in addition Shatrusudan Singh was also sentenced on several counts to the same terms of thirty years.

For more than six years now these three boys have been in jail. Shatrusudan Singh is suffering from tuberculosis and is in Sultanpur jail ; Tikam Singh is in Bareilly Central jail ; and Shambir Singh is in Naini Central Jail near Allahabad.

Many people have carefully read the record of the case and they are convinced that the three boys were perfectly innocent and had nothing to do with the Bareilly shooting. In any event the sentences passed on them were amazing in their severity. Many attempts have been made to secure the discharge of the three boys but so far without success. Meanwhile they are spending their young manhood in jail with no hope or prospect of release till they are old men bent with a life of toil and degradation spent in jail unless indeed death comes as an earlier release. The father of Shambir Singh is a broken and ruined man, almost blind through sorrow, and his little village property has been spent away in the defence of his son, although that defence was of little avail.

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The following bulletin was issued by the A. I. C. C. on the *3rd August*:—

An important resolution of the A. I. C. C. condemned the "barbarous methods of repression" in the Punjab. Recent happenings in the city of Lahore have amazed even those who were used to official terrorism and brutality. On the 19th of July seven young men were going along the streets of Lahore collecting funds for the defence of the under-trial prisoners in the Lahore Conspiracy case. These young men shouted from time to time various cries including "Down with Imperialism", "Long live Revolution." These cries evidently gave great offence to the British authorities.

The seven young men were ordered to disperse by the District Magistrate and on their refusal to do so about three dozen policemen fell on them with big batons or lathis and kept on beating them for some time. Two boys became senseless and the others received severe injuries.

The seven boys were then dragged along the street to the police lorries and taken to the lock-up. Two well-known leaders—Sardar Mangal Singh and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan—both members of the A. I. C. C. who happened to be standing near by, were also arrested.

Even after these arrests the police continued to use their lathis on the passers-by and on people in the neighbouring shops, causing serious injuries. The representatives of the *Tribune* newspaper were also injured.

The hunger strike of Bhagat Singh and Dutt continues and is now in the seventh week. The other under-trial prisoners in the Lahore Conspiracy case have also been on hunger strike now for seventeen days. Many of the hunger strikers are in a precarious state and cannot even be carried to court. Attempts to feed the hunger strikers forcibly have been made. These attempts, as described by the under-trial prisoners, have been extraordinarily brutal and have been condemned by eminent doctors.

Even inside the court room the under-trial prisoners in the Lahore case have been subjected to extraordinary treatment. They have had to put up with assaults from the police, and till lately each accused was handcuffed in court by a policeman and had a policeman on either side of him. Every one entering the court room is subjected to a strict search. Even pressmen who have been given permits are searched thoroughly and intimately. Several pressmen have been excluded.

Dr. Satyapal was sentenced on July 11th to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or 6 months' rigorous imprisonment in default of payment.

Mr. Madduri Annapurniah, till lately a member of the A. I. C. C. and editor of the "Congress", was arrested on July 12th under Secs. 124A and 153 I. P. C. Another member of the A. I. C. C., Ghazi Abdur Rahman of Amritsar has been arrested. Hakim Sikandar Khizar, Secretary of the Amritsar Congress Committee and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference and Sardar Ajit Singh, General Secretary of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, have both been arrested.

Master Mota Singh, who was recently discharged after completing a term of seven years' rigorous imprisonment, was re-arrested on July 23rd

Mr. V. S. Dandekar, the assistant secretary of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee was arrested in his office on July 31st under section 124A. He was taken handcuffed to Mainpuri. Other arrests include that of Mr. Gopal Das of the Kashi Vidyapith.

Among those convicted for political offences and at present in jail are *Surendra Neogy and Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta*. Both were sentenced in Behar for writing articles which were considered to be seditious.

The following bulletin was issued by the A. I. C. C. on the *13th September* :—

The Government has been carrying on its campaign of repression with fresh energy. A secret circular issued by the Punjab officials, and published in the press, contained directions for shadowing prominent Congressmen in the Punjab and putting pressure on the people of the province to keep away from the Congress.

The hunger strike in the Punjab jails has continued and is now in the thirteenth week. The strike was resorted to in order to obtain humane treatment for political prisoners. Various attempts were made by the government and non-officials to

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induce the hunger-strikers to end the strike but the conditions asked for by the strikers not being agreed to the strike continues. Many of the strikers are in a very weak condition in spite of forcible feeding. One of them Jatindranath Das is at the point of death.

This hunger strike has attracted a great deal of anxious attention all over the country and numerous demonstrations and meetings of sympathy have been held and better treatment for political prisoners demanded. Owing to the very weak condition of the hunger-strikers they cannot be taken to court and the proceedings of the Lahore Conspiracy case have had to be repeatedly adjourned. The Government has now introduced a new bill in the Assembly to provide for a trial to be continued in court in the absence of the accused or his counsel.

The provinces of Bengal and the Punjab appear to be the two principal centres at present of the repressive activity of government. In Bengal a number of the most prominent leaders have been charged under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (sedition). These include Syt. *Subhas Chandra Bose*, president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C., Syt. Kiran Sankar Roy, Secretary Bengal P. C. C., Syt. B. K. Bose, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, Syt. Satya Bhusan Das Gupta, Syt. Sailesh Nath Bisi, Syt. Purushottam Roy, Syt. Sushil Banerji and Sardar Balwant Singh. Syt. Jnanan jan Neogy, who was recently sentenced to pay a heavy fine for a poster, has again been charged with sedition

Syt. V. S. Dandekar, Assistant Secretary of the U. P. P. C. C. has been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 250 under Section 124A I. P. C.

Syt. Ramananda Chatterji, editor 'Modern Review' has been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 on a charge of sedition for publishing Dr. J. T. Sunderland's 'Indian in Bondage',

Syt. Madduri Annapurniah, editor "Congress" has been sentenced in Rajahmundry to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 under the sedition section and to one year's R. I. under section 153 A. I. P. C., the sentences to run concurrently.

Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji of the Bangabasi College, a member of the A. I. C. C. has also been charged under section 124A I. P. C. Syt. Nanigopal Bhattacharjee was also arrested under the same section at Jessore.

Syt. Hiralal Pande has been sentenced in Benares to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50.

The following bulletin was issued by the A. I. C. C. on the *5th October* :—

On September 13, the whole of India was deeply stirred by the death of *Jatindranath Das* on the 64th day of his hunger-strike. No event for many years past had touched the people so much and all over the country great demonstrations were held. In Calcutta a vast concourse of people accompanied his mortal remains to the cremation ground. Messages of sympathy and solidarity came from several foreign countries on the occasion of Jatin Das's death. A message that was specially appreciated came from the family of Terence Mac Swiney in Ireland.

Soon after Jatin Das's death came the news of the death of another hunger-striker the *Revd. Wizaya*, a Buddhist Monk. Released from jail on February 28, 1929 after serving 21 months' rigorous imprisonment for sedition, he was again arrested for a seditious speech on April 4,—five weeks after his discharge. He was sentenced to six years' transportation but this sentence was subsequently reduced to three years. Soon after his arrest he started a hunger-strike demanding better treatment and the right to wear his yellow monk's robe on special days. This hunger-strike he continued for the extraordinary period of 164 days till he succumbed to it on September 19.

In the Assembly the Government was censured for its policy and it had to postpone the Hunger-Strike Bill it had introduced. The Government also agreed to many of the demands of the hunger-strikers.

Hunger-strikes have, however, continued in many jails and many of the hunger-strikers are in a precarious condition. Syt. *Satindra Nath Sen* of Barisal, who has been on hunger-strike for about four months now, is said to be nearing the end. Others on their death beds are U. Knapinda and U. Athapha, two Buddhist monks

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in Rangoon sentenced for sedition ; and master Kabul Singh in Mianwali jail, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Syt. Batukeshwar Dutt, Sardar Qaumi and some others are also continuing their hunger-strike.

The Meerut under-trial prisoners also started a hunger-strike after Jatin Das's death. In response to the appeal made by the A. I. C. C. however they have suspended it.

Indian Nationalists in Shanghai and other parts of China have been harassed for months past by the British. On March 6, a leading Indian nationalist, Harcharan Singh was murdered in Shanghai. It appears that he had taken some pains to prepare a list of Indians in the British secret service in Shanghai. After his murder four of his own intimate colleagues of the "Eastern Oppressed Peoples' Association were arrested and charged with this murder. This extraordinary charge was heard in secret. There were twelve secret hearings of the case because, as the prosecution stated, "publicity would injure the prosecution." In spite of the secrecy, however, the prosecution collapsed.

The men were discharged but immediately afterwards two of them were re-arrested and charged with "conduct prejudicial to public safety." Five other Indian nationalists were also arrested and tried and sentenced. The case against them was mainly that they read seditious periodicals from India, wore black turbans and one of them had said that they "must expose these C. I. D. dogs who swear falsely against us." Eight Indians—Karam Singh, Naraung Singh, Indar Singh, Asa Singh, Narain Singh, Hokam Singh, Ishar Singh and Charan Singh,—all Sikhs, were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment and to deportation.

Master Mota Singh, who was discharged after many years in jail only recently, has again been convicted at Jullundhur, in the Punjab, for certain speeches delivered by him. He has been sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment for this offence. His last message, as he was being taken away in handcuffs and fetters, was to the Sikhs calling upon them to do their utmost to make the Lahore Congress a success, and deprecating the activities of those who were trying to keep the Sikhs away from the national movement. He has also been on hunger strike for some time.

Sardars Phunam Singh and *Ajit Singh* have been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Section 124, I. P. C. at Jullundhur.

Ghazi Abdur Rahman, president of the Amritsar Congress Committee has been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine Rs. 200. Hakim Sikandar Khizr and Sardar Ajit Singh, Secretary, Naujawan Bharat Sabha were sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment each and a fine of Rs. 100.

Arrests have been made under Jullundhur warrants of Mathura Das at Lyallpur, Sita Ram at Jullundhur and Dev Chandra Narang at Lahore.

As a sequel to a District Political Conference at Nakodar in the Punjab, a large number of arrests of Congressmen took place on September 11 and 12. Among those arrested were Syt. Naubat Rai, Syt. Hari Singh, Syt. Daulat Ram Khanna, Moulvi Mohammad Jamil, Syt. Nathumal Tewari, Syt. Girdharilal and Sardar Kartar Singh.

Mr. Ehsan Ali, Secretary of the Lahore City Congress Committee and the All India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, accompanied the body of Jatindranath Das to Calcutta. He was arrested there and taken to Lahore.

Syt. Prem Prakash Deveshar, President Amritsar Naujawan Bharat Sabha, and Syt. Kehar Singh Kesri have been arrested under Section 124A, I. P. C.

The use of handcuffs and fetters on political prisoners is becoming very common. Master Mota Singh, Syt. V S. Dandekar and most of those arrested or convicted recently have been handcuffed. It is reported that fetters and night handcuffs are put on some of the Kakori prisoners even inside the jail. Gokul Das, a fourth year student of the Kashi Vidyapith, has had an extraordinary and most unpleasant experience. He was arrested on July 12, at Mahoba in the U. P. He was carried about half over India, handcuffed and with his face all covered up. He was sent to Lahore, then to Motihari in Behar and then back to Mahoba. Every attempt was made in these various places to get him indentified by some approver or other person, but there was no success. Every attempt was also made by the secret service police to overawe him and make him purchase his freedom by implicating some others. There was no definite charge against him. Still he was not let out on bail and was carried about handcuffed in extreme discomfort as his face

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was covered up and the time of the year was the hottest. Even in the lock-up he had handcuffs and for a month he was not permitted to have a change of clothes. At Mahoba he was made to walk handcuffed 6 miles in the sun to the court house. Ultimately as no evidence of any kind could possibly be raised against him, he was let out on bail of Rs. 200. The treatment accorded to Gokul Das shows what prefectly innocent persons have to face if any police officer has the faintest suspicion about them.

The following bulletin was issued by the All India Congress Committee on the *27th November* :—

A recent pronouncement by the Viceroy, on behalf of the British Government, suggesting a conference between representatives of the Indian people, the Indian States and the British Government, has attracted considerable attention. A meeting of prominent Congressmen and leaders of other political parties held in Delhi on November 1st and 2nd issued a manifesto in which it was stated that they would be prepared to co-operate but that certain conditions were vital and must be fulfilled. Four conditions were mentioned :

1. All discussions at the proposed conference to be on the basis of full dominion status for India.
2. There should be a prominent representation of Congressmen at the conference.
3. A general amnesty of political prisoners.
4. The Government of India to be carried on from now onwards, as far as is possible under existing conditions, on the lines of a dominion government.

None of these conditions have so far been fulfilled and references in Parliament and elsewhere indicate that there is no chance of their being fulfilled. The Working Committee at its meeting on November 18th however confirmed the Delhi Manifesto and in deference to the opinion of leaders of other political parties decided to test the *bona fides* of the British Government by keeping their offer open till the Congress meets in Lahore. The Committee was however careful to point out that its action was for this limited period only. In the ordinary course, if nothing intervenes, the Calcutta resolution of the Congress will take effect at the Lahore Sessions of the Congress.

Instead of an amnesty, fresh arrests and prosecutions continue and the treatment of political prisoners has been highly unsatisfactory, in spite of the assurances given by the government. The Kakori prisoners in the Bareilly Jail suspended their hunger-strike in compliance with the resolution of the A. I. C. C. They were however actually punished in a variety of ways for having gone on a hunger-strike.

The whole country has been shocked by the extraordinary and barbarous treatment by the police of under-trial prisoners in the *Lahore conspiracy case*. One of the accused was apparently irritated at a statement of the approver and in a fit of temper threw a slipper at him. All the other accused dissociated themselves from this act and expressed regret to the court. In spite of this however the accused were stated in court to have been beaten mercilessly by the police and all manner of unmentionable barbarities were alleged. They were brought handcuffed to court and most of them were actually carried in bodily. Even in open court they were kicked and maltreated by the police and their protests were not heeded or noted. As both their hands were kept handcuffed they could not write or take notes of the proceedings. The press and visitors were all excluded from the court-room and a full report is not available of what happened. but even the reports of the earlier stages that have appeared in the press have horrified the country.

The accused who had thrown the slipper was sentenced in jail. The other accused in addition to the ill-treatment in and outside court, are going to be tried for disobedience of orders in that they objected to putting on handcuffs.

Dr. Satyapal's sentence was reduced in appeal to the Lahore High Court to the period already undergone and he has been discharged.

Among recent arrests for political offences are :

Jagannath Prasad Singh, President, Barrackpore Congress Committee Sec. 153A I. P. C.

Sardar Brij Singh, Multan, Sec. 124A.

Swami Muktananda Tirtha, Hardwar, Sec. 124A.

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Dinendra Kumar Gupta, Calcutta.
Manindra Nath Roy, Calcutta.
Nirmal Chandra Guha Roy, Calcutta
Munishwar Prasad Ahashi, Cawnpore
Dr. Banarsi Das, Ludhiana
Naran Singh, Ludhiana

Gopen Mukerji, a worker of the Deshbandhu Village Reconstruction Society, delivering lantern lectures in villages, arrested at Nadia under Sec. 124A.

Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Nadia District Congress Committee, Sec. 124A.

Secretary, Students' Association, Nadia Sec. 124A.

President, Students' Association, Nadia and twelve other workers Sec. 147 I. P. C.

Prof. Jitendra Lal Banerji, Calcutta Sec. 124A.

Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerji of Calcutta has been sentenced to one year and he is now being tried under three other sedition charges. Mr. Jnananjan Neogy is also being tried under two sedition charges.

Mohammad Nasir and B. Chandra Bose were recently arrested in Italy and were transported to India.

Recent convictions for political offences in the Punjab include the following. They are mostly under Sec. 124A I. P. C.

1. Kedar Nath Saigal—originally sentenced to 3 years. High Court reduced sentence to one year.
2. Panda Sant Ram—sentence 1½ year—reduced to 9 months by High Court.
3. M. Ahmad Din—2 years and fine of Rs. 500. Reduced by the High Court to 1 year and Rs. 200.
4. Sardar Gopal Singh ... ... 3 years and Rs. 1,000
5. S. Balwant Singh ... ... do
6. S. Arjan Singh ... ... do
7. S. Kabul Singh ... ... 3 years
8. Khwaja Ghulam Mohamed ... ... 1 year
9. Master Mota Singh ... ... 7 years
10. Syt. Sita Ram ... ... 7 years (Arms Act)
11. H. Sikandar Hayat Khizr ... ... 1½ year
12. Sardar Arjan Singh (Amritsar) ... ... do.

The U. P. Government, in reply to a question in the local council, laid a statement on the table giving a list of prisoners in the U. P. jails who had resorted to hunger-strike for some period during the last three months. The following names of prisoners were given in this statement.

IN LUCKNOW DISTRICT JAIL

1. Gurcharan Singh

IN BAREILLY CENTRAL PRISON

2. Manmatha Nath Gupta
3. Sachindra Nath Bakhshi
4. Raj Kumar Sinha
5. Mukandi Lal Gupta
6. Pooran
7. Govind Singh
8. Lakhan Singh
9. Ran Bahadur
10. Tulsi
11. Dwarka
24. Matabadal
25. Ram Das
26. Sheo Bhukhan
27. Bhaura
12. Hukum Singh
13. Bhup Singh
14. Pooran Singh

IN AGRA DISTRICT JAIL

15. V. S. Dandekar
16. Mani Ram
17. Arjun Singh
18. Ganga Dutta
19. Abdul Majid
20. Raghuraj
21. Madan Gopal
22. Khairati
23. Phul Singh
28. Radha Kishan
29. Raghubar

IN AGRA CENTRAL PRISON

30. Wazir

and nearly all the accused in the Meerut case. There were several sympathetic strikes for one day.

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Viceroy's Statement And After

A Retrospective Survey

"The situation in India at the commencement of the year under review" wrote the Hindu of Madras on the 1st Jannary 1930, "though one of considerable gravity, was redeemed by the remarkable manifestation of unity on essentials in spite of minor differences which was occasioned by the tour of the Simon Commission round the country collecting evidence. Not only were great demonstrations organised against the Commission at every important centre visited by that body but its boycott by all progressive sections was complete, and produced a striking impression in England which not all the ingenuity of Sir John Simon could efface. While public opinion was thus being educated on one hand on the implications of the Commission, an earnest attempt was made on the other to secure the maximum amount of support for the All-Parties Constitution. The efforts of the Congress which, while declaring its resolve at the Calcutta session to vote for Independence if Dominion Status was not granted before the end of the year, wholeheartedly worked to consolidate the backing in the country for the Nehru Report, were loyally seconded by the Liberals, and the All-India Moslem League also declared its general adherence to that report. But the more Conservative elements among the Muslims were unalterably opposed to the solution of the communal problem put forward in the Report and as time passed it became unfortunately clear that even the more advanced were in this matter unwilling to give a bold lead to the community. One distinctly satisfactory feature of the year, however, was the absence, with one important exception, of any big communal disturbance such as had disgraced the country in previous years. The exception was in Bombay where in February a labour strike developed into a bloody and prolonged affray between mill-hands, mostly Hindus on one hand and Pathans on the other. The investigations of a committee which enquired into these disturbances showed that though communal antagonism might have had something to do with the development of the trouble in later stages, it was in the beginning chiefly the work of hooligan elements, and might have been nipped in the bud if the Government had taken adequate and vigorous action at the proper time.

In other places and other cases, however, the Government displayed in the year under review inordinate zeal for law and order. Early in the year they introduced in the Assembly the Public Safety Bill which aimed at deporting without trial any foreigner in the country whom the Government considered objectionable. The Bill which was part of the programme of Communist hunt into which the Government had plunged in a fit of panic, had a far wider implication and created a great outcry in the country as a menace to popular liberties. A dramatic turn was given to the agitation by President Patel's ruling against the Bill, which resulted in the promulgation of the Public Safety Ordinance. The controversy that originated in the Viceroy's criticism of the ruling ultimately ended in a solution which was a triumphant vindication of the Assembly's rights in consequence of the President's bold stand.

Meanwhile repression on a large scale had commenced, the impetus having been given by the dropping of two bombs in the Assembly Chamber ; there were wholesale prosecutions of prominent politicians as well as labour leaders on charges of sedition and conspiracy as well as under the adjectival law, a memorable instance of the latter being the arrest and fining of Gandhiji for addressing a meeting at Calcutta in favour of the boycott of foreign cloth. Attention was strikingly drawn to the unsatisfactory treatment of these prisoners in jail, by large bodies of them resorting to hunger-strike ; and the death after prolonged martyrdom of Jatin Das and U. Wizaya sent a thrill of horror through the country and were mainly responsible for the general enquiry into jail conditions which was ordered by the Government.

This was one of the first indications of a new Governmental policy which may be said to synchronise with the advent of Labour to power in England. The failure of the Simon Commission had become notorious, and Lord Irwin, who early in the year had met Gandhiji and other Congress leaders informally with a view to remove the impasse, discussed the situation during his visit to England with leaders of all parties and impressed upon them the need for an enlightened policy. The

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Labour Government sympathising with his views, the Viceroy made his historic statement outlining the plan of a Round Table Conference." The following is the text of the Viceroy's statement issued on the 31st October :—

The Viceroy's Announcement

"I have just returned from England where I have had the opportunity of a prolonged consultation with His Majesty's Government. Before I left this country I said publicly that, as the King Emperor's representative in India, I should hold myself bound to tell my fellow countrymen, as faithfully as I might, of India's feelings, anxieties and aspirations. In my endeavours to discharge that undertaking I was assisted by finding, as I had expected, a generous and sincere desire, not only on the part of His Majesty's Government, but on that of all persons and parties in Great Britain, to hear and to appreciate everything that it was my duty to represent. These are critical days when matters by which men are deeply touched are in issue and when, therefore, it is inevitable that political feelings should run high and that misunderstandings, which would scarcely arise in conditions of political tranquillity, should obtain a firm foothold in men's minds. I have, nevertheless not faltered in my belief that, behind all the disquieting tendencies of the time, there lay the great mass of Indian opinion, overflowing all divisions of race, religion or political thought, fundamentally loyal to the King Emperor and, whether consciously or not, only wanting to understand and to be understood.

"On the other side I have never felt any doubt that opinion in Great Britain, puzzled as it might be by events in India, or only perhaps partially informed as to their true significance, was unshaken in its determination that Great Britain should redeem to the full the pledges she has given for India's future. On both countries the time have laid a heavy and in some ways a unique responsibility, for the influence in the world of a perfect understanding between Great Britain and India might surely be so great that no scales can give us the measure either of the prize of success or the price of failure in our attempts to reach it.

"In my discussions with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, it was inevitable that the principal topic should have been the course of events in India. It is not profitable on either side to discuss to what extent, or with what justification, the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission two years ago has affected the general trend of Indian thought and action. Practical men must take the facts and the situations as they are and not as they would have them to be.

"Sir John Simon's Commission, assisted as it has been by the Indian Central Committee, is now at work on its report, and until that report is laid before the Parliament, it is impossible, and even if it were possible, it would in the view of His Majesty's Government clearly be improper to forecast the nature of any constitutional changes that may subsequently be proposed. In this respect every British Party is bound to reserve to itself complete freedom of action. But what must constantly engage our attention, and is a matter of deep concern to His Majesty's Government, is the discovery of means by which when the Commission has reported, the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance may be approached in co-operation with all those who can speak authoritatively for opinion in British India.

"I would venture to recall some words which I used in addressing the Assembly eight months ago in a reference to the then existing political situation. On the one side, I said it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem as it would be shortsigthed of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. We shall surely stray from the path, at the end of which lies achievement, if we let go either one or other of these two main guiding principles of political action. But there has lately emerged, from a totally different angle another set of considerations which is very relevant to what I have just stated on this matter to be the desire of His Majesty's Government.

"The Chairman of the Commission has pointed out in correspondence with the Prime Minister, which I understand is being published in England, that, as their investigation has proceeded, he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed in considering the direction which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may, at some future time, develop between British India and the Indian States. In his judgment it is essential that the methods, by which this future

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relationship between these two constituent parts of Greater India may be adjusted, should be fully examined. He has further expressed the opinion that if the Commission's report and the proposal subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range, it would appear necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed. He suggested that what might be required after the reports of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made, considered and published but before the stage is reached of the joint Parliamentary Committee, would be the setting up of a Conference in which His Majesty's Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States, for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament. The procedure by the Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with delegations from the Indian Legislature and other bodies which was previously contemplated and is referred to in Sir John Simon's letter to myself of the 6th February, 1928, would still be appropriate for examination of the Bill when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would, in the opinion of the Commission, obviously have to be preceded by some such conference as they have suggested.

"With these views I understand that His Majesty's Government are in complete accord, for, while they will greatly desire when the time comes, to be able to deal with the question of British Indian political development under conditions most favourable to its successful treatment, they are, with the Commission, deeply sensible of the importance of bringing under a comprehensive review the whole problem of the relations of British India and the Indian States. Indeed, an adjustment of these interests in their view is essential for the complete fulfilment of what they consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy, whatever may be the method for its furtherance which Parliament may decide to adopt.

"The goal of British policy was stated in the declaration of August 1917, to be that of providing for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. As I recently pointed out my own instrument of instructions from the King Emperor expressly state that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions. The Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should in the fulness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the Status of 1919, I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress, as therein contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status.

"In the full realisation of this policy, it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place, and even if we cannot at present exactly forsee on what times this development may be shaped. it is from every point of view desirable that whatever can be done should be done to ensure that action taken now is not inconsistent with the attainment of the ultimate purpose which those whether in British India or the States, who look forward to some unity of all India, have in view. His Majesty's Government consider that both these objects, namely, that of finding the best approach to the British Indian side of the problem, and secondly, of ensuring that in this process the wider question of closer relations in the future between the two parts of Greater India is not overlooked, can best be achieved by the adoption of procedure such as the Commission has outlined.

"When, therefore, the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports, and these have been published and when His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the materials then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them, separately or together as circumstances may demand, for the purpose of a conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave

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issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

"It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust, that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India, and I believe that all who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the webs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain. I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health and is the method by which we may best hope to handle these high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship."

Leaders' Conference at Delhi

The Leaders' Conference convened at New Delhi to consider the Viceroy's announcement met on Friday the 1st November 1929 at 2—30 P.M. at the residence of Mr. Patel, President of the Assembly. Mr. Patel had strictly ordered his Secretary not to allow the press in the vicinity of the house, but as the leaders entered the house it was apparent that those who attended were as follows :—Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Shuaib Quereshi, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Lala Dunichand, Mr. Pattabisitaramaya Iyer, Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta.

As the Conference was not open to the press it is not possible to say what transpired there. But it was understood that before the Conference dispersed it decided to ask Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru to prepare drafts regarding the statement which they should issue. The drafts were considered at the next day's sitting of the Conference when it sat for three hours.

It was understood that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's draft did not insist on amnesty being made a condition precedent to the acceptance of the offer, while Mahatma Gandhi held that the Conference was impossible without this being done.

Sir Tej Bahadur however opined that such amnesty was essential to bring about a proper atmosphere. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Tej Bahadur asked for the Dominion form of Government being set up by the new constitution. Mahatma Gandhi wanted the matter to be cleared by the Viceroy while Sir Tej Bahadur assumed that this was already implied. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru went further and insisted that the constitution for the Dominion form of Government should do away with the need for further investigations and should be thus free from charges which the British Government might successively bring about. Mahatma Gandhi wanted the Dominion form of Government suiting India's peculiar conditions and needs.

As regards the personnel of the conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's draft proposals wanted the effective representation for such political bodies as the Congress, the Liberal Federation, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, while Mahatma Gandhi wished a predominant representation for the largest political organization in the country. Thus Mahatma Gandhi's draft was a medium between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru with more in common with the former. As regards the question of amnesty Sir Tej Bahadur did not define it. Mahatma Gandhi included all the convicts and under-trials except those who were charged with murder.

Pandit Jawharlal's proposals demanded not only the release of all prisoners and under-trials including those charged with murder but also wished the British Government to apply for the extension of time of the ultimatum given by the Calcutta Congress. He justified his pleas on the ground that he believed in Independence.

The conference however met for three hours and their conclusions were unanimous. It considered the draft of Mahatma Gandhi with modifications by incorporating certain suggestions made in Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposals. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first stood out as a dissentient, but later agreed after great persuasion to sign the statement which ran as follows :—

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The Delhi Manifesto

"We the undersigned have read with careful consideration the Viceregal pronouncement on the question of India's future status among the nations of the world. We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declarations, as also the desire of the British Government to placate the Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion Constitution suitable for India's needs but we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of the principal political organizations in the country.

"We consider it vital for the success of the proposed Conference that :—(A) A policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere. (B) That political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty. (C) That the representation of progressive political organizations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress, as the largest among them, should have predominant representations.

"Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand, however, that the Conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of H E. the Viceroy.

"Until the new constitution comes into existence we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the Government of the country, that relations of the Executive and the Legislature should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed conference and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices. We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced even from to-day and that the new constitution is to be but a register of that fact. Lastly, we deem it an essential factor for the success of the Conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible."

The manifesto was signed among others by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Annie Besant, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Moonje, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Sherwani, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. Aney, Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. Jagatnarainlal, Mr. Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Sardulsingh.

Independence Leaders' Statement.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Abdul Bari declined to sign the manifesto. In the following statement issued to the press they stated that they could not sign it consistent with the resolution of the Calcutta Congress :—

"We attended the Conference convened by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Delhi for the purpose of considering the pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy, but for reasons which we shall presently explain we were unable to subscribe to the statement issued by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders. We regret that owing to the short time at our disposal we have not been able to consult friends in different parts of the country who would agree with us over this question. But we have no doubt that in this statement we are giving expression to the views held by a very large section of our countrymen.

"After giving the closest consideration to the Viceregal pronouncement, we are constrained to say that the statement as it stands contains nothing over which we could enthuse. This will be borne out if we examine the two important commitments made by His Excellency the Viceroy on his pronouncement, viz., (1) definition of responsible Government as Dominion Status and (2) provision of a Conference between representatives of the British Government on the one side and representatives of British India and Indian States on the other.

"With regrad to the first we would like to point out to those who may feel enthusiastic over the Viceregal announcement that there is no mention in that statement as to when Dominion Status will be granted. We, however, stand

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unequivocally for complete Independence not as a distant goal but as the immediate objective aud if Dominion Status were granted by 31st December 1929, we would still stand out boldly for complete Independence. We gave expression to this view at the last session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta and it will be our duty to reiterate it when the Congress assembles at Lahore in December next.

"With regard to the second commitment, we feel that the conference proposed is not really a Round Table Conference and we would request our countrymen not to give it that dignified appellation. The machinery and procedure laid down in connection with the Simon Commission for determining how the Indian constitution should be amended are to remain intact. It is not clear whether the conference will be confined to representatives of the British Government on the one side and representatives of Indian Nationalist on the other. Nor is it known that the conclusions to be arrived at by the conference will be final and binding on both the parties. In the circumstances, the proposed conference cannot by any stretch of imagination be called a Round Table Conference.

"It may be argued that because the Labour Party are not in power and their proposals may be turned down by the Liberals and the Conservatives, we should strengthen their hands by offering our co-operation in response to the Viceregal announcement. This only betrays the existence of inferiority complex in ourselves. There is no reason why we should have this undue solicitude for any political party in England, for freedom will come not as a gift from Great Britain but through our own sacrifices, suffering and struggle. If any political party in England is opposed to India's freeedom a time will soon come when they will realise that it is in England's interests to recognise India's right to be free.

"In conclusion, we would ask our countrymen not to be misled by pious statements of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State but to increase their efforts in the task of preparing the country for the situation they will have to face at the time of the Lahore Congress. The ultimatum delivered at the Calcutta Congress expires on 31st December 1929. If Dominion Status is not granted by then, the Congress as a body will have to follow up the ultimatum to its logical conclusion. It is, therefore, imperative that our attention should not be distracted in the slightest degree from the task we now have in hund, viz, preparing the country for the coming crisis".

Leaders' Conference at Allahabad

The Leaders' Manifesto for the time being created general satisfaction as much for its contents as for the unity achieved. Pandit Jawharlal's signature was given after anxious and conscientious discussion with Pandit Motilal and Mahatma Gandhi and a full explanation to the meeting of the leaders. While formally adhering to Independence, Pandit Jawaharlal said, he would not place any obstacle in the way of all parties other than Independents, a small group, getting full Dominion Status constitution immediately, and he would likely explain his position in a short statement without detracting from the support he had given as President-elect and General Secretary of the Congress, the policy of which for the present is for accepting Dominion Status when offered. President Patel's assistance and influence over the leaders was instrumental largely in bringing view-points together and Mahatma Gandhi's was as usual truly the joint mind as reflected in the deliberations on the three drafts of Sir T. B. Sapru, Pandit Jawaharlal and Mahatma Gandhi.

But this enthusiasm was gradually waning as time passed on and as the issues and implications of the Viceregal announcement were being clarified by diverse views expressed by the leaders and the press in the country. The general impression left on the public mind by the reactionary debate in Parliament on the Indian question and reinforced by the publication of the subsequent correspondence between the Premier and Mr. Baldwin, was very discouraging. It was now being realised that the Viceroy's statement was nothing more than a camouflaged version of the Declaration of 1917 and that it was nothing more than a device to rally the moderates among the Indian politicians. A second conference of the signatories to the Delhi Manifesto met at Allahabad on the 18th November when the political situation as it had developed both in England and India since the Viceroy's announcement and the parliamentary debates thereon was reviewed.

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Nine members of the Congress Working Committee were present, namely, Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ansari, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Pandit Malaviya, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Thirty others present included Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, Rai Rajeswara Bali, the Raja of Kalakankar, Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Moulana Yakub Hassan, Messrs. Kidwai, Sherwani, Khalikuzzaman, Pandit Govinda Vallabh Pant, Biharilal (depressed classes), the Hon. Shah Zubair, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Manilal Kothari, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Abhyankar, Mr. Dwarkaprasad Misra, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Dr. Bidhan Roy, Lala Girdharilal, and Dr. Alam. The press was excluded. The following resolution was unanimously passed by the Conference :—

"This Conference has viewed with misgiving and dissatisfaction the recent debates in Parliament in regard to the Viceroy's declaration. This Conference, however, decides to stand by the Delhi Manifesto, and hopes that a full and early response will be made to it".

The above decision was reached after the Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution "confirming the action taken at Delhi by Congressmen," the confirmation being operative up to the date of the Lahore Congress session.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

Till midnight on the 18th the Congress Working Committee discussed the formula for adoption by the Leaders' Conference. Mahatma Gandhi's draft which found favour in the committee meeting, pointed out that there was clearly an occasion to revise the Delhi manifesto, but in view of the fact that Congressmen were a party to the manifesto it was considered advisable to stay hands till the Lahore Congress. The Working Committee's resolution which was passed unanimously after midnight read :—

"Having regard to the Viceregal pronouncement of the 1st November, the Delhi manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to other political parties in the country and the events that have subsequently happened; and having regard to the opinions of friends, that a response from British Government to the Delhi Manifesto should be further awaited before the policy laid down therein is revised, the Working Committee confirms the action taken by Congressmen at Delhi, it being clearly understood that this confirmation is constitutionally limited to the date of the holding of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress."

Viceroy's Conference with Leaders

Subsequently President Patel and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru saw the Viceroy with a view to clarify certain issues on the announcement and on the 23rd December, immediately after the Viceroy's return to New Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, President Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jinnah met the Viceroy. The Conference, however, broke on the question of Dominion Status being made the basis of the proposed Round Table Conference. The following official statement was issued about the Conferenee :—

"H. E. the Viceroy met Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon.

"Discussion was limited to the function of the proposed conference in London. It was pointed out that any member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals, and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion.

"On behalf of the Congress Party, the view was expressed that, unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion Status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation.

"His Excellency made it plain that the conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament, and that is was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to pre-judge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament. Conversation then concluded."

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The Indian Statutory Commission

(*Continued from Vol. I p. 64*)

From Patna Sir John Simon and his colleagues of the Statutory Commission arrived by special train on the 21st December at Howrah two hours after the noise of the Congress procession had died away. The platform on which the Commission alighted was the same as that at which the Congress President's special had drawn up.

It was noticeable that the numerous national flags which had decorated the platform when the special train with Pandit Motilal Nehru had arrived had been taken down by the time the Commission's train steamed into Howrah. There was a gathering of 150 persons, besides high officials, who received the Commissioners. These included representatives of the Marwari, Mahomedan, and Depressed Classes Associations.

Shortly after Sir Sankaran Nair and members of the Central Committee arrived at the station and were received there by those who were present to receive the Simon Commission. It was noticed that extra police precautions were taken all along the route and the entire Howrah station yard was guarded by the police.

3rd. January—The Commission at Assam

The Commissioners after spending their X'mas holidays in Calcutta came to Shillong on the 2nd January 1930 and commenced work from the next day the 3rd January when the Indian Tea Association and the Assam Branch of the European Association presented themselves for examination. Mr. Mackercher was the spokesman of the Tea Association which on the ground that the tea industry produced most of the wealth of the province wanted one-fifth of the seats in the Council.

On question that synthetic tea might some day be produced and ruin the industry, Mr. Mackercher refused to be dismayed, seeing that Assam has at present to stand competition from a good deal of what can only be described as synthetic tea. If tea went, they would apparently take to something else and make it pay.

Mr. Mackercher thought that the planter was the best man to represent the coolie. This, said Sir John Simon, was an ideal arrangement so long as their interests were the same, but if a planter were the coolies' representative and their interests differed which way would the coolies' representative vote? Mr. Mackercher admitted that was a theoretic difficulty but thought a divergence of interest unlikely.

Mr. Vernon Hartshorn was obviously surprised to learn that a coolie can retire after six years' labour and be a peasant proprietor and that 6000,000 ex-tea coolies are now rice-growers.

The European Deputation

Mr. T. A. Chalmers, led the European deputation which included Mr. Stuart Roffey.

The Europeans wanted four seats in the Council and when Sir John Simon asked whether this was in addition to one-fifth of the seats for the Tea Association, Mr. Chalmers explained that this was in addition to whatever was thought proper for the tea industry, which included Indians and was to be represented as an industry and not as a community. There were 1,400 Europeans in Assam, of whom only 400 at present enjoyed the franchise.

To Sir Hari Singh Gour who attempted to chaff him on the demand for communal representation, by asking him if Europeans were a backward class, he promptly replied, "no, a depressed class".

4th January—Evidence of Mr. P. C. Dutt

Mr. P. C. Dutta, ex-Minister of Assam, was examined by the Commission on this day. Questioned by Sir John Simon, the witness stated that dyarchy had not been given a fair trial and given good-will and co-operation, it was capable of doing much good. He proposed the transfer of all subjects, including Law and Order. The Governor must still play an important part in the administration of the province and must retain the power of veto. He appreciated the work of civil servants, who had rendered him good service as his secretaries. He did not agree with the suggestion that the Governor had intervened unnecessarily in the work of

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Ministers. Speaking from his long experience as a Minister, the witness maintained that the Transferred Departments had not been unfairly treated in the matter of finance and he, therefore. did not favour the idea of separate purses for the Reserved and Transferred Departments in the future constitution. He said that the Excise Department had been worked very well as a transferred subject and he would have Public Works and Forests transferred also.

He was not in favour of the separation of hill tracts from the province of Assam and wished these tracts also to be given the reforms. This would train and civilise them. If they were kept isolated from the rest of the Valley and administered as a separate part under special regulations "they would never become one with us."

Sir John Simon's reference to the views of the Assam Government and Dr. Hutton that there was no bond between the people of the plains and the hill tracts which would justify their being kept together, brought the answer, "If we keep them outside they will never have any common bond."

The witness suggested that the Central Government should be so constituted as to be more representative of Indian opinion and more amenable to the influence of the Assembly. He recommended a second chamber for the provincial legislatures and thought that its advantages would far outweigh its disadvantages. The second chamber should consist mainly of vested interests. The witness recommended the extension of the franchise to adult literates. He was of opinion that such a step would encourage literacy because "people are mad after votes." He agreed that there was a good deal of corruption at elections. The witness disapproved of separate electorates and suggested the reservation of seats for minorities until such time as they felt safe. He felt, however, that it would be difficult to resist the demand of influential minorities like Moslems. The witness further suggested that the whole of the plain area of the province of Assam be transferred to the Province of Bengal and that the hill tract be handed over to the Government of India to be administered by the Government of Bengal as an agency area on their behalf. There was no concurrence of opinion in the province with regard to this question of transfer. The witness informed Major Attlee that there was no immediate prospect of the development of a stable party government, but that as soon as the communal spirit was eradicated the party system was sure to develop.

The witness told Major Lane Fox that a minister would be able to administer the Forest Department as well as an Executive Councillor, because he would still have the advice of the head of the Department. He did not think that the Council would interfere unreasonably in forest administration.

Answering Mr. Cadogan, the witness said that the Governor should retain his power of veto and of dissolving the provincial legislature, but, in the case of withdrawal of any particular subject from ministerial control, the matter should be referred to the Government of India who would refer the question to the Legislative Assembly, which should have the final vote in the matter.

In reply to Lord Strathcona, the witness urged the creation of selection boards for recruitment to public services and the substitution of the system of public competition for the present one, reservation being made for different communities by holding competitions among candidates of different communities themselves.

Replying to Colonel Smiles, the witness said that adult franchise was the ideal but could not be attained at present. Second chambers would exercise a check on hasty legislation. Water supply in rural areas was as bad as it could be. Only five out of 19 municipalities had pipe water supplies. Roads in plain districts were not very good. The leprosy survey started by the witness had been stopped owing to lack of funds. The Assam Valley would be developed alright under the Bengal Government. The forests of Assam had fair treatment in the matter of finance for their development. There were no depressed classes in the province of Assam. Separate electorates would retard the work of social uplift.

Replying to Sir Arthur Froom, the witness held that at present the Central Government should be left as it is with only minor changes in certain directions. A good many of the educated Indians would be satisfied with this though not all.

Examined by Sir Harisingh Gour, the witness stated that the control of all services should be vested with the Central Government.

The Governor : Do you mean the All-India services or the Provincial services also ?—All services whether All-India or Provincial. The disciplinary control should be exercised by the Government of India in consultation with the Provincial Governments and appointments should be made by the Public Services Commission. I don't think there would be any all-India services left because all recruitment would

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be on the provincial basis. If British officers were not willing to come on reasonable guarantees offered to them, then we must do without them.

There were no district boards in this province but there were local boards and municipal boards. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of these bodies, except in the case of Shillong Municipality, were elected. The local boards and municipalities were working very well.

The witness would welcome certain parts of East Bengal being attached to the province of Assam so that they might have some sea coast.

Turning to the hill tracts, the witness said, "We have not been allowed to do anything for them. We cannot enter the hill. We cannot go and settle there. We cannot carry on any propaganda there. They have been kept in isolation from us. We must get rid of the differences by coming in contact with them, but we have not been allowed to come into contact with them."

Replying to Mr. Suhrawardy, the witness reiterated that he had no personal objection to the whole of Eastern Bengal being transferred to Assam.

Replying to Mr. M. C. Raja, the witness maintained that there were no depressed classes in Assam.

He further stated that the National Congress and Liberal Federation were carrying on social uplift work. There was no trouble about the admission of depressed class boys to hostels and colleges when the witness was Minister.

Goalpara Zamindars' Association.

The Goalpara Zamindars' Association with Mr. S. K. Chakraburty of Calcutta, as its spokesman, was then examined.

They pressed for the transfer of the Goalpara district to the province of Bengal because their interests were not protected in this province. They were more allied to the neighbouring districts of Bengal than to Assam.

The witness was inclined to be bitter about the treatment meted out to them by Assamese because they were Bengalees, but was on this account chided by Sir John Simon who had elicited the fact that the witness was an honorary member and had been enrolled simply to serve as the spokesman of the deputation before the Conference.

Depressed Classes' Deputation

A deputation of the depressed classes led by Mr. Sonadhardas waited on the Conference in the afternoon. Sir John Simon explained that the total population of the Assam Valley was just under four millions and in the Surma Valley it was about three millions and a half. This deputation represented the backward classes of the plain areas and not the people of the hill tracts.

Examined by Sir John Simon, Mr. Sonadhardas said that the real figure of the depressed classes was 27 lakhs and not eleven lakhs as given in the memorandum. His definition of the depressed classes was that though they were within the Hindu pale, they were denied certain social rights and privileges enjoyed by the high caste Hindus. The Yogis at one time were weavers but now they were partly agriculturists also. There were not very many Brahmins and Kayasths in Assam. Although Brahmins were not numerous in Assam, the higher class Hindus enjoyed privileges which were denied to the classes who were depressed.

Sir John Simon pointed out that social customs could not be eradicated by constitutional changes and asked the witness in what way changes in the constitution could help the depressed classes.

The witness suggested that in the Legislative Council there should be members to represent them. They did not want representatives for each sub-class but common representatives for classes.

The representative of Mahishars dissented and wanted representation of his own community. They had no member of the Mahishar caste at present. He wanted representation on the ground that they contributed a large share of the revenue and they were not fairly treated in the matter of expenditure on their class.

Mr. Sonadhardas, further examined by Sir John Simon, at the suggestion of Mr. Hartshorn stated that the figure of 27 lakhs included labour from tea estates who settled down as peasant proprietors after some time.

Examined by Mr. M. C. Raja, the witness stated that it was not a fact that there were no depressed classes in this province. They were worshippers of the Hindu gods but were not admitted into the temples. There had been litigation about the right of entry to the temples but the court had decided in favour of

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caste Hindus. They were segregated in separated blocks and were not allowed to live in the same area as caste Hindus. They had separate wells and tanks because they were not allowed to draw water from other public wells. If a depressed class man drew water from a public well by accident he was prosecuted.

The witness also said that their grievances were not ventilated in the press because the depressed classes being illiterate, could not get employment in newspapers and news agencies.

Re-examined by Sir John Simon, the witness said that tea garden coolies lived in labour colonies on tea estates. When settled down they formed their own separate villages but were not allowed to live in high caste villages.

Further examined by Mr. Raja the witness stated that members of the depressed classes were not allowed to live in Government College hostels. He cited instances. These incidents has occured when Sir Saidullah was Minister.

The witness, continuing, stated that they had no representation in local boards and only very little representation in municipalities. They had no representation in any of the three Reform Councils. They wanted separate representation for the depressed classes on the local legislature and local self-governing bodies. The witness suggested that every district should be made into an electorate for the depressed classes. They also wanted adequate representation in the public services. They wanted an extension of the franchise by lowering the qualification.

Viscount Burnham elicited the information that the witness wanted 30 members nominated and elected out of a total of 100. The witness amended his statement and said they wanted 20 and if they did not get as many by election, then they wanted the number to be supplemented by nomination.

Re-examined by Mr. Raja, the witness said that they formed one-third of the Hindu population of the province.

Answering Colonel Smiles (Chairman, Provincial Committee), the witness said that among the border communities there were many well organised associations and the reason why the border communities had engaged a Moslem lawyer to write their representation for them was that they were not sufficiently educated. Ex-tea-garden coolies who had settled down, would not get adequate representation unless there was separate electorate for them.

Deputation of Moslem Association

A deputation of the Assam Moslem Association headed by Maulvi Saidur Rahman claimed forty per cent representation in the local Council and local bodies with separate electorates. They recommended full provincial autonomy for the provinces and responsibility in the Central Government with the reservation of the army, navy and foreign affairs. They further urged the abolition of the Council of State and the revision of the dyarchical constitution now proposed for the Central Government after a period of ten years.

5th January—Evidence Of Mr. Dundas

On this day Mr. W. C. M. Dundas, Inspector-General of Police, with 34 years' service out of which nearly twenty were spent in the hill tracts, examined by Sir John Simon said that the Police Force in the province was divided into civil and armed. The armed force consisted of five battalions which were posted in the hill tracts and frontier tracts. In the hill tracts the tribes police themselves and it was only in case of violent crimes that the Police Force interfered.

Justice in these areas was also administered according to tribal customs and traditions. Local officers were required to be experts in these laws. There were village councils among these tribes to deal with ordinary crimes but there was nothing like the jirgas as on the North-West Frontier. A majority of the armed force were Gurkhas, the remaining being recruined from the hill tribes.

The civil force in the plains consisted of 4,300 officers and men. This force was recruited mostly locally. On the administrative side there were no Deputy Inspector General as in other provinces, but, the Inspector-General had District Superintendents directly under him. In the hill tracts the Deputy Commissioners performed the duties of Superintendents.

The witness did not think that the separation of hill tracts from the province of Assam would in any way interfere with the administration of his force in the two areas into which it will then be divided, because for matters of administration it was divided even at present.

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Questioned about the extent of corruption prevailing in the Force, Mr. Dundas said that it would be fair to say that all ranks were generally honest because they were kept under very strict supervision and, therefore, the chances for dishonesty were very small. He had seen real improvement during the 34 years that the witness had been in the Department. During the last five years eight Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors had been dismissed out of a total of 319, and 359 head-constables and constables had been dismissed out of a total of 3,941 for corruption, suspected corruption and indiscipline.

Examined by Viscount Burnham, the witness did not think that the criticism of the Council of Police conduct had been conducive to the efficiency of the Force. The administration of the Police Force had been rendered more difficult by these violent attacks on the Force in the Council. There was great difficulty experienced in the recruitment of a better class of men to the Force. It might be due to this criticism. The witness opposed the transfer of the Police to ministerial control. The transfer would make it more difficult for Police officers, both Indian and European, to discharge their duties.

Answering Mr. Hartshorn, the witness said that the rates of pay of constables were 16 to 20 rupees, of head constables 25 to 35, of Assistant Sub-Inspectors 35 to 40, of Sub-Inspectors 80 to 130, of Inspectors 175 to 300. In none of these ranks was there a European. There were 14 Superintendents of Police excluding the Inspector-General, out of which three were Indians and in the cadre of A.S.P.s out of a total of thirteen two were Indians.

Replying to Major Attlee, the witness said that the Police Force was unpopular, but could not say if it was due to the tradition that this Force was an instrument in the hands of the Government rather than to any grievance against the Police Force. In case of raids by hill tracts tribes on the plain areas, it was the armed force under the direction of the Political Officer, who followed up these raiders and brought them to book. In case of the separation of the hill tracts, there would not be any difficulty in following up such raiders.

Questioned by Colonel Lane-Fox, Mr. Dundas said that the real difficulty in getting recruits was that they were debarred from recruiting men who were not domiciled Assamese. This restriction had been placed by the Government of India when they granted a subsidy of 60 lakhs for the armed police. The witness would like to get this restriction removed. There was no Police Training School in the province. This was due to more need for economy on account of financial stringency rather than to the hostile attitude of the Council.

Answering Lord Strathcona, the witness agreed that at present the Police Force was below the margin of safety. This was due to the policy of economising that had been followed during the past few years. There was no tendency at present in the Council to recognise the fact that it was the duty of every citizen to protect its own Police and be prepared to pay for it. The witness did not think that the Police would get that help in the discharge of their duties from a responsible public as, for example, the Police would get in Great Britain.

Examined by Colonel Smiles, the witness said that he did not consider that constables of the Assam police were properly paid. If the pay were increased they would certainly get a better class of men. A certain section of the Council would be prepared to vote for increasing the pay of the Force.

Sir John Simon : Supposing the Council were prepared to vote for an increase would the Government resist it ?—I don't think so.

Further examined by Colonel Smiles, the witness said that all his suggestions for improvement in the Police Force boiled down to more money. The Police Force was now more unpopular than it was 20 years ago.

Attemps were made by the Provincial Committee to draw analogies from conditions in the British Police Force and to get the witness to agree to the suggestions made on those analogies, but the witness said he knew nothing about the Police Force in England and was, therefore, not prepared to say anything on the subject.

Sir John Simon explained that in England the everyday conduct of the Police was not criticised in the House of Commons. It was left to executive action. Further more the public helped the Police in capturing offenders.

A member of the Provincial Committee said that the Indian public in many cases pursue the offenders and capture them.

The witness : I wish it were so in all cases. In Lahore the other day it did not sound very much like it.

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The witness agreed with Mr. Barkatali that throughout the province discipline among the subordinate ranks was not what could be desired.

The witness agreed with the suggestion of Mr. Munawarali that English Police Officers were most efficient.

Mr. Hartshorn : Of course, we pay £4 a week to our Police and you pay Rs. 4. There ought to be a bit of difference between the two.

It was not the experience of the witness that Police Officers lived very luxurious lives.

Evidence of Mr. Hutchison.

Colonel G. Hutchison, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, who followed Mr. Dundas, was examined by Viscount Burnham who presided in the absence of Sir John Simon. Colonel Hutchison stated that he had spent most of his time in the Service as Civil Surgeon in the United Provinces. Hospitals in the province of Assam, he said, compared very unfavourably with those in the major provinces. There was no separate Government hospital for the treatment of diseases of women. They had no officer of the Women's Medical Service of India in the province. The only facility provided for the treatment of women's diseases were small female wards attached to general hospitals. There was no school for training midwives. There was no sanitorium for the treatment of tuberculous patients.

There were 12 I. M. S. officers in the provincial cadre, one of which was the Inspector-General, and another the Director of the Pasteur Institute. Only three out of this cadre were Indians. At present there were seven Indian Medical Department officers in the province. One of these was Assistant Director of the Pasteur Institute, three held civil surgeoncies in the plain districts and three were posted in the hill tracts. There were 34 officers in the permanent cadre of the Provincial Medical Service and two were employed temporarily. The general qualifications of these officers were satisfactory and the witness had no criticism to make in this regard. The policy of the upkeep and administration of hospitals by local bodies had been successful. The witness recommended that Sub-Assistant Surgeons should remain in the hands of the Inspector-General.

The leprosy survey had revealed that there were four times as many lepers in Assam as in any other province of India. They had not sufficient accommodation in the Leprosy Asylums to provide relief to all sufferers.

Evidence of Messrs. Soames & Bentick.

Mr. Soames, Chief Secretary, and Mr. H. W. Bentinck were examined jointly on the question of the separation of the hill tracts from the province of Assam.

Mr. Soames explained that, in the light of recent developments, the Assam Government were re-considering the question of transfer of the Khasi and Jainta Hills along with other tracts and would now like to retain them. He did not agree with the suggestion that the education and development of the hill tribes would suffer if they were transferred to the control of the Government of India. There were treaties between headmen or Seims of these tribes and the British Government by which the dependence of the former to the latter was recognised.

Examined by Sir John Simon, Mr. Soames stated that the question of the separation of Sylhet and Kachar had been the subject of agitation for a long time and at the suggestion of the Government of India, the Assam Government had put the matter to an issue. The resolution in favour of separation had been carried, but during the last session the Council reversed its decision and voted for the retention of Sylhet in the province of Assam.

Evidence of Mr. Millory

Mr. Millroy, Chief Conservator of Forests, who was the next witness examined by Lord Strathcona, said that out of 171 posts of the Imperial Forest Service cadre of the province only 13 were filled, one only of which was an Indian incumbent. For many years recruitment had been stopped with the intention of reducing the cadre but now they wanted more staff and, therefore, recruitment would begin again and they would go apace with Indianisation.

The witness would agree to the transfer of forests to a responsible Minister, provided every forest was placed under the working plan which must be sanctiones by the Inspector-General of Forests.

He, however, agreed with Sir John Simon's suggestion that the Dehra Institution was a very good training institution. What the witness wanted was that these

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apprentices should see forests on the Continent which had been scientifically managed for several generations, which was not the case in India.

12th January—The Commission at Calcutta

From Shillong the members of the Simon Commission and the Central Committee, contrary to the expectation of the Congress Committee, arrived at Howrah station on the 12th January.

About 900 policemen were requisitioned for the occasion. The station precincts were cleared of all traffic. The cab road between platforms Nos. 6 and 7 was walled up on both sides with asbestos corrugated sheets and all exits and entrances to the station hall were closed and guarded by the police. A portion of Grierson Road, opposite platform No. 6, was barricaded with barbed wire. The Howrah Bridge was also cleared of all traffic. Only pressmen and those present at the platform were allowed to pass over the bridge.

Several thousand of boycotters took their stand at the entrance to Burrabazar Ghat close to the foot of the Calcutta end of the bridge on one side of the road with black flags and shouted "Simon, go back" as each car passed. A large number of people were kept back by the police at the crossing of the Harrison and Strand Roads and a portion of Harrison Road and the crossing was also barricaded with barbed wire. Congress leaders, Messrs. J. M. Sen Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose were both present.

All the important street-crossings were guarded by police sergeants, constables and armed police. Pickets were posted at regular intervals and traffic of all descriptions was held up for over an hour.

The majority of Congress volunteers and boycotters crowded the precincts of Sealdah station and a large crowd assembled in the vicinity, but about 7 a.m., when they were told that the Commission had already arrived at Howrah, they all went back to the office of the Bengal Congress Committee under instructions from Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. Fortunately no untorward incident happened and everything was over by 8 a.m.

14th January—Evidence of Mr. Hopkyns

The Re-constituted Joint Free Conference, with the addition of the Bengal wing, commenced formal sittings this morning when Mr. W. S. Hopkyns, special Reforms Officer and Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, Labour Intelligence Officer, were examined jointly.

Examined by Sir John Simon Mr. Hopkyns stated that 5 percent of non-Moslem and 4 per cent. of Moslem male population of Bengal was enfranchised, the percentage for both communities being 8·5, or that one male in every twelve was enfranchised. Women had been given the vote only quite recently and the total number of women voters at present was 36,000. It was calculated that if the franchise qualification was lowered to that on the Union Board Standard, it would just double the number of voters iu the province.

Sir John Simon : Do you regard the doubling of the number of voters as producing difficulties of a practical mechanical nature for the purpose of elections ?

Witness : The view of the Bengal Government is that it might be done. I personally think that it would be possible to carry on elections if the franchise were so lowered.

Sir John : If you were to reduce the qualification to the Union Board Standard this would bring in as new voters an increased proportion of Moslems and it is calculated that then the number of Moslem voters would be larger than the number of Hindu voters, whereas at present the number of registered Hindu voters is larger than the number of registered Moslem voters.

Witness : Yes. The educational qualification for Union Board is that the voter must be a graduate or a licenciate or must hold a pleadership or muktership certificate. The total number of Hindu male and female literate voters was two millions and of Moslems one million. So that half the number of the total Moslem voters were literate, while among Hindus only one-third were literate. Literacy was generally greater in towns than in rural areas.

Sir John Simon elicited the information from Mr. Hopkyns that the average population per seat on the Legislature in urban areas was 120,000 and in rural areas 656,000. The average number of voters per seat in urban areas was 6,022 and in rural areas 16,423. Witness could not say definitely as to what was the size of the town so that it could be classified as urban, but he thought it was somewhere near a

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hundred thousand of the population. He explained that an urban area was one in which there was a municipality.

Mr. Gilchrist told Sir John Simon that the total number of industrial workers in the province was 560,000. This figure was taken from the annual report of the Inspector of Factories. This included the workers of all factories using power and employing not less than 20 workers and those factories not using power which employed 10 workers. There were very few factories of a lower grade in Bengal. A large majority of the workers of factories were not natives of Bengal, but there were no figures to show how much they kept on going and coming and how far they are permanently settled. The tea garden labourers were included in this number, but tea garden labourers were classed as agricultural.

Sir John : To what extent do you estimate these industrial labourers are enfranchised under the present qualification ?

Witness : There are no figures available to give an estimate but I should say very little, except perhaps in the areas round about the jute mills where there are permanently settled Bengalees who have their own homes there, and, therefore, are open to the general franchise. The estimated population of depressed classes in Bengal according to the census report was eleven and half millions and according to the University Commission it was about seven millions.

Further examined by Sir John Simon, Mr. Hopkyns stated that there were five landlords who represented the special landlord constituencies. They were all Hindus. In addition to them there were 11 other Hindu landlords in the Legislative Council of whom two represented the special constituencies and eight Moslem landlords who had all been returned by the general constituencies.

Mr. Hopkyns told Viscount Burnham that they could not lower the franchise for the depressed classes and yet deny the same right to a large mass of poor Moslems. He was of opinion that those who had enjoyed the franchise for the local legislature since the reforms had not thereby been politically educated so as to justify the extension of the right of the franchise to the Legislative Assembly to them now.

Mr. Vernon Hartshorn : At present labour is represented by two nominated members. Have you considered whether it is not possible to adopt some method for giving them elected representation ?

Mr. Hopkyns : It was considered in 1920. The Bengal Government proposed to have the franchise for employees receiving a wage of Rs. 25 to Rs. 35 monthly in firms affiliated to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, but the proposal was rejected.

Mr. Hartshorn suggested that the returns furnished by the employers could be made into some sort of electoral rolls. Mr. Gilchrist said that there would be administrative difficulties in doing that. Constituencies would be unwieldy and then this electorate would include only industrial labourers. It would not include a very large number of labourers of which there is no general account except the census report. Labour in factories was largely foreign population labour.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, Mr. Hopkyns promised to send in a note to the Conference, giving an account of the figures of the machinery available for elections and the administrative difficulties that would have to be faced if the suggestion of Mr. Hartshorn was adopted.

Further examined by Mr. Hartshorn, witness said that there were at present nine registered trade unions in the province. The returns furnished by two of these showed that they had 2.000 members in all. The Government of Bengal had not come to any definite decision with regard to labour representation in the legislature.

Examined by Major Attle witness explained that the under ryot was a sort of a sub-tenant. In Bengal there was a long chain of intermediate interests between the landlord and the actual tiller of the soil. The payment of a local cess of one rupee enfranchised the cultivators and landlords who formed the large majority of voters in rural constituencies. There was some confusion as to whether the intermediates earned the vote because the contribution of the cultivator towards the local cess passed through him to the landlord and then on to the Collector. After a great deal of discussion it was brought out that it did not necessarily enfranchise him. He had the vote only in case he contributed one rupee from his own pocket as his share of the local cess. Witness was of opinion that large and well-to-do tenure holders had higher intelligence and were better able to exercise their vote than smaller tenants.

Major Attlee: You mean to say that a ten-acre man can exercise the franchise

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better thon a two-acre man ?—Yes, he is more substantial. Generally speaking, he is a more intelligent man than the man with a couple acres.

Replying to Colonel Lane-Fox, witness admitted that there were considerable difficulties in conducting elections in constituencies which were very large. It was difficult for a member to be in touch with 30,000 electors. He generally worked through friends which he happened to have. The special representation from the Universities to Provincial Councils was meant to represent education and learning but the main purpose had not been followed.

Sir A. K. Ghuznavi : Do you think indirect election through electoral colleges would be a good substitute ?—I could not express any opinion.

Question : Don't you think it would be feasible for a member to be in touch with, say, 1,600 electors rather than 30,000 ?—It would have many advantages but I would not give any opinion before acquainting myself with the full scheme.

Sir A. K. Ghuznavi asked if election expenses were not understated.—Witness replied that he would have thought so, but pointed out that there was no evidence to prove it. As regards corruption two election petitions had been successful.

Questioned by the Maharaja of Mymensingh if taxation in municipal areas was uniform, Mr. Hopkyns replied that he had no knowledge of it.

Maharaja of Mymensingh wanted to know the definition of rural and urban areas.

Sir John Simon asked who it was that settled the distinction between rural and urban areas.—Mr. Hopkyns replied that it had been settled by the local Reforms Advisory Committee.

Sir John Simon : Could it be altered ?—Yes, the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State could change it.

Mr. Travers enquired from the witness about the working of direct election and the advisability of its retention.

Mr. Hopkyns replied that it was a matter of opinion. He did not know the opinion of the Government of Bengal.

Witness agreed with Mr. Fazlul Huq that Moslem ladies, who observed stricter purdah than Hindu ladies, would be more reluctant to go to polling booths and as votes were practically equally divided between males and females in Bengal, Moslems would lose considerably.

Mr. Fazlul Huq explained to Sir John Simon that when he questioned witness on this subject he had assumed the introduction of joint electorates with adult franchise and asked witness if he could suggest any remedy to overcome this difficulty.

Mr. Hopkyns again declined to make any observation but Sir Hari Singh Gour suggested, "Change your customs."

Mr. Fazul Huq : No. The only solution is the maintenance of separate electorates. We cannot change our customs.

Examined by Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, Mr. Hopkyns affirmed that in Bengal European commercial interests were larger than Indian.

Sir Hari Singh Gour read from the Bengal Government's memorandum which stated that there were 37 members in the Council who, owing to personal quarrels, were divided into three different parties but in the local bodies the communal bond had proved effective. Sir Hari Singh pointed out that they had a large proportion in those bodies although there was no separate electorates.

Witness promised to supply a statement of figures to the Conference.

Sir H. Gour : So far as your province is concerned it seems that Ministers and Executive Councillors become a happy family. That may partly be due to the unpopularity of Ministers.—Witness : Yes, they become unpopular by giving support to the Executive Councillors.

Question : Was there a compact between Ministers and Executive Councillors ?—No. That view is incorrect.

Sir Hari Singh next drew the attention of witness to the representation of the depressed classes, labour and agricultural interests by nomination and asked if the Bengal Government had considered the practicability of devising elected representation for these classes.

Witness replied in the negative and explained that there would be practical difficulties in introducing such a system. It was very difficult to give them electoral colleges.

Sir Hari Singh briefly outlined the formation of electoral colleges on which witness did not give any opinion. As for elected representation, Mr. Hopkyns pointed out that the labour population was a mixed one. There were Bengalis, Ooriyas,

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Madrasis, North and South Beharis. The illiteracy of labourers was a fundamental difficulty.

Mr. Hopkyns, examined by Mr. Shurawardy, stated that on the occasion of the last elections instructions given to District Officers were that they should, so far as they possibly could, provide separate compartments for the registration of female votes and presumably these instructions were carried out at mofussil polling stations as in Calcutta. The Calcutta University had been represented in the three reformed Councils by Messrs. J. C. Bose, B. K. Bose and S. C. Bose respectively.

Examined by Mr. M. C. Rajah, witness stated that the depressed classes formed 24 per cent. of the total population of the province. In Bengal it was more a question of poverty than of depressed classes. He did not see how they could lower the franchise of the classes which, in accordance with the Census report, were depressed and at the same time deny the same right to a large mass of poor Moslems. The depressed classes were given one nominated seat and they had at present three representatives returned through general constituencies.

He did not agree with Mr. Rajah that the attitude of the Council towards the depressed classes had not been sympathetic. "I don't think there is anything left undone which could have been done by the Council. The Minister of Education has done everything to improve the education of the depressed classes."

Sir John Simon : Social disabilities are not liked by anyone and we all wish to remove them and help these people but they cannot be removed by an Act of Parliament. To classify them as a separate class would be to perpetuate those differences rather than to remove them,

Witness : Generally speaking, the depressed classes have no difficulty in getting admission to public schools. Of course, there might be some difficulty in the more remote districts. Sometimes they are made to sit on separate benches.

Local Self-Governing Bodies

Mr. J. G. Drummond, Secretary, Local Self-Government, Mr. J. N. Roy, Commissioner, Burdwan division, and Mr. C. W. Gurner, District Officer, Mymensingh were then jointly examined on behalf of the Commission by Colonel Lane-Fox.

Mr. Drummond gave the details of the different grades of local self-governing bodies in Bengal. There were the Chaukidari Boards. Then there were the Union Committees which were midway between the Chaukidari and Union Boards. There were also District Boards aad Local Boards. The Union Board was the culminating point of these institutions and enjoyed the greatest amount of power.

Witness said that, on the whole, the working of the Calcutta Corporation under the new system was considered successful by the Bengal Government.

15th. January—Deputation of Br. Indian Association

The Indian Association of Calcutta representing landed and other vested interests waited on the Joint Free Conference this morning,

In their short memorandum they refrained from expressing any opinion about the retention or the abolition of communal representation and the constitution of the Central Government, but they, however, emphasised that full provincial autonomy subject to the safeguard of an Upper Chamber is essential for order, progress and development of responsible government.

Coming to the question of franchise they suggested that the interests of Bengal required that those who were proprietors of lands, as also those who cultivated lands, should be adequately represented in the Legislature.

The memorandum stated that in consideration of their contribution to the provincial exchequers and the fact that they own property extending practically throughout Bengal, zemindars should be given at least one-third of the elected seats in the local Council.

It was pointed out that the zemindar candidates stood no chance of being returned from general constituencies unless they were willing to foreswear their class interests and accept a proletariat and anti-British programme.

It was recommended that the number of seats in rural areas should be increased and their present size reduced and the municipal franchise in the mofussil should be separated from rural constituencies.

In recommending the abolition of dyarchy the memorandum said that the system had failed to work smoothly and instead of maintaining unity of government had on many occasions resulted in apparent disunion.

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The greatest weakness of dyarchy lay in the disagreement between the two halves of the Government on questions relating to the department of law and order and, therefore, in order to foster a sense of administrative responsibility, which could not be separated from constitutional concessions, it was highly desirable that law and order should be placed under a Minister responsible to the elected legislature.

The Governor should be the constitutional head of the Government, free as far as possible from all executive responsibilities.

To counteract the activities of extremist politicians the memorandum suggested the formation of a Second Chamber to be manned largely by vested interests as a stabilising factor in the constitution.

It concludes that the control of the Central Government over the Provincial Legislature and the Provincial Government should be minimised and that the Central Government should not interfere except in matters affecting inter-provincial interests, or interests of the Central Government and in preventing victimisation of class interests.

Examined by Sir John Simon the Maharaja of Darbhanga explained that the membership of the Association was open to all who paid any land revenue. At present there were about 130 members of the Association. The Association had an executive committee and the memorandum submitted by the Association had been approved by the Executive Committee.

Sir John Simon in examining Mr. Bijoy Pershad Singh (another deputationist) elicited the information that the value of land had greatly increased since 1793 when the Permanent Settlement of Bengal came into force.

At that time the production of jute on a large scale was hardly known, but now it contributed an enormous amount to the income of the province.

Mr. Bijoy Pershad: The value of land has no doubt increased, but the major portion of the profit from the cultivation of jute is intercepted by middlemen who intervene between the zamindars and the actual cultivators.

In some cases there were three or four intermediate interests, but in some they were as many as 15 to 20.

Sir John further elicited the information that the major burden of payment of land revenue was borne by zamindars and the actual tillers of land and the middlemen, although they made profits, did not contribute anything towards provincial revenues. Therefore, landlords had not, on account of the enhanced value of land and fixed assessment benefited to any appreciable extent.

The witness could not suggest any measure for the improvement of this sort of affairs as he believed any tampering with the present arrangement would mean an economic revolution in the province.

He said the Association claimed to represent directly those zamindars who paid land revenue of more than Rs. 4,000 per annum and indirectly smaller landlords also. The bigger zamindars numbered about 600 in the province.

Further examined by Sir John Simon Mr. Bijoy Pershad stated that they wanted that 15 per cent. of the elected seats in the Bengal Legislature should be reserved for bigger landlords.

Sir John Simon: But in the memorandum you want one third of the elected seats.—Mr. Bijoy Pershad: One-third if we are debarred from contesting the seats in the general constituencies by reason of the seats being reserved for us, otherwise 15 per cent.

Sir John referred the witness to a passage in the memorandum of the Bengal Government which said that special constituencies for landlords had been created under the belief that they would not be able to secure adequate representation through general consituencies, but actual elections had resulted in the return of a large number of zamindars. At present in addition to the 5 seats reserved for them, there were as many as 16 Hindu and 8 Moslem landlord members in the Bengal Council.

The witness said that so far they been able to secure good many seats through general constituencies, but they apprehended it would not be so in future, because there was a general feeling against landlords that agriculturists should have their own representation, rather than be represented by their landlords. Zamindars would protect not only the interests of their own class, but would act for all citizens.

The witness quoted the instance of the recent Bengal Tenancy Legislation wherein the landlords, while protecting their own interests, had not been unfair to the interests of the tenants.

With regard to communal representation, which was opposed by the Association,

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the witness said that the membership of the Association was open to Moslems and they had "a large Moslem membership" in former yeas. Unfortunately, of late, Moslems members had withdrawn and and at present Moslem membership was almost nil. Hindu leaders and influential section of Moslems were for the abolition of communal representation, not because it was universally advocated, but because Moslems had accepted it as a measure of political expediency.

He stated that the Association also favoured a Second Chamber for the province. They proposed that the Second Chamber should consist of 50 members of whom 20 should be nominated and 39 elected. Of the 30 elected seats, 5 should go to the landlords, 5 to District Boards, 5 to Municipalities, 2 to the Corporation of Calcutta, 2 to the Calcutta University, 1 to the Dacca University, 5 to commercial interests, both Indian and European, 2 to income-tax payers and 2 to gentlemen who should be electors on personal grounds such as ex-members of the Legislative Council and holders of distinctions.

The witness complained that Bengal had been most unfairly treated in the matter of provincial contributions to the Imperial Exchequer and that one reason why reforms had failed in Bengal was the financial stringency which resulted largely from Bengal's large contributions to the Imperial revenue.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga added that his suggestion about the powers of the Second Chamber was that it should act as a revising chamber and, in some cases, take the place of the Governor in rejecting the legislation passed by the Lower House.

Replying to Lord Burnham the Deputation stated that land revenue was not a light burden on them. Landholders paid both income and super taxes.

Mr. Hartshorn questioned the deputation on their demand for complete provincial autonomy and asked what safeguards they proposed in the event of its introduction.

Mr. Singh of the Deputation explained that their scheme presupposed joint electorates. A Minister elected through joint electorates would enjoy the complete confidence of both communities even during any communal riots.

Mr. Hartshorn : But if communal electorates are retained, how would you amend your proposal ?—We would not withdraw anything. We are prepared to take the risk.

Examined by Colonel Lane-Fox Mr. Singh pointed out that most of the profit went not to zamindars but to middlemen.

Major Attlee drew a reply that Bengal's contribution to the Central Government was the highest. Although the land revenue imposed on the zamindars was low, they had to pay taxes and customs duties which were very high.

Asked if intermediaries should also contribute by taxation towards provincial revenues the deputation held they did not make much money. There was only one class—Lakhraj tenure holders—who might be in a position to do so.

Mr. Mukherjee of the Deputation, who on a point of personal explanation had urged for the reservation of law and order for some years with the Governor, replying to Mr. Cadagon stated that in the event of the maintenance of separate electorates the position of the Governor must be strengthened.

He differed with his Association on this point and reaffirmed that the department of law and order should not be transferred to popular control until the Governor recommended it after some years of working.

Mr. Fazlul Huq examined the Deputation at length on behalf of the Provincial Committee. The Deputation admitted that they had not ascertained the views of the Bengal Landholders' Association.

Mr. Singh said he did not know if any member of the British Indian Association was a member of the Hindu Mahasabha also.

Mr. Fazlul Huq : The Maharaja of Darbhanga is connected with the Hindu Mahasabha. The Chairman disallowing the question ruled that a member may belong to some organisation, but he might hold different views on any particular question.

Mr. Fazlul Huq pointing to the fact that the Association had urged the transfer of Goalpara from Assam to Bengal asked if they had any objection to Sylhet being annexed to Bengal.—Mr. Singha replied in the negative.

Mr. Fazlul Huq next asked Mr. Mukherjee why he did not append a note of dissent when the Executive Committee discussed the memorandum.

Sir John Simon : When a body considers a question it has to give weight to

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general opinion. You do not expect the Joint Conference to produce 23 different reports. (Laughter.)

Replying to Maharaja of Mymensingh Mr. Singh believed landholders would have no chance of being elected from the general constituencies.

Mr. Abdul Kasem: Are not tenure holders your own creation?—No, they are products of the Bengal Tenancy Act.

Mr. Travers raised the question of provincial autonomy and asked how the Department of law and order could be efficiently controlled by the Minister at a time when the feelings between the two communities were far from being good.

Mr. Singh maintained that the Minister would enjoy the full confidence of both communities if he were returned from mixed electorates.

Sir A. K. Ghuznavi was told that in Burdwan and certain other divisions landholders had to pay sometimes more than 50 per cent. of the rent they collected.

Sir Arthur Froom: Is it not a fact that your Association should be called "a Hindu landholders' Association?"—It has not a Moslem member at present. Zamindars, whatever their caste, hold identical views. In their scheme the deputation had not made any proposals about financial adjustments.

Examined by Mr. Kikabhai Premchand Mr. Singh averred that communal electorates had had a full term and the result showed that the feelings between the two communities under the system were going from bad to worse.

The witness admitted to Sir Hari Singh Gour that the purchasing power of the rupee had decreased to its tenth since 1793 when the Permanent Settlement was promulgated.

Sir H. S. Gour: The money you paid in 1793 to the Government had greater value than to-day?—We are not prepared to discuss this point off had.

Elucidating this point Mr. Singh said that although the produce of land had multiplied it had in no way benefited the landholders. The Permanent Settlement had not only benefited the zamindars, but also the tillers of land and the intermediaries.

Lord Burnham elicited the fact that the revenue paid to zamindars was both in currency and kind.

Questioned by Mr. Suhrawardy Mr. Singh declared that the Permanent Settlement was a promise based upon law.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Don't you think that communal representation is also a promise?—It is not an irrevocable convenant.

Mr. Suhrawardy: Then the Permanent Settlement should also be treated in a like manner.

The witness admitted that in 1923 Sir Surendranath Bannerjea introduced a system of communal electorates in the Corporation as a political expediency. We did it because he wanted to get through the Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Mr. Suhrawardy: The late Mr. C. R. Das also entered into a pact called the Bengal Pact and had proposed to introduce separate electorates in all the 116 municipalities in Bengal.—Yes. He did it because he wanted to unite Hindus and Moslems against the Government.

Mr. Singh also admitted that during the Calcutta riots a Hindu Deputy Commissioner of Police was superseded by a junior European officer, but he was sacrificed to the whims of communal leaders.

Mr. Suhrawardy reminded the witness of the Pir Burial case and pointed out that in spite of the many resolutions passed by the Corporation, which had a majority of Hindus, Mr. C. R. Das could not carry out those resolutious by removing the burial place due to the fear of Moslem minorities.

The witness was of opinion that joint electorates would end all these troubles.

Mr. Suhrawardy: But joint electorates cannot compose religious differences. Moslems are not prepared to give up their religion for the sake of nationalism.

European Services Association Deputation

The Conference next took up the examination of a deputation from the European Services Association. It was led Mr. C. J. Irwin, Commissioner, Jubbulpore, and consisted of two more members, Mr. A. T. Weston, Director of Industries, Bengal, and Mr. S. W. Radcliffe, Electrical Adviser to the Government of Bengal. The deputation treated its memorandum to the Conference as confidential.

Examined by Sir John Simon Mr. Irwin detailed the demands of the Association. They did not know what was going to happen after this inquiry—they would not offer any political views and had come to protect their own interests by urging the continuance of certain safeguards. Their first recommenda-

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tion was that security of tenure should be guaranteed and the second point was about financial safeguards. Their demands were not without precedents; there were the Egyptian and Ceylon precedents which had guaranteed to the services such safeguards. Mr. Irwin next urged the security of their pensions and similar other payments. Option should be continued to be given them to retire on proportionate pension if the changed conditions were not suitable to them. They should be given time to assess the value of the next change and see how it affected them. Continuing, Mr. Irwin declared that the conditions of service in India were not the same as, say, 24 years ago.

20th. January—Mr. Prentice's Evidence

On this day Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government explained the geographical position of Darjeeling and Chittagong hill-tracts which are classed as backward under Section 52 (a) of the Government of India Act.

Mr. Cadogan elicited the information that the total population of this tract was about 450,000. These tracts were administered by the Bengal Government not as an agency area but as a part of the provincial subjects. The ordinary Bengal police did the policing of these areas and District Officers carried on administration there as in other districts. The ordinary provisions of the penal and procedure codes applied to these tracts.

Mr. Hopkyns, Special Reforms Officer who was there to assist Mr. Prentice, explained that the transferred side of the Government in Darjeeling district was under the Revenue Department and the reserved side remained with the departments concerned while the whole of the administration of the Chittagong tract was under the Revenue Department. These tracts had no representation in the Bengal Council.

Mr. Prentice had no objection to Darjeeling being brought under the reforms because an association of hill-tribes had recommended it. The reports of all local officers were also in favour of the reforms being applied to that area. He, however, did not favour Chittagong being brought under the reforms.

Mr. Travers, of the Provincial Committee, did not agree with Mr. Prentice and said that the tea-planters, as also the hill-tribes, did not favour being brought under the reforms. Mr. Travers further stated that the circumstances which made the Bengal Government decide in 1919 that Darjeeling should be excluded from the reforms were still in operation. Geographically, racially and historically, Darjeeling people were quite distinct from Bengal.

Mr. Prentice said that it was a matter of difference of opinion.

Witness told Lord Burnham that it was not on the basis of the resolution of the association of the hill-tribes that the Government had changed its opinion, but because all reports from local officers recommended this change.

Lord Burnham examined Mr. Prentice with regard to the Indianisation of the service. He said: "You have painted a very gloomy picture about the future of these officers."—Mr. Prentice: These are only the conditions of the game.

Lord Burnham: What kind of game?—Witness: These are the conditions under which officers have got to serve. You take any budget of the police in the Council and you hear all that is bad about the Police and never any good.

Witness could not visualise any future government being worked without the assistance of the All India Services but he did not see why the All India Service officers should not work as well in the Transferred Departments as the Indian medical Service officers were doing already. The Imperial Police and the Indian Civil Service were very essential.

Sir John Simon referred the Conference to the Lee Report recommendations which provided that for the purpose of the Local Government no further recruitment should be made for All India Services as such operating in the transferred field. If the subject were transferred recruitment would have to be carried on by Ministers on the provincial basis. It had almost been universally experienced that the terms of service offered in the provincialised services had not been such as to attract European recruits. Witness agreed and said that he could never imagine a province being run without imperial service officers.

Answering Sir A. K. Ghuznavi, witness said that his personal opinion was that all departments should be transferred all at once.

He did not agree with Sir A. K. Ghuznavi that members of the services should not have any political duties but said that, for some time to come, they must conti-

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nue to discharge political functions. Political pressure had begun to affect the services. Witness was not prepared to give particular instances in which such pressure had been brought to bear.

Forty-five per cent. of the appointments in the executive services were reserved for Moslems by the Bengal Government. There was no reservation in the judicial service, all appointments being made by selection by the High Court. Witness could not give exact figures, but speaking from memory he could say that Moslems formed 30 per cent of the Bengal Judicial Service.

Sir John Simon : What do I.C.S. men regard as the most important safeguards ? Is it that their salary is not votable ; is it that the Secretary of State has some control over the finances of India ; or is it that they may not be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that which makes their appointments ?

Witness : Firstly, that the rates of pay that are promised to him will remain the same ; secondly, that he may not be treated unfairly by being at the mercy of provincial intrigues ; and thirdly, that his pension rights shall be safeguarded.

Witness assured Sirdar Uberoi that the Indianisation of the services was proceeding apace on the basis of the Lee Commission recommendations and the result aimed at would be achieved by 1939.

Mr. Prentice further told Sir John Simon that it was binding on Government to accept the recommendations of the High Court with regard to appointments to the judicial service. The system worked quite satisfactorily except that communal representation could not be secured in the proportion Government would desire if the High Court chose to ignore communal considerations.

Mr. Farookhi of the Provincial Committee sought to prove that, as conditions existed, the Provincial Government exercised enough control over the District Board.

21st. January—Mr. Cassels' Evidence

Mr. A. Cassels, Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal, giving evidence before the Simon Joint Free Conference this morning gave interesting details about the financial position of Bengal and pleaded Bengal's case for a revision of the Meston Settlement which affected the province very adversely.

Sir John Simon examined the witness for over an hour. He elicited the information that before the Meston Settlement there was an adjustment arrived at between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal in 1912-13 when Bihar was separated from Bengal.

According to this settlement Bengal was to get half of the land revenue, except the revenue from Government estates of which it got the whole, half of the revenue from stamps and cess, the whole of the income from excise, forests and registration. This was a temporary arrangement and it was understood that it would be revised after an year or two, but soon after the War broke out and this settlement was not revised till the Meston Settlement came into force in 1920-21. The Meston Committee compared the actual revenue and expenditure figures of the province and also estimated its increased spending power and came to the conclusion that Bengal would have under the new Settlement an increased spending power of 104 lakhs of rupees, but unfortunately the figures of expenditure taken for this estimate were those of a sub-normal year. The result was that Bengal could not pay its contribution of 63 lakhs of rupees to central revenues except during the first year of this Settlement and it was found that funds left to the provincial Government were not enough to meet the needs of the province.

Sir John Simon then gave figure to the Conference showing that during the period 1912-13 to 1920-21 the increase in the revenue of Bengal was 22.3 per cent. as compared with 11.2 of Bihar and Orissa, 29 per cent. of Madras, 52 per cent. of Bombay, 20 per cent. of United Provinces, 34 per cent. of the Punjab, 33 per cent. of both Burma and Central Provinces and 29 per cent. of Assam, the average increase for the whole of India being 30 per cent.

The witness could not give the exact figure of the provincial contribution paid by Bengal under the Meston Settlement.

Sir John Simon : I am not surprised that you do not know, because in fact Bengal never paid it.—Mr. Cassels : Bengal did pay it in 1921-22 and a remission was granted from 1922-23.

Sir John summing up the position said that Bengal started with an opening balance of 272 lakhs of rupees at the beginning of 1921-22 most of which was wiped

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out by the revision of salaries which meant increased expenditure of 216 lakhs of rupees at the end of that year.

The witness agreed with the suggestion that the province had been able to make both ends meet by increasing taxation on stamps and registration and by levying an amusement tax, but they were now coming to the time when there might be a slight deficit. Expenditure had been restricted on nation-building departments owing to this stringency.

Comparing the figures of expenditure from public funds over primary and secondary education in different provinces it was found that per million of population, Bengal spent 1.3 lakhs of rupees, Madras 3.4 lakhs, Bombay 9.6 lakhs, United Provinces 2.8 lakhs, the Punjab 4.4 lakhs, Burma 3.6 lakhs, Bihar and Orissa 1.4 lakhs, Central Provinces 3.1 lakhs and Assam 2.2 lakhs.

Lord Burnham pointed out that overhead charges in this estimate in different provinces were spread over larger or smaller areas according to the sizes of different provinces.

Sir John remarked with surprise that the average monthly salary of a primary school teacher in Bengal which, excluding Burma, had perhaps the highest percentage of literacy in British India, was only Rs. 10.

Coming to actual figures the witness said Bengal spent on education 98 lakhs lakhs of rupees in 1919-20, 108 lakhs in 1921 and, according to the budget figures, 140 lakhs in 1927-28. Turning to revenue it was noticed that in 1921-22 land revenue brought 302 lakhs of rupees, excise 183 lakhs, and registration 25 lakhs respectively thus making a total revenue of 895 lakhs of rupees whereas the budget estimates for 1928-29 showed that revenue would bring 322 lakhs of rupees, excise 229 lakhs, stamps 356 lakhs, forests 35 lakhs and registration 41 lakhs respectively, thus making a total revenue of 1,094 lakhs of rupees.

Sir John was evidently surprised to note that one-fifth of the total revenue of the province was drawn from judicial stamps. The witness stated that the revenue from excise was not likely to expand, but on the other hand has been on the decline, except for a small recovery last year.

Out of a total area of 77,000 square miles of land in the province 60,000 square miles was permanently settled. The remaining area was either rent free, or comprised of Government estates. The annual growth of revenue from Government estates was estimated at Rs. 2,50,000.

The witness could not give the figures of the percentage of land held rent free. He had no figures which could show how much difference it made in land revenue to the Bengal Government because land was under Permanent Settlement. But it was estimated that the total loss was less than one crore of rupees.

The witness could not give off-hand a contrast of the figures of the value of land at present as compared with its value at the time of the Permanent Settlement, but inquiries could be made to get figures comparing the amount of local cess paid with the amount of rent realised from actual cultivators of land.

Further examined by Sir John Simon Mr. Cassels said that the one anna per rupee cess imposed now was done under the Cess Act of 1880.

Sir John : Apparently the view taken is that while the Permanent Settlement in respect of zamindars is sacrosanct, there is no objection to the imposition of a cess.

Mr. Cassels : Yes.

Sir. John : But this cess has not been revised for about 40 years now.

Sir A. K. Ghuznavi explained that it was not so. The amount of cess realised had nearly quadrupled itself in that period.

Mr. Cassels further questioned by Sir John Simon admitted that the intermediaries between the landlords and the actual cultivators of land, though they made a profit out of that land, did not contribute anything towards provincial revenues directly. He could not give off-hand an answer to the question whether it would be administratively possible to assess these people to income-tax and to realise it.

Coming to the question of income-tax and super-tax the witness pleaded for a remission of the major part of this revenue to the province. They had been unfairly treated in the allocation of heads of revenue as all elastic heads were retained by the Central Government.

It was true that customs could only be collected at ports and not at inland centres, but in apportioning revenue from income-tax the only consideration should not be the place of domicile, but also the place where the revenue was actually earned. The province had not so far received any remission of income-tax since 1921-22

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and other provinces had benefitted at their expense. The Bengal Government had more than a pious hope that the Statutory Commission would consider their claims.

Mr. Cassels admitted to Lord Burnham that since 1893 there had been an enormous increase in the valuation of land.

Examined by Major Attlee the witness could not say whether, apart from questions of finance, Bengal was a richer province than the other provinces, but said it cetrainly was true that the standard of Bengal cultivators was higher than that of cultivators of other provinces.

He could not say with certainty that Calcutta was a deficit area, but he imagined it was so. He agreed with the suggestion that in as much as the Central Government took away the major portion of the revenue from industrial development the agricultural areas of the province had to pay for policing, etc., of these areas.

Most of the revenue of the province came from the poor class.

Examined by Lord Strathcona Mr. Cassels stated that they had submitted to the Mestern Settlement so far hoping that in future justice would be done.

Asked by Colonel Lane Fox if there was considerable remissness in collection of taxes, Mr. Cassels said: "I am not aware of it. There might be some remissness in the collection of municipal taxes, but there is no difficulty in the collection of local cess which is the principal source of revenue of District Boards.

Replying to Sir A. K. Ghuznavi Mr. Cassels said that Bengal collected about 75 crores of rupees as revenue every year, but the presidency was left with annas five per rupee because money was credited to the Central Government as being income-tax and customs duties. He said that because of financial stringency political difficulties had arisen and there was very little money for public health, schools and other nation-building departments.

Mr. Cassels also agreed with Sir A. K. Ghuznavi that Bengal and Bombay contributed most to the Central Government. The total cess collected was about 80 lakhs of rupees, the approximate rent collected was about the same sum and the approximate rent collected from actual cultivators about 15 crores of rupees, about 12 crores of which was distributed among the intermediaries between the actual tiller of the land and the zemindars.

Sir Arthur Froom: Is Bengal's provincial taxation adequate?—Mr. Cassels: It is difficult to say. He further explained that the cess realised went to District Boards.

Sir Hari Singh Gour inquired why the Bengal Government had not used the taxable powers given to them when all nation-building departments were starving for want of money.—Mr. Cassels replied they could not impose extra taxation as there was very little room for it.

Sir Hari Singh wanted to know why they had an eye upon the Central Government's dues from income-tax and customs duties, etc. Sir Hari Singh elucidated his points by remarking that a large number of coins may be passing through a gate but had the gatekeeper any right to claim some of them merely because they passed through the gates?—Mr. Cassels replied and the members of the Provincial Committee substantiated it that all revenues under those heads was produced in Bengal and did not merely pass through Bengal.

Replying to Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan Mr. Cassels explained that land-holders in Bengal could not always increase rent. Government did not benefit by such increases. The witness was of opinion that the creation of intermediaries was due to the fact that large landholders could not manage their estates.

24th. January—Sir George Rankin's Evidence

Sir George Rankin, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court was examined to-day by the Simon Conference. Questioned whether he would like to be examined in camera or in public, Sir George said that since the Conference had examined other witnesses in public he did not see why the public should not know what the Chief Justice had to say to the conference.

Sir George Rankin's oral evidence was mainly confined to a memorandum submitted to the Commission by the Chief Justice and other Judges of the High Court.

Sir John Simon drew the attention of the conference to the most important recommendation contained in the memorandum:

"The Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court of Bengal desired to represent the desirability of all High Courts in India being put under the Government of India for administrative purposes and in particular being made independent of the local Governments as regards finance."

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Questioned by Sir John Simon the witness explained that the High Courts in India derived their authority and jurisdiction from the Letters Patent issued under the authority of a statute, but the provisions of the Letters Patent were subject to alteration by the Indian legislature.

Sir John Simon remarked that, broadly speaking, the jurisdiction of the High Courts in India was derived from the same source as that of the High Courts in other parts of the Empire.

Coming to the selection of individuals to the judgeships of the High Courts, Sir George stated that under the terms of the Government of India Act one-third of the judges must be barristers and one-third must be members of the Indian Civil Service. Subject to these restrictions appointments were made by the Secretary of State for India.

The Calcutta High Court was directly under the Government of India but in matters of appointment there was no difference in procedure between this High Court and the High Courts of other provinces. The Secretary of State consulted and received the advice of the Provincial Governments concerned as well as that of the Government of India. Whenever the work of a High Court fell in arreas aditional judges were appointed, who were like ordinary judges except that their appointments were for periods of two y ars at a time.

The Chief Justice explained further that the Governor-General had power, under section 101 of the Government of India Act, to appoint additional judges to High Courts for a period of not more than two years at a time. The Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court dealt with the day-to-day administration of the ministerial staff of the High Cout and it was he who made the necessary appointments with the sanction of the Government of India. The salary of High Court judges was non-votable, although it was found from the provincial funds.

The question of the cost of the ministerial staff was somewhat special in the case of the Calcutta High Court as compared with the other High Courts, who were under the administrative control of the provincial Governments. Formerly this portion of the Calcutta High Court budget was classed under various provincial heads for grants but a difficulty arose and by the powers of interpretation and ruling vested in the Governor Lord Lytton had ruled that the whole of the High Court budget including the ministerial staff was non-votable.

Sir John Simon : What is the substance of the distinction between the Calcutta High Court and the other High Courts ?

Sir George Rankin : Taking the High Court of Bombay for example, not only are its charges found from the provincial funds but administrative control also is exercised over it by the Government of Bombay. It both pays the piper and calls for the tune. In the Calcutta High Court administrative control is vested in the Government of India and the Government of Bengal has to find the money. We have a triangular system by which to some extent the Government of India administers and the Government of Bengal pays.

When the Chief Justice needed funds, Sir George proceeded, he had to write to the Government of India for them, who referred the matter to the Government of Bengal who, if they had not money to spare, wrote back to the Government of India saying so. Then the Chief Justice had either to put up with this refusal or to press the Government of India to put presure on the local Government to find the necessary funds. In other provinces the Chief Justice dealt with the local Government direct. He did not regard this arrangement as satisfactory and he had understood that the Bengal Government agreed with him.

Sir John Simon : What is the recommendation that you make to the conference as regards this matter ?

Sir George Rankin : The recommendation is with reference to all High Courts in India, in the first place, and in reference to ours, in particular, that charges of all High Courts should be put upon the central revenues and the administrative control should be by the Government of India and not by the Local Governments.

Sir John Simon : That would mean the bringing of all High Courts in India into line with the Calcutta High Court as far as administration is concerned and, as regards costs, the transfer of liability to find money for all High Courts from the provincial to the central revenues ?

As to the tradition that law courts might hamper the executive or *vice versa* witness said there was a time when the relations between the executive and the High Court were not too good, but at the present time, so far as he knew, he had discovered the ghost of that tradition only in the minds of some newspaper editors or

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some young lions of the Secretariat Office. He had the highest opinion about Sir Stanley Jackson and his Government. Witness and Mr. Moberley, member in-charge of Law and Order, had got on extremely well.

Examined by Sir A. K. Ghuznavi, Sir George Rankin did not give any opinion on the question of legitimacy or otherwise of communal representation but explained how the High Court was trying to maintain the 45 per cent. ratio of Moslems in the subordinate judiciary appointments in Eastern Bengal. He would consider a Moslem qualified candidate to possess an extra qualification because he would inspire confidence in settling up a large number of family quarrels in the Moslem community. The standard of Moslem candidates was becoming better and better.

25th. January—Sir Provash Mitter's Evicence

Sir Provaah Chandra Mitter, Revenue Member, and Mr. A. Marr, Finance Member of the Bengal Government, were jointly examined at length before the Simon Conference this morning on the financial position of Bengal, with particular reference to the effect of the permanent settlement on the finance of the province.

A bewildering mass of figures was presented to the conference by Sir John Simon, which evidently had been compiled for him by Mr. Leyton, the Financial Assessor, who was sitting behind him and assisting him in asking questions. After a great deal of juggling with the figures and the methods of calculation, Sir John Simon succeeded in establishing the fact that the Bengal Government did not lose more than the one crore of rupees annually by reason of a large part of the province being under the permanent settlement.

Sir P. C. Mitter went into the intricate details to explain the rights of resident ryots or statutory ryots, and ryots who came and settled in a village from outside. The former had the right to till land which might be lying uncultivated on payment of a certain fixed customary rent, whereas the latter would be allowed to do so on terms offered by the landlord, which he could fix at his discretion. The additional revenue, which might have been derived if the land had been temporarily settled, was now dissipated among a large number of intermediate interests between the landlord and the tiller.

Mr. Marr gave an example where as many as 114 interests intervened between the landlord and the cultivator.

Sir John Simon : Cannot this margin be captured by some sort of cess ?

Sir P. C. Mitter : We can and we have captured this by the imposition of chaukidari and other local cesses te the extent of Rs. 154,00,000. A Bill for the imposition of a further cess of one crore for primary education is even now before the Bengal Legislative Council. This cess, however, does not benefit the provincial. revenues. A portion of it may be available for the expenditure of local bodies, but none of it is available for the purpose of the provincial Government.

Sir John Simon : But surely since this cess can place more funds at the disposal of local bodies for expenditure on education, it should give some relief to the provincial revenues by reducing their grants to local bodies for this purpose ?

Mr. Marr : People do not look upon this like that. If the Government is able to devote more money to primary education that would encourage the people to stand an extra cess but unless the Government's share of contribution is increased in proportion to the public's share, they won't like the imposition of more cess.

Sir. P. C. Mitter : No Legislative Council would be prepared to vote it unless Government provided its share.

Sir John Simon : That is a constitutional maxim—grievances before supplies.

Sir P. C. Mitter : They say that in other provinces a certain percentage of the expenditure is provided by the State and a certain percentage provided by the people and ask why they should be treated differently.

Sir P. C. Mitter told Lord Burnham that a professional tax was impossed in municipal areas and in areas where union boards had been established, but then most professional men lived in the cities and not in the rural areas.

31st January—The Commission at Rangoon

The Simon Commission with the Central Committee left Calcutta on the 27th January and arrived at Rangoon on the 29th. There was partial hartal in the city and business was carried on as usual in all quarters with the exception of a few Marwari shops which were closed. Posters with the words "Simon, go back" were noticed pasted all over the city. There was no demonstration in the streets as the

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Simon Commission and the Central Committee drove off to the residences of their respective hosts.

The Conference sat in public on the 31st in the new Medical College building and proceeded with the examination of Mr. j. j. Anderson, Commissioner of Tennasserim Division. Examined by Sir John Simon, the witness said that Burma was not included in the original survey of the Montford Report and therefore the question of franchise and functions was gone into by a Committee presided over by Sir Federick Whyte. The Federated Shan States, the Chin Hills, the Arakan hill tracts and certain other areas were excluded from the control of the Burma Legislative Council. The federation ranked as a divisional charge under a Commissioner who worked directly under the Governor, while other backward tracts were administered by district officers under the Governor-in-Council. A contribution of Rs. 6,50,000 a year was paid from the Burmese exchequer to the federation and the exchequer got back about Rs. 2,00,000 or Rs. 2,50,000 as a contribution from the Shan States. The contribution from the provincial funds to the federation was non-votable. Laws for the administration of the backward tracts were made by the Governor-in-Council in consultation with the Chiefs of the States.

Sir John Simon and Mr. Hartshorn together elicited information regarding the constitution of the present Burmese legislature, which consists of 80 elected and 23 nominated members, 13 of the latter being officials. Labour was represented by a single nominated member. Most of the immigrant Indian labour was concentrated in areas where there were the Indian constituencies.

Mr. Rafi, a member of the Provincial Committee, informed the chairman that a majority of these immigrant labourers were enfranchised under the present rules and their vote exercised an effective influence over the elections from the special Indian constituencies.

Sir John Simon, in his further examination of Mr. Anderson, established the fact that over fifty per cent. of the adult male population of Burma (excluding the Shan States and the backward tracts) were voters under the existing franchise. The average number of voters in rural constituencies for a seat was 37,000 while in urban areas the number of voters for a seat averaged 3,700.

The witness, explaining the heavy weightage of representation in urban constituencies, said that it had been considered by the Whyte Committee that the intelligentsia resided almost entirely in the towns. Proceeding Mr. Anderson said that 18 per cent. of the registered male voters and 14 per cent. of the female voters exercised the vote during the 1928 elections.

Mr. Campagnac (Provincial Committee) told the chairman that a woman at present could not be elected to the Burmese Legislature, and that a resolution for giving women this right was once moved in the Council but it was opposed by the Government and a procession of women demonstrators had on that occassion marched to the Council but were not admitted.

Sir John Simon remarked that he had been looking out for the explanation that the Burma Government had opposed such an important constitutional change as they thought it should be reserved for the consideration of the Statutory Commission and sure enough he found that statement in the Government memorandum.

The witness informed Viscount Burnham that the Burma Legislative Council had not in any way tried to interfere with the administration of the Shan States or other areas under the direct administration of the Governor except in so far as they wished that the payment of the contribution to the expenditure of the federation from the provincial revenues to stop.

Mr. Hartshorn elicited the fact that in the witness's opinion if adult franchise were introduced in Burma there would be no insuperable difficulties in conducting elections.

Major Attlee was told that secrecy of ballot was observed at elections. The witness thought that as far as elections outside Rangoon were concerned it would not be a fair description to say that there was a lot of corruption and intimidation and the staff was inadequate successfully to cope with the work.

Mr. Cadogan was informed that the general mass of population took no interest in elections.

Replying to U. Aung Thin the witness expressed the view that the exclusion of the Shan States would not in any way retard the future development of Burma on its

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own lines. Replying to a question put by Mr. A.A. Rafi, Mr. Anderson said that labour was at present as well represented as it could be under the circumstances but he did not think that the substitution of selection for election would give better representation to labour. Mr. Rafi further elicited the information that the Indian population formed 6 or 7 per cent. of the population of Burma, that this population tended to decrease, and that Indian labour did not compete with Burmese agricultural labour but on the other hand supplemented it.

Mr. Rafi :—"Don't you think Indians fulfil an economic necessity in this province? The witness :—I think so."

When the Conference re-assembled after lunch Messrs. Rafi and Campagnac stated that the conclusions drawn in the Government memorandum about the financial working of local bodies were misleading inasmuch as they were entirely drawn from the auditors' annual reports and the compiler of the memorandum had failed to give the local bodies' version of the picture.

The Chairman accepted the suggestion that the explanation about the working of the Rangoon Corporation given to the Government by the Chief Executive Officer of that body in the form of a letter be circulated to the members of the Conference so that they might draw their own conclusions.

Sir Harisingh Gour switched back the discussion to the controversy of the separation of India from Burma and got an admission from Mr. Anderson that Indian enterprise and labour linked with European, had contributed very largely to the making of modern industrial Burma He also established that Indian immigrants, or, at least, their children from Burman wives, were absorbed in the Burmese race. Sir Harisingh Gour went on to suggest that India had played a very large part in the political education of Burma and that, but for this influence, the political advancement of Burma would not have been so rapid as it had been. He also implied that the cry of "Burma for Burmans" was more on the part of the Government of Burma to cut off the province from the political influence of India.

4th. February—Burma Chamber of Commerce

The deputations of the Burma Chamber of Commerce and the Burma Association of Professionals and Businessmen, headed respectively by Messrs. F. H. Wroughton and Dawn, were examined this morning by the Conference.

Mr. Wroughton, examined by Sir John Simon, said that their chief complaint was that Burma did not get back in services from the Central Government as much as it contributed. He had put the difference at seven crores per annum but had to admit in cross examination that the figure was very much lower. The general effect of this financial starvation was that Burma had not been able to develop its communication and more money was required in every department properly to develop the country. He argued that the fiscal policy which might suit India as a whole was not suitable to Burma. For example, the duty on hides helped India but hit Burma which produced an inferior quality of hides.

Sir John Simon summarised the recommendations of the Association of Businessmen and Professionals. Both the bodies thought that it was not advisable to transfer Law and Order as the minister responsible would be liable to pressure. The elimination of the official block was not desirable and the transfer of Law and Order would adversely affect the morals and discipline of the Police.

Witnesses could not adequately meet Mr. Hartshorn when he asked whether the view was merely theory or based on any incidents.

Major Attlee was told that a great deal of crime was due to the fact that the Police were not very successful in combating crime.

Mr. Harwood, another member of the deputation of Professionals and Businessmen, told Lord Strathcona that the jury system in Burma did not work well because the Burmas were kind-hearted and did not wish to punish.

Mr. U. Ba. U. made out the point that the Council's criticism of the Police by throwing out the Police budget had resulted in the reorganisation of the Police Force and its improvement.

Mr. Harwood did not agree with the suggestion that drink and gambling were very largely responsible for crime in Burma, although he admitted that over 50 per cent. of the murders were committed on the spur of the moment.

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Mr. Wroughton stated that Indian labour was more efficient than Burman labour. As a rule Burmans were averse to manual labour.

Examined by Sir Arthur Froom, witness said that his Chamber held the view that Burma must receive the same advance as other provinces of India.

On Sir Arthur Froom's question about the control of the Provincial Government over self-governing bodies, Sir John Simon remarked that as against the policy of as little interference as possible in India the Central Government exercised a strong control over local bodies in England.

Mr. Rafi pointed out that local bodies did not object to sound advise but resented petty interference on the part of Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners.

Witness wanted Burma to remain within the Indian Empire but to be considered separate, for example, for purpose of finance. Witness further stated that they wanted safeguards for all religions and races and against the passage of discriminatory legislations against the commercial activity of any class. Witness agreed with the statement that Indians were not an economic drain in Burma but were fulfilling an economic necessity. Burmans were prepared to remain a part of India provided they got a little more money to spend and provided India was not given the status of a self-governing dominion. In the case of grant of dominion rule to India Burmans were unanimously in favour of separation.

Mr. *Harper*, Collector of Rangoon, who was specially called in to explain the extent of corruption at elections, gave his experiences of municipal elections held at Rangoon. He was of opinion that corruption existed but not to an alarming extent. He thought that under the present circumstances, with a large number of illiterate voters who had only a vague conception of what they wanted, the system worked fairly well.

Deputation of Burmese Leagues

These deputations were followed by the deputation of Burma for Burmans League headed by Mr. U. Mya U. and the deputation of the separation of Burma League headed by Mr. Hla Tun Pru.

Examined by Sir H. Gour, Mr. U. Mya U. stated that, whether or not Burma got Dominion Status immediately, they wanted separation from India. They feared that if the immigration of Indians continued as at present the Burmese race would become extinct. They wanted friendly relations with India but to be independent of it.

Mr. Rafi : Why don't the Burmese take to this very profitable business of money-lending ?

Lord Burnham : "The simple reason is that the Burmese have no money to lend. Witness : Yes. That is one of the reasons.

Examined by Sir John Simon, Mr. Hla Tun Pru, said that he agreed with the arguments advanced by Mr. U. Mya U. and added, on his behalf, that Burma had for many years been drained by India through the payment of the war debt. On the question of defence, withness said history showed that the Burmese were a maritime and martial race and he saw no reason why in a short time under the guidance of British officers they should not be able to build up an army and navy of their own. Their naval defence could be supplemented from the Singapore naval base. The Conference adjourned at this stage.

6th. February—Deputation of Indian Interests

Before the examination *in camera* of the Minister and the Executive Councillors of the Burma Government, a deputation representing the Indian interests in Burma headed by Mr. N. M. Cowasjee, gave evidence for a short time.

The Deputation wanted that the number of Indian representatives in the Burma Council to be raised from 9 to 16, and of the representatives of Burma in the Assembly to be raised from 3 to 9. The Deputation was opposed to the separation of Burma from India. The opinion among the Burmans on this question of separation was divided. In fact, a minority party, with its slogan "Burma for Burmans" favoured separation. The majority of parties in Burma were opposed to the separation of Burma from India. The Deputation could not say why a resolution against separation had not been moved in the Legislative Council when there was so much public opinion against the question.

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Asked by Sir John Simon all the members of the Provincial Committee said that a resolution for the separation of Burma from India would be carried, if not unanimously at least by a large majority in the present Council, if the Government members refrained from voting.

Mr. P. C D. Chari, a member of the Deputation, was of opinion that even if a resolution for separation was carried in the Council that would not prove that public opinion was not against the question. Witness added that Indian labour only supplemented Burmese labour.

Burma Women's Deputation

A deputation of the women of Burma was examined next for a short time by the Conference. The deputation was led by Miss C. Dantra, Bar at-Law and consisted of Miss Ma Pwa Hmoo, Bar-at-Law, Mrs. M. Fraser, Dr. Miss Ma Saw Sa, Miss T. T. Uice Daw, Miss Mya Shwe and Mrs. Sohora Jeejeebhoy. Miss Dantra made the following statement "to the gentlemen of the Joint Free Conference" :—

"We have come before you, not as the representatives of any body or any organisation of women, because our grievance is one which should and ought in the first instance be dealt with by the Local Legislature, and consequently we have organised no definite deputation to come before you. But last night Sir Hari Singh Gour convinced us that this was an opportunity to stir up the lethargy of the Local Council and to stimulate it to action by showing that we are in earnest, and that we do verily believe that we have a real case to put before you as the final tribunal of appeal in this matter.

"Since 1922 women have had power to vote for members of the Local Legislature on the same terms as men, but for seven years we have been denied the right to choose one of our own sex to represent us, and this is the case in Burma, a country where women have taken an active part in the public life for generations.

"In fact, there are none of the obstacles in Burma which are in India. We have no caste system and no purdah. We are not illiterate. On the contrary, we may own property and carry on business on the same footing as men, and there are no personal disabilities attached to women in Burma except this one.

"In fact, the Burmese woman is, perhaps, if we may venture to say so, through no peculiar virtue of her own, more thrifty and industrious than the Burman. Yet, while in India most of the provinces have enfranchised the woman completely by allowing them to vote as well as to sit in the Local Legislatures, in this province we are only partly enfranchised.

"We are only allowed to vote for men to speak for us. This, no doubt, women can do adequately in good many cases, and far more adequately in some, but we admit, though humbly, that we have a contribution to make towards the welfare of the social life in the province.

"We are by reason of our sex more fitted to deal with certain problems of a social character, housing, health and hygiene, and the education of children. All these, it is recognised, have a direct bearing on the prosperity of the country and a very direct bearing on the vital problem of crime in Burma.

"Our main grievances are that we women in Burma must and are willing to shoulder our responsibility towards the next generation and the welfare of the State in general. As things stand at present, we are denied our contribution. We may choose others to speak for us, we may not speak for ourselves. We hope that something constructive will arise out of our representation by the action of the Legislature which is to meet in a very short time."

Cross-examined by the members of the conference the deputation held that they stood for "fairplay and no favour" as Sir John put it. They did not want any reservation of seats. They wanted equal rights with men. It was true the Phongyis objected to women in legislatures. The deputationists told Sir John Simon that in the present Council Mr. Rafi of the Provincial Committee was the champion of their cause.

18th. February—The Commission at Madras.

The Simon Commission and the Central Committee arrived at Madras from Rangoon on the 18th February.

Unlike Rangoon, demonstrations were organized against the Commission. A procession of several thousand started from Napier Park but were held up by the police

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near Cupid's Bow, opposite the fort. The processionists carried black flags and were led by Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar, ex-Minister, the Hon. Ramdas Pantulu and Mr. T. Prakasam. On being held up by the police the processionists formed a protest meeting under the presidency of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar, at which Mr. Mudaliar spoke. There was a complete *hartal* in the city.

On the 21st February the Conference examined Mr. Charles Hilton Brown, Secretary, Local Self-Government, who explained at length the powers functions and the franchise of local self-governing institutions in the presidency and the system of financial grants-in-aid by Government for public works entrusted to them. Grant-in-aid, he said, was a sound system of financing these bodies and the local Government exercised sufficient checks on the administration of funds thus allocated. There was a tendency to let municipal dues fall in arrears but the powers of surcharge possessed by Government exercised a wholesome effect and things were really improving. He estimated that the working of 50 per cent. of the local bodies could be classed as satisfactory and of about 50 per cent as unsatisfactory.

Witness explained to Mr. Cadogan the various powers of supervision and control over self-governing bodies vested in the local Government. He was satisfied that these powers were quite adequate except that he would like to have the power of removing presidents of district and taluq boards added to them. They had had to supercede or, in some cases, to abolish these bodies but the proportion of those that had to be thus penalised was not great. Village panchayats could be made the lowest link in the chain of local self-government but he did not quite see with Viscount Burnham how they could be utilized as electoral colleges for elections to bodies of a higher rank, unless there was a fundamental and radical change in their conception. At present they extended to less than one-third of the presidency and it would take a long time to push them throughout the whole of Madras Presidency.

Sir A. P. Patro, President, Provincial Committee, got the admission from witness that the description of local bodies in the administration reports as satisfactory or unsatisfactory depended very largely on the officer who wrote that report. The unsatisfactory working of most of these bodies was due to warring factions which prevented the best type of men from coming in. The Chairman being the executive, a great deal depended upon his personality. He did not agree that unsatisfactory working of these bodies was due to lack of funds.

Witness informed Mr. Khalilullah that in the system of joint electorates for local bodies Moslems had not been able to secure their due share of representation He would not say that the same applied to Indian Christians.

Sir Arthur Froom was told that there was effective supervision and co-ordination in the work of local self-governing bodies from the centre.

Witness did not agree with Sir Harisingh Gour's suggestion that there was a demand for the formation of a provincial service for local bodies. He told Sir Zulfiquarali that it was premature to express any opinion as to the success or failure of compulsory primary education initiated by the panchayats. Mr. Brown informed Sardar Uberoi that in any amending bill opportunity would be taken to remove the present disability on women seeking election to the Madras Corporation.

Mr. Slater's Evidence

Mr. S. H. *Slater*, Labour Commissioner, examined by Mr. Hartshorn said that the total industrial labour population, according to the 1921 census, was two millions and a half in Madras Presidency. This included women and children. In Madras, City the number of actual workers was 40,000 and there were about 100,000 in the unorganised industries. There was no standardisation of wages or of work but roughly speaking, a skilled artisan earned between Rs. 22-8 and Rs. 25 per month and the unskilled labourer about ten to twelve annas per day in Madras City. In rural areas the standard of wages of skilled labour was much the same, possibly between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25 per month but in the case of unskilled labour it varied from four to eight annas per day. Witness estimated the total population of labourers and depressed classes taken jointly at about thirteen millions. As regards the question of providing elected representation instead of nominated representation, witness said that really organised labouring class numbered only about 40,000 in the whole presidency and giving them special separate representation was not worth

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while. With regard to the unorganised labouring class and depressed classes, he thought the best way to provide representation for them would be to lower the franchise qualification and thus bring in a large number of these.

The Police Commissioner's Evidence

Before the Conference rose for the day Messrs. F. A. Hamilton and C. B. Cunningham, Police Inspector-General and Commissioner of Police respectively, were examined for a short time with regard to the transfer of the Police Department to the control of a responsible minister. They were both of opinion that if all other departments were transferred the police should also be transferred as otherwise it would be placed in an unenviable poisition. They made this recommendation on the understanding that all the other departments were transferred without exception and that European recruitment continued as at present.

Witnesses told Lord Strathcona that there would be a certain amount of efficiency when the proportion of Indians and Europeans recommended by the Lee Commission was reached. Witness wanted the Imperial Police to continue to hold its commission from the Secretary of State.

1st. March—Deputation of S. I. Liberal Federation.

The deputations of the South Indian Liberal Federation, Madras, and Ganjam District Peoples Association, were headed respectively by Mr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, President, Madras Corporation, and Mr. Koka Apparao Naidu Mudaliar, who was also the spokesman for both.

Mr. Mudaliar stated that dyarchy was unworkable and therefore recommended the establishment of provincial autonomy with an executive responsible to the legislature in the provinces, the creation of a responsible executive in the Central Government in the departments other than those of the Army, Navy, Foreign and Political, and other allied subjects. He would remove these subjects entirely from the purview of the Legislative Assembly which would not be allowed even to vote on the grants for these subjects.

A joint sitting of the Council of State and the Princes Chamber should have the right of discussing these grants. The Central Government should continue to exercise powers of general superintendence and control over provincial Governments with regard to certain subjects of all India importance.

There was a difference of opinion between the Liberal Federation and the Ganjam Association with regard to checks on the provincial legislatures. The Federation thought that the Governor should continue to exercise his present powers of intervention in cases of emergency. The Association held that second chambers should be created in the provinces to keep a check on the popular house.

Mr. Mudaliar admitted to Sir H. Gour that he proposed to establish dyarchy in the centre when he was proposing its abolition in the provinces, but maintained that under the circumstances there was no escape from it. This must be resorted to at least for a period of ten years. Mr. Mudaliar was strongly of opinion that the separate electorates should continue for the minorities until they themselves ask for joint electorates. On the question of franchise it was recommended that the qualification should be substantially lowered to make an advance towards the ideal of adult franchise.

Deputation of Indian Christians

A deputation of five under the leadership of Rao Bahadur Pane Appaswamy next gave evidence on behalf of the Indian Christian Association of Madras.

Examined by Col. Lane Fox, witness pressed the claim of the Christian community to seven seats on the local legislature on the same principle that gave Moslems thirteen seats. Christians formed just three per cent. of the population of the presidency, which was half that of Moslems. Christians were far more advanced than Moslems in the matter of education. He also pleaded for the representation of Indian Christians in the higher public services in excess of their proportion in the population on the strength of their better educational qualifications. Their adequate representation on local bodies was also advocated. Witness would like a division of the seats reserved for Indian Christians between Protestants and Catholics.

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After lunch Major Atlee and Colonel Lane Fox received the deputation of *Madras Velala Mahajana Sangam* on behalf of the Commission.

Mr. P. Ramanatham, who headed the deputation, stated that separate communal electorates were highly objectionable. The system of polling of votes of illiterates through polling officers led to the exploitation of the reforms by men of wealth to the exclusion of men of brains. Replying to Major Atlee witness held that All-India Services must continue. They should in future be called services of the Commonwealth of India.

Deputation of Catholic Indians

The deputation of the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India, headed by Mr. Arpudhaswamy Oydayar was next examined. Witness urged upon the conference that the basis of the franchise should continue to be a property qualification, literacy in the vernacular languages being made an alternative qualification. They had no objection to a slight lowering of the franchise but they strongly advocated the retention of the existing communal electorates. They favoured the present system of indirect elections to district boards of the presidency being substituted by direct elections.

Witness was opposed to the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, especially to the formation of separate Tamil and Andhra provinces. The strength of the local legislature should be raised to about three hundred members.

He pressed for adequate and effective representation of his community on the legislatures, both local and central. To avoid strife between Catholics and Protestants, it was suggested that seats allocated to the Christian community should be equally divided between these two sects.

Deputation of Depressed Class Christians

The last deputation of the day was from the Depressed Class Christians, headed by Mr. Ghaparkasham. They pleaded for the extension of the same privileges to depressed class Christians as were enjoyed by the Hindu depressed classes. They complained that they were not treated as brother Christians by higher class Christians. This differentiation extended even to the churches.

They felt that they were not being properly representated by representatives of the Indian Christians and, therefore, they would like to merge themselves with the general electorate where they would be able to make their influence felt. Candidates returned through general constituencies would protect their interests because they would be under an obligation to them, having been returned with the help of their votes. The present franchise was satisfactory and need not be interfered with.

14th. March—The Commission at Nagpur

The Simon Commission and the Indian Committee without the provincial wing entered to-day upon their constitutional inquiry into the administration of the Cenral Provinces. They were assisted by Mr. H. C. Gowan, Chief Secretary to the Government, who supplied the data about the working of the reforms in the Central Provinces in relation to Berar.

Sir John Simon mainly concentrated his attention in the beginning on getting a picture of the administration and clearly brought out the particular position of Berar in the administration of the Central Provinces.

Mr. Gowan explained in detail how Berar was administered. Laws enacted by the C. P. Council were applied to Berar with modifications to suit local circumstances with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council. The Berar Legislative Committee was merely an advisory body and the Governor-General-in-Council approved of its recommendations whenever possible. The inclusion of Berar in the administration was a financial gain to C. P and the people of Berar preferred to remain in British India rather than revert to the Nizam's dominions.

Political interest in to-day's examination centred round a question of Sir John Simon who pointed out the general tendency of the C. P. legislators to reject demands on the reserved side which were very essential for carrying on the administration.

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Dr. Gour asked if it was not a fact that these cuts were moved to ventilate grievances against the reserve side of Government.

Mr. Gowan, though reluctant to agree fully, said that the legislators now realised that their grievances could be brought home to Government by moving token cuts.

Mr. Gown told Colonel Lane-Fox, that dyarchy did not work well in C. P. because of the domination of Swarajists and of no-confidence motions which were very often moved against Ministers. This was the first province in India to work on the basis of joint responsibility of Ministers.

Answering Dr. Gour, witness admitted there was a demand for permanent settlement or at least for a long term settlement and that Government had agreed partially to meet this demand.

Dr. Gour asked how long it would take to have a High Court for C. P.

Mr. Gowan pointed out that the status of the province had to be raised, as also the salaries of the members of the Executive Council, under Schedule 2 of the Government of India Act. Till then it was not possible to create a High Court for the province.

15th March—Moslem Deputation

A Deputation of Moslems headed by Khan Bahadur Villayatullah gave evidence on this day before the Conference. Examined by Sir John Simon, Khan Bahadur Villayatullah said that Moslems got 7 seats out of a total of 50 elected seats in the local Legislative Council, but claimed more seats in order that Moslem representation may be adequate and effective. Witness claimed adequate representation for his community in the Central Legislature as well as a fair share of the jobs in public services. A certain percentage of jobs should, he said, be secured to Moslems through a provision in the parliamentary statute governing the constitution of India. If that was not possible they left it to the Commission to devise mean for safeguarding the interests of Moslems in public services.

Sir John Simon gave figures to show that Moslems had 25 out of 100 jobs in the provincial executive service, 9 out of 138 in the judicial service and 5 out of 19 in the provincial police service. Sir John pointed out to witness that these figures did not show that the Moslem element was being eliminated.

The deputation was not opposed to the grant of provincial autonomy provided there were the necessary safeguards to protect the interests of all minorities. As a matter of fact they would like to have a third party to see justice done to minorities as long as they did not reach the level of advanced communities.

Depressed Classes' Deputation

A joint deputation of the depressed classes then waited on the Conference. Mr. Gavai who headed the deputation, stated that the two chief depressed classes in the province were Manas and Chamars, the former numbering 882,000 and the later 11.71,000. Examined by Mr. M. C. Rajah, the depressed classes' representative on the Central Committee, witness stated that they wanted separate electorates in order to secure adequate representation in Legislatures. In public services he wanted representation in proportion to the population strength. There was, he said, political background to all social disabilities under which the depressed classes laboured.

C. P. Non-Brahmins' Deputation

A deputation of the Central Provinces and Berar non-Brahmin Political Association with Rai Bahadur K. C. Naidu as the spokesman bitterly complained of the exploitation of all classes in the provinces, through intrigues, by the small but well organised community of Maharashtra Brahmins. He went so far as to characterise this class as a menace to the rest of the public.

In order to escape from the exploitation of this community, the Rai Bahadur suggested that the Provincial Government should consist of a Governor with an Executive Council of four members, one European and three Indians, representing all interests and all communities. The Cabinet was to be responsible, not to the Provincial Legislature, but to the British Parliament for a period of ten years. During this period of ten years witness hoped that electors would become educated

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enough to realise the political value of their votes. He would also like to bar the Maharashtra Brahmins from being returned from rural constituencies to the Council. He cited an instance of 6 out of 7 appointments of judgeships going to Brahmins since a Brahmin had been made the Home Member.

Sir Hari Singh Gour argued that if they could not improve their lot when at least half the government was under popular control, their position would be worse when there was no popular control at all as the witness suggested.

Witness did not want the public to be exploited by Brahmins during the time that non-Brahmins and others were being politically educated. The Rai Bahadur further wanted statutory provision in the constitution giving to the depressed classes the right of entry into Hindu temples. He wanted the minimum percentage of Europeans in services to be fixed, but would not suggest any definite figure. He went on to suggest that the franchise should be extended to all who had an income of Rs. 120 per month.

Mr. Roughtons' Evidence

Mr. N. J. Roughton, Financial Secretary to the Central Provinces Government was next examined by the Conference. He traced in detail the history of the formula fixing 60 to 40 as the ratio of the expenditure in the Central Provinces and Berar respectively. In 1923-24 the ratio of expenditure in the two areas was 73 to 27, but they had gradually worked up to a 62 to 38 ratio. Witness was hoping that this year they would be able to work up to a 60 to 40 ratio, but the sudden famine in the northern part of the province had upset their calculations.

Discussing the Meston Settlement with reference to the Central Provinces Government Mr. Roughton said the revenue of the province had gone up from 495 lakhs to 554 lakhs during the period that had elapsed since that Settlement was arrived at and the heads of revenue in the province were inelastic largely due to the restriction of time limit and percentage limit on the revision of land revenue.

Excise was a contracting rather than an expanding source of revenue. They had raised an additional revenue to make the two ends meet by increasing the duty on stamps temporarily for three years. He expected an increase of three lakhs of rupees in the revenue this year.

Sir John Simon comparing the expenditure per million of the population in C. P. with the other provinces on the nation building departments remarked that it was rather low in this province.

Mr. Roughton : "We have to cut our coat according to our cloth." For giving increased spending power to transferred departments he suggested that fresh taxation should be imposed. Mr. Roughton did not consider the Meston Settlement as a satisfactory arrangement and was of opinion that some readjustments were necessary in the direction of giving more assistance to more backward provinces. The possible way of increasing central revenues out of which this assistance could be given, he said, was to increase salt tax and levy death duties.

This *closed the public sitting* of the Conference. The Commission then left for Delhi arriving there on the 18th March and held final sittings between the 21st March and the 4th April when the members of the Government of India gave them the benefit of their views and a final Conference was held with the Provincial Committees. They left for England on the 13th April and re-assembled in London on the 7th June and during the following six weeks they held joint sittings with the Central Committee for the elucidation of questions connected with the Army in India, the Secretary of State and other matters.

The work of the Commission being now completed, it adjourned to prepare final reports. The report of the Central Committee came out earlier, being published on the 23rd. December 1929. In the following pages we give important extracts from the report and a summary of recommendations.

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The Central Committee Report

The report of the Indian Central Committee which co-operated with the Simon Commission was published on the 23rd December 1929. The Committee consisted of Sir Sankaran Nair (Chairman), Sir Arthur Froom, Raja Nawab Ali Khan, Sardar Shivdev Singh Uberoi, Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Dr. Suhrawardy, Mr. M. C. Rajah and Mr. Kikabhai Premchand. The Committee was appointed in September 1928.

The report runs to 388 pages but the main report extends only to about 72 pages, the rest being taken up by the dissenting minutes and explanatory notes of the members. The Committee requested His Excellency the Viceroy to "take the necessary steps to forward the report and make it available to the British Parliament." They further observed : "We do not desire that our report should be published as an annexe to the report of the Statutory Commission." The following are important extracts from the report :—

Relations Of Ministers With Executive Councillors

It had been the intention of the authors of the reformed constitution that the two halves of the Government, while consulting together, should be separately responsible for their own spheres. In practice, however, the result was far different. One consequence of the relationship between the two halves of the Government was that they found themselves, in some respects, mutually dependent upon one another. The ministers found it convenient to cultivate friendly relations with the official bloc, upon which they could generally rely, and on whieh they were sometimes dependent for their retention of office. On the part of the other half of Government there was a natural disinclination to rely on the extraordinary powers vested in the Governor and to arrange an amicable *modus vivendi* with the Ministers. As a consequence, the Ministers learnt to rely upon the official bloc and inevitably came to be regarded as, in some respects, a part of the bureaucratic government and jointly responsible with them. One effect of this was to loosen the ties which bound Ministers to their followers. While the Ministers looked to the official bloc for support, their followers deemed it unnecessary to yield consistent support to their leaders ; nor did they feel the necessity for any rigid system of the formation of regular political parties ; and it is one of the strongest eriticisms that may be advanced against the system of dyarchy that it has done little, if anything, to foster the growth of political parties. On the reserved half this relationship resulted inevitably in a certain vacillation and lack of consistency. Where circumstances rendered it desirable that the support of the Ministry should be secured for a particular policy, the latter were sometimes in a position to secure a modification of the policy of the reserved half as the price of their support.

Reaction of Dyarchy on the Electorate

The Legislature was representative of a small electorate untrained in the arts of self-government. The natural ignorance of the voters was however in some respects compensated for by an organisation which lent itself readily to political usage. Throughout India the masses of the people are accustomed to look to the leaders of their various communities for guidance in many of the ordinary affairs of their daily life. At election time, therefore, the task of the candidates was, in some respects, simplified. They dealt with the leaders of the different communities while the latter, in turn, explained matters to their followers and influenced the direction of their votes. On the other hand, the system of dyarchy involved candidates in certain difficulties. The chief interest of the average voter throughout the greater part of India was in matters falling within the purview of the Revenue and Irrigation Departments or connected with the administration of justice ; and hence there was in many parts a tendency on the part of the electors to regard their local representative rather as a channel through which to obtain redress of their grievances against the reserved departments than as a representative whose duty it was to care for their interests in the spheres in which responsibility had been entrusted to the Legislative Councils. To this extent dyarchy was calculated to give the average voter a totally incorrect idea of the real implications of a system of responsible government.

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Further evil consequences resulted from the fact that the local legislatures had no direct responsibility for those departments which concern the most vital interests of the electors. There was a not unnatural tendency on the part of the latter to regard the Ministers as of inferior status to the members of the Executive Council and to adopt an attitude of irresponsibility towards the new system of government. However wrongly they might exercise the franchise the bureaucracy was there to see that no real harm befell them. Thus, from the very earliest days of responsible government, the voter was deprived of the most powerful incentive to a wise and responsible use of his vote, because his most immediate interests were not involved in the exercise of the franchise.

Working of Dyarchy

In spite of defects inherent in the system and of difficulties arising from circumstances beyond control, a surprising amount of success may be claimed for the new system of government. In all the provinces, save the Central Provinces and to a lesser extent, in Bengal, men of good-will have been found prepared to give dyarchy a fair trial, however short it may have fallen of their aspirations. Inside the legislative councils the forms and conventions of parliamentary procedure have been readily adopted. Debates have, as a rule, been conducted at a high level both of eloquence and of decorum. The record of legislation passed is one that bears tribute to the enthusiasm with which the new legislatures have approached their task. The spread of education, the development of co-operative societies, the increased provision of medical relief, are largely due to the influence and, indeed, the pressure exerted by the legislatures. If in some cases there has been a disinclination to impose fresh taxation it must be borne in mind that the ministers have had no real financial responsibility and further that the provinces have been labouring under a sense of grievance against the Central Government in connection with the Meston settlement. In this connection we may point out that as long as there is a distinction between reserved and transferred subjects, provincial legislatures may be expected to be more ready to make financial provision for the latter than for the former. In some respects, therefore, the reserved departments have lost more through the natural hostility or indifference of the legislatures than they have gained through a protection that has often proved illusory.

Growth of Education

Dealing with the progress of education the Committee remark :—

'With the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, education became a transferred subject, in charge of a minister responsible to the council. Forthwith education became the special care of the councils and a powerful impetus was given to its expansion. By 1927 the number of pupils in primary schools rose to 9.24 millions, an increase of 44.4 per cent during the decade. The expenditure on primary education which amounted to only 0.96 crores in 1892, and gradually rose to 2.93 crores in 1917, jumped, during the next decade, to 6.95 crores, an increase of 237 per cent. Large sums were demanded by the ministers and voted gladly by the legislative councils. With the exception of Burma, all the provinces accepted the principle of compulsion in the matter of primary education.'

The Committee then review the progress of secondary and higher education and remark :—

'We are of opinion that these facts constitute a complete vindication of and conclusive argument for carrying forward to its final stage a system which has produced these results. The meagre progress achieved in the pre-Reform period, the phenomenal expansion of education since its transfer to responsible ministers, the keen interest displayed by all sections of the community in their own education and the sacrifices made by them in that behalf are factors which we think more than fulfil the test which we started to apply. We are aware that there is much waste and ineffectiveness, that the results have not always been commensurate with the effort. The rapidity of the advance has led to defects of organisation which call for a remedy before the full fruit of the efforts is reaped. But the defects are unavoidable in the early stages of such a gigantic effort. Given time to take stock of the situation we have no doubt that those who have shown such enthusiasm for the cause will not allow their sacrifices to be in vain. We are therefore not dismayed by the debit side of the account. What is essential, in our opinion, is the fact that the sudden transfer of responsibility from the bureaucracy to the people of the country led to no shrinking on the part of the latter, but rather to a keen determination to seize the opportunity and to turn it into splendid achievement.'

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Working of Local Bodies

The committee then review the development of representative institutions and remark as bellow on the working of local bodies :—

'We find that the working of local bodies in recent years has been subjected to adverse criticism ; but it does not appear to be sufficiently realised by the critics that responsibility was suddenly transferred from trained officers, supported by adequate technical staff and with the resources of the revenue department generally at their disposal for purposes of inspection and check, to unofficial bodies operating in some cases with inadequate technical staff and in an atmostphere charged with resentment against, and suspicion of, official control. Where, in the first years of the reformed constitution, advice from experienced officials might have been of great value to local bodies, the condition were such that the latter were as little likely to ask for it as the former were certain to feel diffident in offering it. Circumstances thus combined to render the task of local bodies, in these first years of their emancipation from official control, one of unexampled difficulty. It would be unsafe, as well as unfair, to attempt to draw too definite conclusions as to the future of local self-government from the history of the past nine years. To us the wonder is, not that these bodies should have failed in some instances to maintain their former efficiency, but that their general level of working should have remained so high. Many of the defects, in our opinion, were the inevitable result of the suddenness with which the transition from official tutelage to complete freedom was made. They do not connote an inability on the part of the people to manage their own affairs through the medium of representative institutions.

The Dyarchy

The nine provinces are now governed by a divided Executive, the Governor-in-Council controlling the reserved subjects while the Governor with Ministers is responsible for the transferred subjects. The alternatives before us are either to retain dyarchy, whether in its present or in a modified form, or to abolish the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects and set up a unitary form of Government. The present system was devised as a temporary expedient ; it is highly artificial, has many inherent defects and involves grave disadvantages. That the system has worked even moderately well since its inception is a tribute to the men who have worked it, rather than an argument in favour of its continuance. The King's Government has been carried on in spite of, and not because of, dyarchy. There is, in fact, a preponderating volume of opinion, both official and non-official, in favour of the abolition of dyarchy and the institution of a unitary system of government in the provinces. Apart from the views of individuals, it is only the United Provinces Government and the Bombay Provincial Committee who, as a body, recommended the continuance of dyarchy. The Bombay Provincial Committee would retain the department of Law and Order as a reserved subject only for a period of five years, after which it should be open to the provincial legislature to demand the transfer of this last remnant of dyarchy, to the control of responsible ministers. The United Provinces Government, while recommending the retention of a modified system of dyarchy, would widen the field of responsibility by the transfer of further subjects.

Unitary System Of Government Recommended

In view of this consensus of opinion among those who have had first-hand experience of dyarchy, the majority of us have no hesitation in recommending that the Executive Government in the nine major provinces and in the province of Sind, if separated from Bombay, should consist of a Governor appointed by the Crown, and ministers responsible to the legislature. We consider that the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects should be abolished and that all subjects save those specifically classified as central, should be provincial. The only exception we would make to this general rule is that in Bengal, following the recommenation of the local Government, we would retain law and order in charge of a member not directly responsible to the legislature.

Strength of the Cabinet

On consideration of the local conditions and the recommendations of the various provincial Governments and committees, we recommend that the cabinet should consist of eight ministers in Madras, six in the United Provinces, five in Bombay, Bengal the Punjab and Burma, four in Bihar and Orissa and Assam

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and three in the Central Provinces. The ministers should be appointed by the Governor in the manner indicated in the next paragraph ; and except in one instance referred to hereafter, either be elected members of the local Legislatures or obtain seats therein within six months from the date of appointment. We do not accept the suggestion that they should be elected by the Legislature.

Joint Responsibility

It is an essential feature of our scheme that there should be joint responsibility in the Cabinet. We therefore recommend that in appointing the ministers the Governor should follow the English constitutional practice of selecting the Chief Minister and appointing the other ministers on his recommendation. It was suggested in the course of our deliberations that the Governor should appoint the minister in consultation with the Chief Minister but not necessarily on his recommendations. This however would in our opinion be incompatible with joint responsibility since it is essential for the latter that the Chief Minister should be in a position to select colleagues in whom he has confidence and not be compelled to accept men chosen by the Governor.

Question of a Muslim Minister

The desire of the Muslim community for a share in the Executive Government of the country is natural and has our entire sympathy. We believe that no wise Minister will ignore the accession of strength which the inclusion of a Muslim member will bring to his cabinet. It is probable that the exigencies of the parliamentary situation will make the inclusion of a Muslim Minister in the Cabinet virtually certain in most provinces. In any case it is very improbable that the position accorded to the community in this respect during the past ten years will be lightly ignored in the formation of future ministries. But a Statutory provision for the appointment of a Muslim, irrespective of his capacity and the parliamentary support he is able to command, is, in our opinion, impossible of acceptance.

The admission of such a claim would give rise to similar claims from other communities and interests, which it would be difficult to ignore. Such an appointment would be inconsistent with the assumption of joint responsibility by the Cabinet and be destructive of its solidarity. In the words of the Punjab Committee, the selection of ministers irrespective of party considerations "would cut at the very root of the principle of responsible government". The argument relating to Muslim endowments appears to us to be particularly dangerous. These endowments are at present adjudicated upon by judges irrespective of their religion. If the argument were sound that a Muhammadan minister alone should deal with them on the executive side, it might be claimed with equal force that a Muhammadan judge alone should be capable of handling them on the judicial side—a claim which has never been made and would, if allowed, be subversive of sound government. We, therefore, find ourselves unable to accept the proposal.

Working Of The Cabinet

With regard to the internal working of the Cabinet, we propose that the Chief Minister should preside at the meetings and, save in Bengal in one particular respect, distribute the portfolios amongst the members of the Cabinet. He may appoint a member to preside in his absence, and such member will be the Vice-President of the Cabinet and possess all the powers of the Chief Minister for the time being. It should be within the discretion of the Chief Minister to appoint an official as secretary to the Cabinet, who should work under his orders or, in his absence, under those of the Vice-President. Rules for the transaction of the business of the local government should be prepared by the Cabinet and submitted to the Governor for his approval, and should become operative to the extent of such approval.

The Governor

It follows from our proposals regarding the constitution of the Cabinet that the Governor will not be a member of it. It is desirable that the Governor, as a direct representative of the King-Emperor, should not become the subject of criticism in the Legislative Council, as would be the case if he is directly connected with the decisions of the Cabinet. There is, however, a more weighty reason for his exclusion. The transition from the present dyarchical constitution to full responsible government in the provinces necessitates the retention of certain extraordinary powers in

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the hands of the Governor. It is essential for the proper exercise of those powers that the Governor should be placed outside and above the Cabinet. It is our hope that with the growth of responsible government in the provinces the exercise of those powers will gradually fall into desuetude, leaving the Governor ultimately in the position of a constitutional ruler. The consummation of this ideal will be retarded rather than advanced by placing the Governor in the Cabinet.

Law and Order in Bengal

The exception we have made in paragraph 42 relates to the portfolio of Law and Order in Bengal. Owing to the existence of acute communal tension in that province and its repercussions on the administration, a section of the Government of Bengal is of opinion that the handing over of the portfolio of Law and Order to an elected minister, responsible to the Council, would create "a large measure of distrust and apprehension, which would be unfavourable to the advance of the province". The Government of Bengal, therefore, recommend that the portfolio in question should be placed in the hands of an official minister, appointed by the Governor. The Government, including this official member, should, they suggest, be unitary in character, and proposals connected with the department of Law and Order which come before the Legislative Council should have been approved by the Government as a whole.

We are impressed with the danger pointed out, but apprehend that the solution recommended by the Government of Bengal would be unworkable and would make the position of the official minister vis-a-vis the members of the Cabinet and the Legislature full of difficulty. The alternative suggested by the Provincial Committee, namely, that of safe-guarding the administration of the department of Law and Order by an elected minister by associating with him a board composed on communal lines, does not commend itself to us as either feasible or satisfactory. We have already recommended that Law and Order should not be a transferred subject in Bengal. In pursuance of this recommendation we now propose that the portfolio should be placed in charge of a member—not necessarily an official—appointed by the Governor. He will on appointment become an ex-officio member of the Legislative Council ; but will not, of course, be responsible to it. Save in this respect we recommend that the constitution and the working of the Cabinet in Bengal should follow the general lines laid down for the other provinces.

Stability of Ministries

A question which has engaged our special attention is the desirability of guarding against the risk of too frequent changes of ministries. Various methods have been suggested by which this end might be attained. The American model—an executive appointed for a fixed period—we have rejected as being unsuited to Indian conditions and inconsistent with the form of government which we desire to see established. Our object is to give the ministers reasonable security of tenure, while ensuring that power to remove them shall be exercisable by the legislature when they have ceased to have its confidence. We, therefore, consider that adequate notice should be given before any motion of want of confidence is introduced. This provision will ensure that all members of the legislature will have a reasonable opportunity to attend. We further consider that no motion of want of confidence should entail the resignation of a ministry unless two-thirds of the members present vote in favour of it.

Salaries of Ministers

Following the almost unanimous recommendation of the provincial Governments and Committees, we recommend that the salaries of ministers and of the President of the Council should be fixed by an Act of the local legislature. We are aware that the reduction of salary by a vote of the legislature is one of the generally accepted methods of bringing censure on a minister and of removing him from office. But under our proposal it will be open to the legistature to secure this end by refusal or reduction of the grants required for the administration of a department.

The Governor And The Cabinet

The Governor of the province should, we consider, exercise the ordinary constitutional power of dismissing the Cabinet ; but we would not vest in him any extraordinary power to dismiss an individual minister, as has been proposed in some quarters. In dismissing, as in appointing, a Cabinet, we consider that the Governor should follow the ordinary constitutional practice which obtains in self-governing

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British dominions. The power of the Governor to override the Cabinet we would restrict and confine within prescribed limits. For the purpose of maintaining peace and tranquillity in a province we consider that it should be open to the Governor to take any steps and, if necessary, issue orders in the name of the Government of the province to preserve peace and order. Where the Governor considers that an order issued by a minister should be overruled for the purpose of maintaining peace and tranquillity, he should have the power to do so. Similarly, where no order has been issued by a minister, the Governor should have the power to issue any order necessary in his opinion for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity. In this connection we consider that it should be open to the Governor to direct or prohibit the transfer of any district magistrate or district superintendent of police to and from any district. Apart from matters connected with the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, we consider that the Governor should be given the power to override the decision of the majority of the Cabinet. If, however, he differs from the Cabinet on any question affecting (a) the religion or the religious rites of any class of British subjects in British India; (b) any central subject; or (c) the interests of another province, he should have the power to refer the question to the Governor-General, whose decision shall be final.

Size Of Electorate

The smallness of the electorates has been made in some quarters a ground of criticism against the Councils, and it is argued that, until the latter become more largely representative, it would be idle to think of investing them with larger powers. It may, however, be mentioned that a system of parliamentary government existed in England before 1832, although the electorate was practically confined to the upper classes; and that even after the Reform Act of 1832 the proportion of the population enfranchised was less than 3 per cent; it rose to 9 per cent in 1867 and 16 per cent in 1884. The growth of the electorate in other countries has been equally slow; but the smallness of the electorate has nowhere precluded the exercise of self-government by the countries concerned. We can conceive of no reason why the case of India should be different. It must be borne in mind that the comparison of voters with the total population presents the size of the electorate in a somewhat unfavourable perspective. The complete enfranchisement of women, even in leading European countries, is of recent occurrence. In India, owing to social customs amongst Muslims and Hindus, the number of women enfranchised is necessarily small and unduly lowers the general average. A more true picture is afforded by comparing the electorate with the adult male population, which virtually is the only class from which it is formed. Looked at from this point of view, the electorate comprises 46 per cent of the population in Burma; 11 to 13 per cent in Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Punjab and Assam; 9 per cent in Bengal; and 4 per cent in Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces and Berar. The percentages, except in the last two cases, are not inconsiderable; but nevertheless, we recognise that a truly democratic government, such as we aim at establishing in our country, is inconsistent with the existence of a narrow franchise. We, therefore, propose that a substantial increase should be made in the size of the electorates.

The growth of the electorate during the last ten years and the popular attitude towards the exercise of the franchise, in our opinion, amply justify an advance.

Growth of Voting

The growth of the electorate is less significant of popular attitude towards franchise and the reforms generally than the growth of voting. At the elections for the Assembly in 1920, 25 per cent of the voters in contested constituencies went to the polls; in 1926 the percentage rose to 48. For the total electorate the figures in the two years were 20 per cent and 36 per cent respectively, the actual percentages in certain provinces being much higher, e.g., 47 in the Punjab, 48 in the Central Provinces and 50 in Bihar and Orissa. Polling for the provincial Councils has been equally heavy, the percentages in 1926 ranging from 39 in Bombay and 43 in Madras to 53 in the Punjab. For the contested constitutencies in Bihar and Orissa in 1926 the percentage was 61, a remarkable figure for a comparatively backward province.

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Adult Suffrage Impracticable

We now come to our own proposals on the subject. We are of opinion that adult suffrage, though in ideal to be aimed at and reached by gradual stages, is impracticable at the present day.

Committee's Proposals

With regard to the immediate extension of the franchise, two lines of advance suggest themselves, namely, to leave the question to the decision of the Councils, and secondly, to take the first step forward before the new Councils are constituted. Although we entertain no doubt as to the liberal intentions of the Councils in this behalf—the Madras Council has already declared itself in favour of adult suffrage—we consider that our demand for the transfer by Parliament of its responsibility over the whole field of administration in the provinces to the Legislative Councils can be made with greater reason if the Councils are representative of a wider electorate than less than 4 per cent of the population as at present. We are further of opinion that the political education of the people can be most rapidly achieved through the channel of electorates and that "the gradual development of self-governing institutions" imperatively demand that the franchise should be more widely diffused than at present. We, therefore, recommend that the present electorate should be doubled immediately. Three members of the Committee, on the other hand, are of opinion that there should be no change in the electorate for a period of seven years from the coming into force of the new constitution, as it would be unwise to widen the electorate at the same time that extensive changes are made in the constitution and the powers of the Councils.

Future Extension of the Franchise

With regard to future extension of the franchise, we recommend that the new Legislative Councils should have the power to raise or lower the franchise at the end of their second term, provided that any change shall not be carried into effect unless it is passed at a special meeting of the Council and is supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present. We further recommend that unless a more rapid advance is made earlier in the direction of adult suffrage, one-third of the adult population should be compulsorily enfranchised in 1941; two-thirds in 1951; and the whole in 1961. A minority of us would, however, prefer that the Councils should be given the power after the expiry of their second term to increase the franchise, if they so desire, to not more than one-fourth of the adult population and thereafter at the same rate at the end of every two terms.

We would exclude Burma from the scope of the above recommendations, since that province has already travelled a long way on the road to adult suffrage, the percentage of male voters to the population over twenty years of age being as high as 46.6. We, therefore, recommend that the question of further extension of the franchise in Burma should be left to the discretion of the Legislative Council.

Size Of Provincial Councils

The next question which demands our attention is the size and composition of the provincial Legislatures. The present strength of the Legislative Councils does not, in our opinion, admit of effective representation of the various competing interests. In order to make this representation more real, we recommend that the size of the constituencies should be reduced and consequently that their number should be increased. Bearing in mind the recommendations of the Provincial Governments and Communities, we suggest the following numbers for the various provinces :—

Name of Province	Present Strength	Proposed Strength
Madras	132	150
Bombay (excluding Sind)	95	114
Bengal	140	200
United Provinces ...	123	182
Punjab	94	150
Bihar and Orissa...	103	150
Central Provinces	73	125
Assam	53	75
Burma	103	120

These figures, taken in conjunction with our recommendation for the elimination

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of nominated members, involve no inconsiderable increase over the present elected representation in the Council.

The Official Bloc

The committee after quoting the views of the provincial Committees about the official bloc recommend :—

In view of the above opinions we have no hesitation in recommending that the official bloc should be entirely eliminated. In order however to provide for the occasional appointment of experts to assist in the consideration of particular bills before the Council, we suggest that the Governor should have the power to nominate not more than two experts for the purpose of those bills. These members should be in addition to the normal strength of the Council but should not have the power to vote.

The nomination of non-official members has hitherto been justified on the ground of enabling the Governor to remedy the defects of election and secure the representation of communities and interests which otherwise fail to obtain representation. As we propose to make full provision for the representation of all such communities and interests by election, we recommend that the nomination of non-officials be entirely done away with. As a result of our recommendation, except to the extent indicated in paragraphs 49, 65, 80 and 93, the Legislative Councils will consist of elected members only.

Communal Electorates

One of the most difficult and at the same time most pressing of the problems with which we have to deal is that of communal electorates. Throughout our tour in India the Joint Free Conference was confronted with insistent demands for the recognition of the special importance of particular communities as such, and arguments were put forward to support the plea that only by separate electorates or special representation not only in the legislatures, but also in local self-governing bodies, can the different interests of each community be safeguarded.

The Present Position

At present the position is that Muslims have separate electorates in eight major provinces, while in Burma they are included in a separate joint electorate with all other Indian voters. The Sikhs in the Punjab have their own electorate, as have Europeans in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Burma ; Anglo-Indians in Madras, Bengal and Burma ; Indian Christians in Madras and Karens in Burma. In Madras non-Brahmins, a majority community, are protected by the reservation of seats, as are Maharattas in Bombay. Except in the cases mentioned above, the interests of particular communities are safeguarded by the nomination of representatives to the legislature.

Before we deal with the case of particular communities we will refer to the general principles which we propose to follow within the limits set by practical considerations. The majority of us regard the principle of communal electorates as inherently vicious and unsound. We desire to see them abolished throughout India as soon as possible. We are prepared to recommend the retention of communal electorates only in exceptional circumstances. Where circumstances render it unlikely that a minority will obtain adequate representation without special protection, we would generally reserve seats for them in joint electorates. We would at the same time leave the members of a minority community free to contest seats in the general constituencies over and above those reserved for them.

Abolition Recommended

Two main questions which we have had to consider are, firstly, whether the present system of separate electorates should be continued, and, if not, what another system should be adopted ; and, secondly, in either case, whether any special representation should be allowed to the Muslims over and above that to which they are entitled on a population basis, or which they might obtain in open election. It is beyond question that the majority of the Muslims throughout India desire to retain separate electorates, and claim that in the provinces in which they are in a minority they should be granted representation over and above that to which the mere counting of heads might entitle them. On the other hand, we are convinced that until Muslims and Hindus are brought together in common electorates there is little prospect of the evolution of a spirit of common citizenship, without which the

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system of responsible government cannot satisfactorily develop. It is a matter for regret that on this important and highly-controversial subject it has not been found possible to arrive at a unanimous conclusion. Some of us are strongly of the opinion that separate electorates which now form part of the electoral system should not be abolished except with the consent of the community concerned. The majority of us, however, have held that wider considerations should be allowed to override the wishes of particular communities.

In setting forth our conclusions we will deal first with the provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority viz: Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam. In these provinces the majority of us are of the opinion that separate electorates for the Muslims should now be abolished, that they should be granted the privilege of having seats reserved for them in joint electorates either on a population basis or their voting strength, whichever may be more favourable to them, and further that they should be permitted to contest other seats in general constituencies beyond the number actually reserved for them. The retention of this system is recommended until the introduction of adult suffrage in any province, by which time it is hoped that the time may be ripe for the abolition of all special communal privileges.

Representation In Punjab

In the Punjab we have followed for the two principal minority communities, the Hindus and the Sikhs, the same principle which we have applied to the Muslims in provinces in which they are in a minority. For Hindus and Sikhs, therefore, in the Punjab we would reserve seats in joint electorates on a population basis or on voting strength, whichever may be more favourable to them, without prejudice to their right to contest other seats in general constituencies. The Muslims in the Punjab will then be placed on the same footing as the Hindus in all the other provinces, save Bengal and Burma.

In Bengal

For Bengal we would adopt a different principle. In this province the Muslims are in a clear majority and the position is not complicated by the presence of a third community, such as the Sikhs in the Punjab. We can see no valid reason for granting to the Muslims any special protection. As for the Hindus, they are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently influential to be allowed to take care of their own interests. Moreover, Hindu opinion throughout India is definitely opposed to the principle of special protection for particular communities, save in very exceptional circumstances. We therefore consider that in Bengal, as far as Hindus and Muslims are concerned, there should be no separate electorates and no reservation of seats but that the two communities should vote together in a joint electorate.

The attitude adopted by the Sikh community towards the question of communal representation in the legislature may be stated in a few words. The Sikhs are prepared to come into a general electorate with no special protection for their community, provided that this principle is generally accepted. If, however, other communities are to be given special protection, the Sikhs demand that they should not be placed in a worse position. We accordingly recommend that until the introduction of adult suffrage, seats for the Sikhs in all provinces in which they are in minority, should be reserved in joint electorates on a population basis or their voting strength, whichever is more favourable to them, without prejudice to their right to contest other seats in the joint electorates. In explanation we may say that it is not our intention that the Sikhs should have representation in a province unless they have the minimum population necessary to entitle them to it.

Depressed Classes

As regards the method of selection of the representatives of the depressed classes we have considered nomination, separate electorates and joint electorates. Nomination we have ruled out, partly on the ground that this method fails entirely in educative effect; partly because nominees lack independence and cannot always be expected to vote without regard to the supposed wishes of the authority who nominated them; and partly because the representatives of the depressed classes who gave evidence before us were generally opposed to the method of nomination.

As regard the second alternative, it is only in the Madras Presidency that it would appear to be within the bounds of practical politics to form separate electo-

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rates for the depressed classes. In the Southern Presidency this community is better educated, better organised and altogether politically more advanced than any other part of India. Although we are generally opposed to any extension of the vicious system of communal electorates, the necessity for advancing the political education of the depressed classes is so urgent that we recommend that separate electorates should be formed from the castes named in the Madras Electoral Rule, referred to above, for a period of ten years, after which separate electorates should be abolished and seats should be reserved for them in joint electorates.

In other provinces, excluding Bombay and Assam where local conditions have made it convenient to adopt a slightly different method, we recommend that seats should be reserved for the depressed classes, as defined by the local governments, in joint electorates. We would allot them seats in the various provinces as follows :—

Madras 14 (10), Bombay 8 (2), Rengal 8 (1), United Provinces 10 (1), Punjab 6 (0), Bihar and Orissa 6 (2), Central Provinces 8 (4), Assam 9 (0).

(Note.—The figures in brackets show present representation, which in every case is nomination.)

In the Bombay Presidency we recommend that seats be reserved for depressed classes in joint electorates on a population basis or on their voting strength, whichever is more favourable to them.

For Assam we recommend that nine seats should be reserved in the joint electorates for the backward and depressed classes in the Surma valley and for indigenous primitive races and backward and depressed classes in the Assam valley. As in other provinces we would leave it to the local government to draw up a list of these classes.

Backward Classes

Akin to the problem of the "depressed classes" is that of "backward classes", among whom may be counted aboriginals, criminal tribes and others among the less advanced of the inhabitants of British India. In Madras and Assam one member is at present nominated to the Provincial Legislature to represent backward tracts. We would recommend the continuance of this representation, leaving it to the local governments to form an electorate, if possible, or otherwise to fill the seat by nomination. We would, further, give five representatives to the backward classes in the United Provinces, exclusive of the ten already alloted to the depressed classes.

Indian Christians

Opinion among the Indian Christians on the subject of their representation by separate electorates appears to be divided. As we understand the position, Indian Christians would be prepared to abandon separate electorates, because they realise that it is a distinct disadvantage for them to be shut off politically from the bulk of their countrymen. If, however, separate electorates are to continue for other communities, they would desire to retain them for themselves. We have already stated our objection generally to separate electorates. We consider that Indian Christians, who as a rule have a higher percentage of literates than other communities, will be able to hold their own in joint electorates, if seats be reserved for them. We accordingly recommend that Indian Christians should have seats reserved for them in joint electorates and should be free to contest other seats in general constituencies. We would allot to them by this method seats as under :—

Madras, 6 ; Bombay, 1 ; (in Bombay city.) Bengal, 2 ; United Provinces, 3 ; Punjab 2 ; Bihar and Orissa, 2 ; Assam, 1.

Europeans

It is clear to us that Europeans must continue to obtain their representation through separate electorates, if only for the reason that they are generally unable to speak the language sufficiently fluently to address a general constituencey in the vernacular. We, therefore, consider that Europeans should continue to have separate electorates. We would grant them seats as under :—

Madras, 2 ; Bombay, 2 ; Bengal, 7 ; United Provinces, 2 ; Punjab, 1 ; Bihar and Orissa, 2 ; Assam, 1 ; Burma, 2.

As regards the Central Provinces, where at present one member is nominated to represent both Europeans and Anglo-Indians, we would form a general constituency of Europeans and Anglo-Indians returning two members.

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Anglo-Indians

The case of the Anglo-Indians stands on a slight different footing from that of either the Europeans or the Indian Christians. We desire that, as far as possible, Anglo-Indians should learn to consider themselves citizens of India having joint interests with the bulk of the inhabitants of the country, With this object in view we would, where possible, grant them representation in joint electorates by reservation of seats. Oue proposals as regards the Anglo-Indian community are as follows :—

For Madras one member to be returned by a separate electorate and one seat to be reserved for them in a joint electorate. In Bombay, following the recommendation of the Provincial Committee, we would give them two seats in a separate electorate. In the United Provinces we recommend three seats; in the Punjab one; in Bengal four ; and in Bihar and Orissa one ; in each case the seats being reserved in joint electorates. In Burma, where the Anglo-Indians at present have one seat, we would grant them two. For the Central Provinces, as already stated, we would give two seats to a joint constituency consisting of Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

In order that the members elected may be really representative of the Anglo-Indian community we would suggest that in the case of joint electorates the candidates should either be selected from a panel put forward by recognised Anglo-Indian associations, or that election should be conditioned on obtaining a certain percentage of the votes, not only of the Anglo-Indians, but of the other electorates in the constituency.

Non-Brahmins and Mahrattas

The non-Brahmins in Madras and Mahrattas is Bombay have been protected by the reservation for them of a certain number of seats. It has become clear that the non-Brahmins in Madras stand in no need of any special protection and are well able to hold their own in general constituencies. We, therefore, consider that the reservation of seats for non-Brahmins in Madras should be abolished. As regards the Mahrattas in Bombay, the reservation of seats for them followed out of the reservation of seats for non-Brahmins in Madras. As in Madras, experience in Bombay has shown that the Mahrattas are sufficiently strong in the constituencies in which seats are now reserved for them to be able to hold their own. We do not consider that the reservation of seats for Mahrattas can any longer be justified and we, therefore, propose to abolish this reservation also.

Commerce and Industry.

We are satisfied that the presence of men, whether Indian or English, qualified to speak with knowledge and authority on the various questions connected with the development of commerce and industry, in India, adds a valuable, even an essential, element to the legislatures. Legislation connected with or effecting commerce and industry is likely to be increasingly important for many years to come, and we entirely agree that no legislative body would be complete without the presence of representatives of these interests.

Labour

We have devoted considerable attention to the question of the adequate representation of Labour in the legislatures. We recognise that unorganised labour, which term includes the vast majority of the labouring classes in India, must remain unrepresented until the franchise has been lowered to a sufficient degree to enable them to win representation in the general constituencies. We believe, however, that India is on the threshold of a great industrial development, and we regard it as of the highest importance that means should be provided by which organised labour may be enabled to make its wants known in the legislatures through representatives of its own. The best means of attaining this object will, we consider, be by establishing separate electorates for labour wherever possible. We would, therefore, propose the following representation for labour :—

Madras 1, Bombay 4, Bengal 3, United Provinces 2, Punjab 1, Bihar and Orissa 2, Central Provinces 2, Assam 3.

In the case of Bombay, where industrial labour is more highly organized than elsewhere, we would propose to reserve four seats for labour in four general constituencies ; one in Ahmedabad ; one in Sholapur ; and two in Bombay City. In

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Assam we propose that the three representatives should be elected by labourers employed on tea estates. In the other provinces we would propose to establish separate electorates for labour.

Landholders.

We consider that landholders should continue to have representation through special constituencies. In view of the increase which we propose in the numbers of the provincial legislatures we would generally increase the numbers of the land-holders' representatives, except in Bombay, as follows :—

Madras 7, Bombay (excluding Sind) 2, Bengal 5, United Provinces 16, Punjab 4, Bihar and Orissa 8, Central Provinces 5.

Of the sixteen representatives in the United Provinces, eight should be elected by the British-Indian Association, six by the Agra Zamindars' Association, and two by the Muzaffarnagar Zamindars' Association.

In the Punjab we would propose to form a joint electorate for the four land-holders' seats reserving one seat in this constituency for a Hindu, one for a Sikh; and two for Muslim land-holders.

Universities

We would leave the representation of the Universities at the same strength as at present, except in the case of the United Provinces, where we consider that the existence of the three Universities of Allahabad, Agra and Lucknow should be recognised by giving them two seats instead of one. In the method of election of university representatives we propose a modification of the present system. We consider that, in order to secure a more adequate representation of learning and the return of representatives possessing special academic qualifications, the university franchise should be confined to members of the Senate, or, in the case of Dacca University, the Court of the University.

Women.

We are unanimously of opinion that steps should be taken to secure the representation of women in the provincial legislatures. Except in the case of certain advanced parts of India, it seems clear that women cannot at present expect to obtain representation to an adequate extent through the general constituencies. We, therefore, consider that in every province five per cent of the total seats in the provincial legislatures should be reserved for women.

Life of the Provincial Legislature.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the present term of the Councils, namely, three years, is too short to admit of the Councils or the ministers being able to carry out any sustained programme of work. We, therefore, recommend that the term should be extended to four years.

Powers of Provincial Legislature.

Subject to the reservations made in this behalf in paragraph 98, we recommend that the legislative power in the provinces should be vested in the Governor; as representative of the King-Emperor, and the Legislative Council, and, in the case of the United Provinces, also the Senate. The Local legislature should have the power to make laws for the peace and good government of the province in respect of all provincial subjects, excluding those subjects which are assigned to the Central Government of India. It should not, however, be empowered, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, to repeal or alter as to the province any law relating to a provincial subject enacted by the Indian Legislature, before the commencement of the new constitution.

With the transfer of all provincial subjects to the administration of responsible ministers, the power given to the Governor under section 72E of the Government of India Act of 1919, to certify legislation essential for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects will naturally disappear. The same result will follow in regard to the power under proviso (a) to sec. 72D (2) of the above Act to restore grants refused by the legislature in respect of reserved subjects.

Financial Safeguards.

The control of the Legislature over legislation, and of the Legislative Councils

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over budgets, would thus become complete. In regard to budgets, however, following the well-known principle of the British constitution and the provisions of section 72D (2), proviso (c), of the Government of India Act, we recommend that no proposal for the appropriation of any provincial revenues or other moneys for any purpose shall be made, except on the recommendation of the Cabinet. As a further safeguard, we would also retain, with a slight modification, the provision contained in Section 80C of the above Act, and make it unlawful for any member of the local legislature to introduce, without the previous sanction of the Cabinet, any measure affecting the public revenues of the province or imposing any charge on those revenues.

The Governor and Legislature

In accordance with our scheme of provincial autonomy, we recommend that the power to assent to or withhold assent from bills passed by the local legislature should vest in the Governor. While recognising the right of each province to legislate for its peculiar needs, we cannot however ignore the close inter-relation between the provinces and the repercussions of legislation passed in one province on its neighbours, or even further afield. It is, therefore, desirable in the general interests of the country that the Central Government of India should be invested with the general power to co-ordinate and, if need be, to control legislation within the provinces. On the other hand, we regard it as inconceivable that autonomous provinces would submit to such control at the hands of a bureaucratic Central Government. We would not therefore allow any power of veto over provincial legislation to the Governor General in Council until such times as the Central Government has been constituted in the manner proposed by us. If our proposals for the Central Government are accepted, all those departments which most intimately concern the provincial governments will be transferred to the charge of ministers responsible to the Central Legislature. The Governor-General in Council acting in matters concerned with the transferred departments on the advice of his ministers will then occupy a position approximating to that of a constitutional ruler. In such circumstances we would allow to the Governor-General in Council power of control over provincial legislatures which we are not prepared to concede to the head of an irresponsible bureaucracy.

Vis-a-vis the Cabinet we have proposed to grant the Governor extraordinary powers to be used where necessary for the maintenance of the peace and tranquillity of the province. As an essential corollary of those powers we consider that the Governor should have the power in cases of emergency to authorize such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the province.

Second Chamber

After discussing the question of second chamber the committee recommend :—

On consideration of the above facts we come to the conclusion that a second chamber in the provinces is unnecessary at present and might give rise to practical difficulties. We would make an exception in the case of the United Provinces where the existence of a large landed aristocracy provides suitable material for a second chamber. Accordingly, we propose that such a chamber should be created in that province tentatively for a period of 10 years, on the expiry of which the matter should be further considered.

Constitution of the Senate in the United Provinces

We suggest that this chamber, which may be styled 'Senate', should consist of 50 members, to be elected by the following constituencies :—

Name of Constituency.	*Number of Representatives.*
British Indian Association	... 4
Agra Province Zamindars' Association	... 3
Muzaffarnagar Zamindars' Association	... 1
Indian Trade and Commerce	... 2
European Trade and Commerce	... 2
Depressed Classes	... 2
General Constituencies	... 36

Out of the thirty-six general seats we propose that seats should be reserved for Muslims in a joint electorate on the basis of their population or voting strength, whichever is found to be more favourable to them, without prejudice to their right to contest other seats.

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The Services

With regard to the services the committee recommend that, except in Madras and Bombay, the case of which will be considered separately, the provincial governments set up under the new constitution should be free to decide what proportion of the existing All-India Services should be continued on the present footing and to what extent these services should be provincialised; it being understood in either case that the existing members of the Services will continue to enjoy the protection already afforded to them. They further recommended that should the governments decide to provincialise the Services in question, due regard should be paid to the adequate representation therein of all communities, such as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, the depressed classes and others, subject of course to the candidate for employment fulfilling the minimum requirements of efficiency.

Protection of the Services

The authority vested in the provincial government in respect of the Services will normally be exercised by the Governor-in-Council. But in order to safeguard the members of the Services from political influence in the discharge of their duties, we recommend that no order affecti g emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of any officer of an All-India or Provincial Service without the personal concurrence of the Governor. An officer belonging to an All-India Service, or appointed by the Secretary of State, will further be entitled to appeal to that authority against any such order.

Local Army

The grant of complete responsible government to any province is bound up with the question of the maintenance of law and order and internal security generally. There exists in India a very widespread belief that the British Government has no real intention of ever allowing the people of India to obtain genuine self-government; that the army will continue to be maintained as a weapon in the hands of the British Government for the retention of India in subjection; and that the alleged unfitness of Indians for high command will continue to be put forward as an argument against the final handing over into Indian hands of responsibility for the government of the country. It is, in our opinion, of the utmost importance that the British Government should lose no further time in affording to the people of India definite proofs that such suspicions are unwarranted. The grant to provincial governments of the right to raise a local army for the maintenance of internal security would be a long step in this direction, while at the same time obviating some of the risks which we apprehend from the use of regular troops. Financial consideration alone render it certain that no provincial government will raise a force larger than is actually required. The experiment—for experiment it will be—is not one that we would forthwith recommend for trial throughout India; but we see no real risk and much advantage in its adoption in the South of the Peninsula. The majority of us accordingly recommend that it should be open to the Governments of Madras and Bombay to equip and maintain a local military force and a local militia.

Separation of Executive from Judicial Functions

The separation of the executive from the judicial functions has long been a burning question in Indian politics; but for various reasons, into which we need not enter, its solution has been delayed. With the confering of responsible government on the provinces the separation of the two functions must be left to the sole discretion of the provinces. But we are of opinion that the introduction of this reform should no longer be delayed and suggest that immediate steps should be taken to formulate schemes to give effect to such separation.

Introduction of Element of Responsibility

We have referred elsewhere to the need of a strong Central Government, coordinating and in a measure controlling the Provinces, to keep them from drifting apart. We consider that the fuller the measure of autonomy to be exercised by the provinces, the greater will be the need for a strong Central Government. We are, therefore, at one with the authors of the Joint Report in their desire to 'introduce a new

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element of strength into the Government.' We regard the suggestions which have been made to us to revert to the pre-reform Legislature, with an official majority, as wholly impracticable. Considerations of justice as well as political expediency forbid such a course. The only line open to us seems to be to introduce an element of responsibility in the Central Government so as to broad-base it on the support of the Legislature.

In making this recommendation we are not oblivious of the difficulties which stand in the way of establishing complete responsibility in the Central Government at the present day. We, therefore, propose to proceed in the first instance by the transfer of all subjects, except the defence of India and its relations with foreign and the Indian States, to the control of ministers responsible to the Legislature. As a safeguard in the administration alike of the subjects transferred and those reserved we would provide that it should not be competent to the Legislature, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, to deal with any measure affecting :—

(a) the public debt or public revenues of India or imposing any charge on the revenues of India ; or

(b) the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India ; or

(c) the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's military, naval, or air forces ; or

(d) the relations of the Government with foreign princes or states ; or any measure

(i) regulating any provincial subject, or any part of a provincial subject, which has not been declared to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature ; or

(ii) repealing or amending any Act of a local legislature ; or

(iii) repealing or amending any Act or Ordinance made by the Governor-General.

Dyarchy In The Centre Justified

The proposal we have just made exposes us to a charge of inconsistency in recommending for the Centre the system of dyarchy which we have discarded in the Provinces. We admit the force of the charge ; but would state in extenuation that the subjects of defence and foreign and political relations which we have reserved—to use the current phraseology—are sufficiently distinct and separable from the other functions of the Central Government which we propose to transfer, not to produce any of the complications which the working of the system led to in the Provinces. Moreover, short of a complete transfer of responsibility to ministers, we can see no alternative to dyarchy which, despite its inherent defects, can, as experience shows, be worked with reasonable success, given a certain amount of goodwill on both sides. We believe that if our recommendations are accepted, the requisite atmosphere for the working of the system will be created, and that as a half-way house dyarchy will be accepted and worked in a satisfactory manner.

Composition of the Governor-General's Cabinet

We propose that the Cabinet of the Governor-General should consist of not more than two executive councillors and not more than six ministers. The appointment both of the councillors and ministers should be made by the Governor-General at his own discretion, but we recommend that at least half the members of the Cabinet should be Indians. We would further provide that one councillor or minister should be a member of the Council of State and the rest should sit in the Assembly ; and where they are not already members of the Legislature they should become such members ex-officio. Both the members of Executive Council and ministers should have the right to address either chamber of the Legislature, but they should only have the right to vote in the chamber of which they are members.

Legislative Assembly

In an earlier part of this report we have referred to the desirability of enlarging the size of our Legislatures. We now propose that the Legislative Assembly should consist of 300 members.

In addition to the normal strength of the Assembly we suggest that the Governor-General in Council should have the power to nominate ten experts to sit and speak in the Assembly, but without the right to vote.

Composition of the Assembly

We have found ourselves unable in the time at our disposal and in the absence

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of any such concrete proposals as we have received in the case of the Provinces, to work out in detail a scheme of distribution of seats. The general principle we have adopted, therefore, is to accord to each community or interest the same proportionate representation as it now enjoys, with additional weightage in the case of some important interests, including Muslims. In order to remove any inequalities in representation which this system of distribution might produce, and also to provide for the inclusion of such officials as may be necessary, we recommend that the Governor-General should be empowered to nominate twenty members in addition to the seven ministers and executive councillors. We propose that the remaining 273 seats should be thrown open to election and distributed in the following manner :—

	Number of seats Allotted.
Hindus ...	104
Muslims ...	79
Depressed Classes ...	12
Sikhs ...	6
Europeans ...	17
Anglo-Indians ...	3
Indian Christians ...	3
Landholders ...	10
Indian Commerce ...	8
Associated Chambers of Commerce (European) ...	3
Labour ...	5
Women ...	5
Burma ...	8
North-West Frontier Province ...	6
Delhi ...	2
Ajmer-Merwara ...	2
Total ...	273

Electorates

Except in the case of Europeans, to whom we would concede separate electorates of their own on account of the language difficulty already mentioned, we propose that the seats allotted to the other communities and to labour and women should be contested in joint electorates. In the case of the depressed classes, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, labour and women, we would, however, suggest that should election by joint electorates present any insuperable difficulty, recourse should be had to indirect elections under such rules as may be framed by the Government of India. The constituencies for the landholders and Indian and European Commerce will, of course, be special.

The Council of State

With the exception of an increase in its numbers we propose to make no change in the constitution of the Council of State. As regards its strength, we propose that it should be increased from 60 to 100, and that the seats be distributed amongst the various communities and interests in the same proportion in which they are now held. We also recommend that the present proportion between the elected and nominated seats should be maintained.

India Office

We have here some definite proposals to make in pursuance of the policy of transferring power, wherever possible, from the Secretary of State to the Government of India. We have had the advantage of hearing the opinions of high financial authorities on the question of the agency which can most conveniently be employed for the raising of loans on behalf of the Government of India. We have come to the conclusion that there is much advantage to be derived from bringing the Government of India into direct relations with the London money market ; and we therefore recommend that the power to raise loans should be vested in the Government of India, and that it should be left to it to employ such agency as may seem desirable for the purpose of raising loans.

In connection with the recruitment of the Services, it is clearly inconsistent with the principles of responsible government that such recruitment should be

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vested in any authority outside India. We therefore propose that recruitment for the Services should be in the hands either of the Government of India or of the provincial government as the case may be, and that the governments concerned should be free to choose their own agency for this purpose.

A further question which we have considered is that of the appointment of representatives of India to international organisations, such as the League of Nations. Here again we consider that all such appointments should be made by the Government of India and not by the Secretary of State. It would be natural if the Government of India were to employ the High Commissioner for India as their agent in the matters to which we have referred, but we would not limit their discretion and would leave it to them to decide upon the agency which they may desire to employ.

The proposals which we have put forward will automatically involve further limitation of the powers of the Secretary of State. With the establishment of a unitary form of government and the transfer of all subjects to a responsible ministry the rules under Section 19A of the Government of India Act will restrict the Secretary of State's powers of intervention over the whole provincial field. In the case of the subjects transferred to responsible ministers in the Central Government we consider that the same rules should apply. Moreover, we contemplate that further conventions, of the nature of the Fiscal Conventions, will tend to become established. As the power of the popular Assembly increases, the authority of the Secretary of State must wane.

The Council of India

This brings us to the Secretary of State's Council. On the question of the retention or abolition of the Secretary of States' Council the opinion of the Committee is divided. To some of us it appears that the Council is not only unnecessary, but positively harmful; that its existence results in delay; unnecessary duplication of work; and unwarranted interference with the Government of India. Others of us look upon it as affording both a protection to Indian revenues against raids by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and a guarantee to the Services, the removal of which will act as a deterrent to recruitment for All-India Services. On a full consideration of the arguments for and against, however, we recommend that the Council of the Secretary of State be abolished. If, however, it is to be retained, we consider that it should be reconstituted in such a way that half of the members are Indians selected from the members of the Central Legislature. This will, at any rate, ensure that popular opinion will be adequately represented in the Council. We further consider that so long as the Secretary of State is to discharge his functions of superintendence and control over any subject not transferred in the Government of India, he should be assisted by the appointment of two Indian Under Secretaries of State, of whom at least one should find a place in Parliament.

Representation of India in Parliament

We also consider that so long as India does not attain dominion status it is necessary that the Indian point of view should be represented in Parliament and that provision should be made for the representation of Indians in the British Parliament. We therefore recommend that means should be found and rules prescribed, if necessary, for the election of such members.

The Army in India

Our discussion of the constitutional developments in India inevitably leads to the consideration of the future position of the Army. It has been urged that a country which claims responsible government should be able to defend itself against foreign aggression and maintain internal order; and India's claim to self-government has been challenged on the ground of her dependence on Britain for her defence in the last resort. We would point out that this test has not been invariably applied in the case of other British Dominions to which responsible government has been conceded. We are, however, prepared to answer that test; but under conditions which must be fair and reasonable. To make India's advancement to her political goal conditional on her ability to undertake her defence on the one hand and, on the other hand, to deny her full opportunity to do so, or even question, as has been done in some quarters, the possibility of her even being able to do so at any time, we regard as inconsistent

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alike with reason and fair play. If, therefore, the declared intention of Parliament to advance "the progressive realisation of responsible government" in India holds good, as it most unquestionably does, further opportunities should be given to her to man the Indian portion of the Army by her own sons as a preliminary to taking the entire defence of the country into her own hands. We, therefore, recommend that concurrently with the establishment of responsible government, on the lines recommended by us, a military college should immediately be established in India; and that in other respects the recommendations of the Skeen Committee should be carried out in the manner referred to in that Committee's Report.

Establishment of a Supreme Court

In the three great federations of British-speaking peoples, the United States of America, the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia, a Supreme Court forms an integral part of the constitution, and although the Indian Commonwealth which we hope to see established will be formed by a system of devolution of power from the Centre, and not by the federation of independent states or provinces, the arguments in favour of establishing a Supreme Court for India are, in our opinion, not less cogent than in the cases referred to. A great deal of the appellate work of the Privy Council would devolve upon the Supreme Court in India, to the great advantage of litigants both in time and money. The Supreme Court would decide disputes between one province and another, or between provinces and the Centre, and might be entrusted with authority to give rulings on interpretations of the constitution. It need not oust the jurisdiction of the Privy Council.

The Canadian or Australian model provides precedents for regulating the relationship of the Supreme Court and the Privy Council in London.

We are convinced of the necessity for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India as an integral part of the constitution, and we recommend that a Supreme Court be so established.

Fundamental Rights

We are of opinion that it is essential to embody in the Government of India Act a declaration of certain fundamental rights. We propose, therefore, that a section should be enacted to the following :—

'No subject of the King-Emperor shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or caste, or any of them, be disabled from or prejudiced for the purpose of holding or being recruited for any office or post paid out of public funds ; or of adopting freely any profession, trade or calling, or engaging in any industry ; or acquiring any right, title or interest in any property ; or finding admission to any educational institution supported out of funds in the hands of the Central or Provincial Government or a local body ; or entering or using public roads, public wells and other places whatsoever so maintained ; and all orders and enactments placing any such disability now in force are null and void.

'Provided that this provision shall not affect the Punjab Land Alienation Act or any similar Act for the protection of agriculturalists in India.'

India's Demands

We have not set forth in detail some of the principal changes which we wish to see introduced in the system of government set up under the Government of India Act of 1919. In order that the true significance of those changes may not be obscured by the foregoing discussion of the detailed provisions, we desire to state in explicit terms what we consider to be India's minimum demands. We demand an explicit declaration on the part of the British Parliament that full dominion status for India is the goal at which it aims. We demand, further, that an immediate and substantial step should be taken towards the attainment of that goal by the conferring on the provinces of a liberal measure of autonomy and by making the Government of India responsible to its legislature in accordance with our detailed recommendations. Lastly, we demand that provision should be made in the Government of India Act which will enable the above goal to be reached without the necessity for further inquiries by statutory commissions or other agency.

We are convinced that there is no safe half-way house between an immediate advance on the lines which we have indicated in our Report and an ultimate surrender by the British Government after years of agitation and bitterness to India's insistent demand. We make no apology for stating India's case in the

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plainest and most forcible manner, for we believe that this may be the last opportunity that a British Government will ever have of rallying to its side all the saner and more responsible elements of Indian opinion, and of strengthening their hand against the forces of disorder. We cannot believe that the British Government will be so blind to the teaching of history that it will fail to take advantage of this opportunity and by an act of farseeing and magnanimous statesmanship set the crown on the great work that Britain has done for India.

Summary of Recommendations

The following summary of recommendations is appended to the report. This summary is intended only to be a concise indication of the proposals and it should be read with the paragraphs of the report, which are noted in the margin :—

1. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and made into a new province, Para 39 (1).

2. Burma should not be separated from India. Para 39 (2)

3. Excepting law and order in Bengal the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects should be abolished and all subjects, save those specifically classified as central, should be provincial, Para. 41.

4. The Cabinet should consist of eight ministers in Madras, six in the United Provinces, five in Bombay, Bengal, Punjab and Burma, four in Bihar and Orissa and Assam and three in the Central Provinces, Para 42.

5. There should be joint responsibility in the Cabinet, Para 43.

6. The Governor should select the Chief Minister and appoint the other ministers on his recommendation, Para 44.

7. The Chief Minister should preside at the meetings of Cabinet and save in respect of law and order in Bengal, should distribute the portfolios amongst the members of the Cabinet, Para 46.

8. Rules for the transaction of business of the local government should be prepared by the Cabinet and submitted to the Governor for his approval, Para 46.

9. The Governor should not be a member of the Cabinet, Para 47.

10. The portfolio of law and order in Bengal should be placed in charge of a member not necessarily an official appointed by the Governor ; such member will on appointment, become an ex-officio member of the Legislative Council, Para 49.

11. Adequate notice should be given before any motion of want of confidence is introduced in the Legislative Council. No such motion should entail the resignation of a ministry unless two-thirds of the members present vote in favour of it, Para 50.

12. The salaries of ministers and of the President of the Council should be fixed by an Act of the local legislature, Para 51.

13. The Governor should exercise only the ordinary constitutional power of dismissing the Cabinet, Para 53.

14. For the purpose of maintaining peace and tranquillity in a province the Governor should have extraordinary power to issue orders in the name of the government and, if necessary, to overrule his Cabinet, Para 53.

15. It should be open to the Governor to direct or prohibit the transfer of any district magistrate or district superintendent of police to and from any district, Para 53.

16. If the Governor differs from the Cabinet on any question affecting (a) the religion or the religious rites of any class of British subjects in British India ; (b) any central subject ; or (c) the interests of another province he should have the power to refer the question to the Governor-General whose decision shall be final, Para 53.

17. The present electorate should be doubled immediately, Para 59.

18. The Legislative Councils should have the power to alter the franchise at the end of their second term ; provided that any change shall not be carried

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into effect unless it is passed at a special meeting of the Council and is supported by not less than two-thirds of the numbers present, Para 60.

19. Unless a more rapid advance is made earlier in the direction of adult suffrage one-third of the population should be compulsorily enfranchised in 1941, two-thirds in 1951 and the whole in 1961. Para 60.

20. The question of further extension of the franchise in Burma should be left to the discretion of the local Legislative Council. Para 61.

21. The Provincial Legislative Council should be enlarged, Para 61.

22. The official bloc should be entirely eliminated, Para 65.

23. The Governor should have the power to nominate to the Legislative Council for the purpose of particular bills not more than two experts Para 65.

24. The nomination of non-officials should be entirely done away with, Para 66.

25. Except in the case of Europeans in all provinces, Anglo-Indians and depressed classes in Madras. Karens and Indians in Burma, communal electorate should be abolished. Paras 82, 83, 78, 84 and 85.

26. Seats should be reserved for other minorities in joint electorates. The members of a community for whom seats are reserved should be free to contest other seats in general constituencies, Para 69.

27. In provinces in which they are in a minority Muslims should be given the privilege of having seats reserved for them in joint electorates, either on a population basis or on their voting strength, whichever may be more favourable to them ; and further they should be permitted to contest seats in general constituencies beyond the number actually reserved for them, Para 72.

28. Seats for Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab and for Sikhs in other provinces where their numerical strength entitles them to representation should be reserved in joint electorates on a population basis or their voting strength, whichever may be more favourable to them, without prejudice to their right to contest other seats in constituencies, Para 73 and 74.

29. In Bengal there should be no separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims and no reservation of seats, but the two communities should vote in a joint electorate, Para 73.

30. Separate electorates should be formed for the depressed classes in Madras, Para 78.

31. In the Bombay Presidency seats should be reserved for the depressed classes in joint electorates on a population basis or their voting strength whichever is more favourable to them without prejudice to their right to contest more seats in general constituencies Para 89.

32. In Assam seats should be reserved in joint electorates for the backward and depressed classes in the Surma valley and for the indigenous primitive races and backward and depressed classes in the Assam valley. Para 79.

33. In the remaining provinces seats should be reserved for the depressed classes in joint electorates without prejudice to their right to contest more seats in general constituencies, Para 79.

34. In Madras and Assam seats should be allotted to the backward classes, it being left to the local governments to form electorates, if possible, or otherwise to fill the seats by nomination. Para 80.

35. In the United Provinces five seats should be reserved for the backward classes in joint electorates. Para 80.

36. In Bihar and Orissa seats should be reserved for the aborigines and the backward and hill tribes in joint electorates Para 80.

37. Indian Christians should have reserved seats in joint electorates, Para 81.

38. Europeans should continue to have separate electorates in all provinces, except in the Central Provinces where a mixed constituency of Europeans and Anglo-Indians should be formed, Para 82.

39. Except in Bombay, the Central Provinces and partially in Madras, seats for Anglo-Indians should be reserved in joint electorates. Para 83.

40. The representation of Indians in the Burma Legislative Council should be on the same basis as at present ; but their number should be increased in proportion to the increase in the total membership of the Council. Para 85.

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41. The reservation of seats for non-Brahmins in Madras and Mahrattas in Bombay should be abolished. Para 86.

42. Seats should be allotted to commerce and industry in all provinces by special constituencies. Para 87.

43. Seats should be given to the planters in Madras, Assam and Bihar and Orissa in special constituencies, Para 88.

44. Seats should be assigned to the mining industry in Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces in special constituencies. Para 89.

45. Seats should be allotted to labour by reservation in general constituencies in Bombay and by separate electorates in other provinces. 90.

46. Seats should be reserved for land-holders in special constituencies, Para 91.

47. The representation of the Universities should be at the same strength as at present except that one more seat should be allotted to the three universities of Allahabad, Agra and Lucknow, Para 92.

48. The University franchise should be confined to members of the Senate or in the case of the Dacca University, the Court of the University, Para 92.

49. In every province five per centum of the total seats in the Legislative Council should be reserved for women. Election should be by joint or separate electorates, but if this be found impracticable representation may be given to women by nomination, Para 93.

50. The term of the provincial legislatures should be extended to four years. Para 94.

51. The legislative power in the provinces should be vested in the Governor and the Legislative Council, and in the case of the United Provinces also the Senate, Para 95.

52. The local legislature should have the power to make laws for he peace and good government of the province in respect of all provincial subjects; but it should not be empowered' without the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council to repeal or alter as to the province any law relating to a provincial subject enacted by the Indian Legislature before the commencement of the new constitution, Para 95.

53. No proposal for the appropriation of any provincial revenues or other moneys for any purpose should be made except on the recommendation of the Cabinet, Para 97.

54. Without the previous sanction of the Cabinet it should not be lawful for any member of the local legislature to introduce any measure affecting the public revenues of the province or imposing any charge on those revenues. Para 97.

55. The power to assent to or withhold assent for any bills passed by the local legislature should vest in the Governor, Para 98.

56. When the Central Government has been popularised in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, the Governor-General in Council may be authorised to assent to bills reserved for his consideration and to disallow provincial legislation within twelve months from the date of its receipt by him.

57. The Governor should have the power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the province, Para 99.

58. A second chamber in the provinces in unnecessary except in the United Provinces, where a second chamber should be created tentatively for a period of ten years, Para 104.

59. The franchise for electors for the Senate in the United Provinces should be the same as the present franchise for the Council of State. The representatives of the depressed classes in the Senate should be elected by members of the provincial legislative council belonging to the depressed and backward classes, Para 105.

60. Seats should be reserved for the Muslims in the Senate in a joint electorate on the basis of their population or voting strength whichever is found to be more favourable to them without prejudice to their right to contest other seats, Para 105.

61. In regard to legislation the Senate should have concurrent powers with the Legislative Council except that all money bills should be initiated in the Legislative Councils only, Para 105.

62. Budget and supplies should be voted by, and the ministry should be responsible to the Legislative Council only, Para 105.

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63. Differences of opinion between the two chambers should be settled at a joint sitting of both chambers to be summoned by the Governor at his own instance or at the instance of either chamber, Para 105.

Other Proposals :—

64. The existing classification of subjects into provincial and central should be re-examined by special committee, Para 106.

65. Until the Government of India is constituted on a popular basis by the transfer of departments to ministers all the revenues of a province should be at the disposal of the local government. The provincial government, however, should be subject to the obligation of paying to the government of India such contribution as may be fixed by an impartial tribunal, Para 107.

66. The powers now exercised by the provincial governments in respect of the High Courts should in future be exercised by the government of India, Para 108.

67. The reservation under section 101 of the Government of India Act of one third of the seats in the High Courts for members of the Indian Civil Service, should be abolished, Para 109.

68. One third of the judges of the High Courts should be barristers of not less than ten years' standing and one third should be advocate or vakils who are not barristers. The Chief Justice of the High Court should in all cases be a barrister, Para 109.

69. Except in Madras and Bombay the new provincial governments should be free to decide whether the All-India Services should be retained or provincialised. Should the Governments decide to provincialise the Services in question due regard should be paid to the adequate representation therein of all communities, Para 113.

70. In Bombay the remaining All-India Services should be provincialised. All the prospects that the present members of those Services now enjoy being reserved to them, Para 114.

71. In Madras the two Security Services should remain All-India Services as at present, the remaining All-India Services being provincialised, Para 114.

72. No order affecting the emoluments or pensions, no order of formal censure and no order on a memorial shall be passed to the disadvantage of any officer of an All-India or provincial Service without the personal concurrence of the Governor. Any officer belonging to an All-India Service or appointed by the Secretary of State will be entitled to appeal to that authority against any such order, Para 115.

73. It should be opent to the governments of Madras and Bombay to equip and maintain a local military force and a local militia, Para 116.

74. The Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief should be entitled to inspect the local army and pass orders for their efficiency and maintenance ; but they should not be entitled to direct the reduction of the force or any other step which will render the force less efficient, Para 116.

75. Immediate steps should be taken by the provincial governments to effect the separation of executive from judicial functions, Para 117.

76. Reforms should be introduced into the North-West Frontier Province on the lines of the Morley-Minto Reforms, Para 118.

77. The power of superintendence and control of the Governor General in Council over the provincial governments should be exercised only for such purposes as may be specified and differences of opinion between the Governor General in Council and a local Government as to the right of the former to intervene in provincial affairs should be decided by a special tribunal, Para 119.

78. The Governor General may supersede a local government and carry on the administration in case of breakdown or inability to maintain law and order to the province but not in the case of financial insolvency. But the Governor General may take any steps that he considers necessary to enforce the payment of any debt due by a local government. Para 119.

79. The Governor General should have the power to overrule a provincial government for the purpose of maintaining peace and tranquillity, Para 119.

80. Subject to the approval of the Secretary of State the Governor General should have power to suspend a provincial legislative council, Para 119.

81. The Governor-General-in-Council with the approval of the Secretary of State

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should have power to take any province under his immediate authority and management. Para. 119

The Central Government :—

82. All subjects except the defence of India and its relations with foreign and Indian States should be transferred to the control of ministers responsible to the legislature, para, 123.

83. Without the previous sanction of the Governor-General it shall not be competent to the Legislature to deal with any measure affecting :—

(a) the public debt or public revenues of India or imposing any charge on the revenues of India ; or

(b) the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of British subjects in India ; or

(c) the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's military, naval, or air forces ; or

(d) the relations of the Government with foreign princes or states ; or any measure—

(i) regulating any provincial subject, or any part of a provincial subject, which has not been declared to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature ; or

(ii) repealing or amending any Act of a local legislature ; or

(iii) repealing or amending any Act or Ordinance made by the Governor-General. Para 123.

84. The Cabinet of the Governor-General should consist of not more than two executive councillors and not more than six ministers. Para 125.

85. The appointment both of executive councillors and ministers should be made by the Governor-General at his own discretion, Para 125

86. Half the members of the Cabinet of the Governor-General should be Indians, Para, 125.

87. One executive councillor or minister should be a member of the Council of State and the rest should sit in the Assembly ; and where they are not already members of the Legislature they should become such members ex-officio. Para 125.

88. Both the members of the Executive Council and ministers should have the right to address either chamber of the Legislature but they should only have the right to vote in the chamber of which they are members, Para 125.

89. The Legislative Assembly should consist of 300 members, Paras 126 and 128.

90. In addition to the normal strength of the Assembly the Governor-General in Council shall have the power to nominate ten experts, Para 127.

91. Europeans should be returned by separate electorates, Para 129.

92. The representatives of all other communities and of labour and women should be returned by joint electorates, Para 129.

93. In the case of the Depressed Classes, Sikhs Anglo-Indians, Christians, labour and women, should election by joint electorares present any insuperable difficulty recourse should be had to indirect elections, Para 129.

94. Landholders and Indian and European commerce should have special constituencies, Para 129.

95. The President of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly from amongst its own members, Para 130.

96. The term of the Assembly should be extended to five years, Para 130.

97. The strength of the Council of State should be increased from sixty to one hundred, Para 131.

98. Seats in the Council of State should be distributed amongst the various communities and interests in the same proportion in which they are now held. The present proportion between the elected and nominated seats should be maintained, Para. 131.

The Secretary of State and the India Office :—

99. The power to raise loans should be vested in the Governnment of India and it should be left to that Government to employ such agency as may seem desirable for this purpose, Para 133.

100. The recruitment for the services should be in the hands of the Government of India or of the provincial governments, as the case may be, Para 133.

101. The appointment of representatives to international organisations such as

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the League of Nations, should be made by the Government of India and not by the Secretary of State, Para 133.

102. With the transfer of all subjects to a responsible ministry in the provinces the rules under Section 19A of the Government of India Act, restricting the Secretary of State's power of intervention, should be extended to the whole provincial field, Para 134.

103. In the case of subjects transferred to responsible ministers in the Central Government the above rule should apply, Para 134.

104. The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. If, however, it is retained it would be reconstituted in such a way that half the members are Indians elected from the members of the Central Legislature, Para 135.

105. So long as the Secretary is to discharge his functions of superintendence and control over any subject not transferred to the Government of India he should be assisted by the appointment of two Indian Under-Secretaries of State of whom at least one should find a place in Parliament, Para 135.

106. So long as India does not obtain Dominion Status the Indian point of view should be represented in Parliament. Provision should accordingly be made for the representation of Indians in the British Parliament, Para 136.

Miscellaneous :—

107. A military college should immediately be established in India and in other respects the recommendations of the Skeen Committee should be carried out, Para 137

108. A Supreme Court should be established in India, Para 138.

109. A declaration of certain fundamental rights should be embodied in the Government of India Act, Para 139.

110. Provision should be made in the Government of India Act which would enable full Dominion Status to be attained without the necessity for further inquiries by statutory commissions or other agency, Para 140.

Minutes of Dissents.

A careful perusal of the minutes of dissent and explanatory memoranda attached to the report reveals the fact that several attempts at compromise were made on many points, mostly in vain, more especially on the question of separate electorates for Muslims.

Sir Sankaran Nair, *Raja Nawab Ali* and *Sardar Shivdev Singh*, who took their stand uncompromisingly for the abolition of separate communal electorates, pointed out that communalism had infected national life and that one Chief Justice exclaimed before the Committee with a gesture of despair that he and his colleagues had to recommend candidates for appointment on the communal basis at the instance of the members of Government who owed their position to communal electorates. The demands of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi cut at the root of the representative Government. There was no spontaneous demand for separate electorates on the part of Muslims even in 1907, but it was put forward by them only at the instigation of an official whose name is well-known.

Sir Sankaran and his two colleagues also urged that the military budget should be under the control of the Assembly and it should be cut down to one-third of the present figure since one-third of the army was kept for the maintenance of internal security, one-third for the defence of the frontier and one-third as covering the troops. They also recommended only for Bengal adult suffrage in order to ease the Hindu-Muslim tension in that province.

Sir Arthur Froom pleaded strongly for the separation of Burma and he said that it received strong support from the Burma Government. The Burmans feel, said Sir Arthur, that they have little or nothing in common with the Indian and argues that the question of the future financial and military relations between India and Burma could be easily decided by an authoritative tribunal presided over by a Representative of Parliament. Sir Arthur was for law and order in the provinces being in the hands of an official or non-official not necessarily elected, but as for

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Madras this portfollo could be in the hands of the Chief Minister, for in this province evidence did not disclose the same uneasiness regarding the transfer of these subjects. Sir Arthur was strongly for the maintenance of the All-India services throughout India recruited as at present and held that to tamper with the present arrangement would prove to be a calamity. He was for separate communal representation and against the doubling of the present franchise. He recommended the starting of public schools as, in his opinion, the establishment of a dominion army was a lengthy process. Finally, he wanted statutory safeguards against discriminatory legislation.

Raja Nawab Ali was for reforms for the Frontier on the same lines as for the rest of British India and objected to the reservation of law and order in Bengal.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan and *Dr. A. Suhrawardy* used very strong language against the attitude and activities of the Hindu Sabha and revealed the differences experienced in the committee on the communal question by observing that throughout the discussions one thing that came out most prominently was that Moslem rights and interests were treated with the utmost contempt and injustice. No canons of democracy would condone the crime of reducing the majority into a minority, but this had actually been done by the ruthless spirit of Hindu nationalism.

After pointing out how both these members and Sir Arthur Froom were outvoted by the casting vote of Sir Sankaran Nair and with the help of Sir H. S. Gour and Mr. Shivdev, the authors of these minutes of dissent remarked that the manifestation of this malevolent spirit was but a symptom of what might happen if the safeguards provided for the minorities were abolished. In equally strong terms did they urge for a statutory Muslim representation in the Cabinet and observed finally that until Hindus and Muslims composed their difference the neutral British element must remain to deal out equal justice to all.

Sir Hari Singh Gour occupied 150 pages of the document, traversing the entire ground of reforms and finally emphasising his objection to the separation of Sind, the retention of an All-India service in the Madras Presidency, the establishment of a Second Chamber in U. P. and the reservation of law and order in Bengal. He vigorously pleaded for the establishment of a Privy Council (besides the Supreme Court) for it would, in his opinion, with one strike, settle the vexed question of relationship between the British India and the Indian States.

Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, in a separate report, while agreeing largely with the recommendations of the main Committee, made certain changes which, in his own words, were directed towards the establishment of full responsibility and autonomy in each province, but providing for the stability and progressiveness of the Provincial Governments by freeing the judiciary from any shadow of political control by ensuring the direction of the police without a communal or particularist bias and by the strengthening of the administration by the assistance of the element of all India services which would secure the recuitment of the best men.

Mr. *M. C. Rajah* also appended a note on the depressed classes.

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The Hartog Committee Report

The report of the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission which was appointed to make enquiries into the growth of education in British India, was issued on the *18th October 1929*. The committee was composed of the following members :—

Sir Philip Hartog, Kt. C. I. E. (Member of the Public Service Commission,) Chairman ;

Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Bart, K. C. B. (formerly Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, Eng.)

Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed, Kt. (Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University.)

Sir George Anderson. Kt. C. I. E., (Director of Public Instruction, Punjab) :

Raja Narendra Nath (Member of the Legislative Council of the Punjab) ;

Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi (Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council).

The Committee's review of the growth of education reveals many points of fundamental interest for the political future of India.

The largely increased enrolment in primary schools, says the Report, indicates that the old time apathy of the masses is breaking down. There has been a social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform. There has been rapid progress in the numbers of Mohammedans receiving instruction. Efforts have been made to improve the condition of the depressed classes and those classes are beginning to respond to that effort and to assert their right to education.

On all sides there has been a desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to understand and to grapple with the complex and difficult problems of education ; and large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers and willingly voted by the Legislative Councils. That is the one side of the picture, but there is another.

Ineffective System

Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness. In the primary system, which should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling. The vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy may be expected.

In one province, despite a very large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils and in the expenditure, the number of pupils who reached Class IV was actually less by nearly 30,000 in 1927 than it was ten years previously. It is to be remembered that under the present conditions of rural life, and with the lack of suitable vernacular literature, a child has very little chance of attaining literacy after leaving school ; and, indeed, even for the literate, there are many chances of relapse into illiteracy.

The wastage in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of boys. The disparity in education and literacy between women and men so far from decreasing by the effort made is actually increasing. The disparity between the wealthier parts of the country and the poorer parts also tends to increase.

Advance of Secondary Education

In the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respects, notably in the average capacity of the body of teachers in their improved conditions of service and training and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life. But here again there are grave defects of organization.

The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that everybody who enters secondary school should prepare himself for the university ; and the immense numbers of failures at matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of effort. Such attempts as have been made to provide

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vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are therefore largely infructuous.

Object of a University Misunderstood

Many of the university and colleges show marked improvements in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly. But the theory that a university exist mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examination still finds too large acceptance in India ; and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. They have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely, to succeed in other careers.

We have no doubt that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India but the improvement and expansion of education do not depend merely on money. Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. At almost every point that organization needs re-consideration and strengthening ; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organization of education need readjustment.

Position of The Govt. of India

We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate ; and holding as we do that education is essentially a national service we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject.

We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces in spite of all efforts will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should therefore be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies in the interests of India as a whole.

Position of Ministers

We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the reponsibilities of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands, with unfortunate results. The relations between Provincial Governments and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment.

The formation of an educated electorate is a matter for the nation. Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislaturers have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education ; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure.

It is clear that the new factor of Ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account.

The Directors of Public Instruction have been loyal and enthusiastic but they are grappling with immense responsibilities without sufficient support. The headquarter staffs of provinces should be largely increased so that important schemes of development may be considered with greater care and the ordinary work of education supervised more effectively. An increase in the inspecting staffs should lead to economy and not to extravagance. The reconstitution of the provincial educational services can suffer no further delay.

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Education of Girls

Despite the growing increase in girls' education, the measures taken to promote it have been inadequate. The education of the girl is the education of the mother. The school-education of each additional girl counts more towards the future than the school-education of an additional boy. We are definitely of opinion that, in the interests of the advance of Indian education as a whole priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion.

India has reached a critical stage in the development of her education, and the decisions to be made are of vital importance. It will be for those in authority to consider what shall be the next step. If we have taken a broad view of our reference, it is in the hope that our suggestions may be of some assistance to those responsible for the great task that lies before them.

Growth of Education

Chapter III of the report gives important statistical data relating to the growth of education and of educational expenditure during the years 1917 to 1927.

It is a fair inference from the figures, says the report, that the country is now prepared to an increasing extent to make sacrifice for the cause of education.

Education has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation building.' The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence of this recognition. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion.

Nor is it only the authorities and the well-to-do classes that have welcomed and encouraged the spread of education. Communities which had for long been educationally backward, like the Mohammedan community have awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children. The movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right.

Provincial Measures.

In many provinces comprehensive measures of reform, whether by way of legislation or otherwise are under consideration, and steps have been taken to deal with the unsatisfactory features of the system. New agencies of local or institutional control have been established. A new type of university organisation has been created ; facilities for professional and technical training have been extended and made more varied ; the methods of training teachers have in some provinces been overhauled and made more effective ; the pay and conditions of service of teachers have been improved ; curricula have been recast and widened ; and unrecognised schools have been drawn into the public system.

Workers in the field of education in India have admirable material to deal with ; the Indian boy and the Indian girl are not lacking in innate intelligence and in capacity to benefit by that training of body, mind and character which a well-planned system of education can give.

University Education.

That the universities and colleges of India are at the present moment turning out large numbers of graduates who cannot find employment is well-known.

There can be little doubt that one of the main attractions of the universities and colleges to men who have no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications for pursuing them, is the insistance on a university degree by a Government and other employers as a passport to service. If Government were to abandon that requirement for all appointments in which it is not really needed, the pressure on the universities and colleges would probably be lessened. We suggest that for many clerical appointments Government examinations comparable to the examinations of the Civil Service Commissioner in England and specially designed for the purpose they are intended to meet might replace the requirement that candidates for these appointments should possess a universiry degree. The appointments that we have in

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mind are purely clerical appointments and not appointments to the higher services for which the number of candidates is relatively small and which do not materially affect the numbers in the universities.

The universities are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their university training. To many hundreds the years of training mean a waste of money and of precious years of youth ; nor is it only private money which is wasted. Each student in a university or college costs in every country far more than his fees, sometimes five or six times as much, and this money in India comes in part from the public purse. If these students who now go to a university or a college without being really fitted for higher work were diverted in large numbers at an earlier stage to careers better suited to their capacity, money would be set free for more profitable educational uses, and the training of the best men could be appreciably improved The overcrowding of universities and colleges by men of whom there is no economic demand has vitally affected the quality of university education.

The extension of technical training, which is far more expensive than literary training, has been widely advocated. We fully sympathise with the desire to develop technical training though we feel bound to point out that the training of technical experts only creates more unemployed, unless there are industries to absorb them. A few universities have opened their own Employment Bureaus, an example which deserves to be more widely followed.

Girls' Education

Coming to the girls' education the report says.—

Our survey of the figures relating to the girls' education has been somewhat depressing. But there are many features in the general picture to give encouragement for the future.

There are many admirable institutions for the education of girls scattered over British India, and there are signs of a general awakening to which the women themselves are contributing in no small measure. Almost everywhere there are hopeful signs and good promise for future progress. There has been a keen desire for education and knowledge on the part of the women, even in the provinces where 'purdah' is most strong. As a result women belonging to all communities are realising not only the immediate need for eradication of well-recognised social evils but also the urgent desirability of educating their daughters, not necessarily for employment or high scholarship, but at least to be more efficient as wives and educated mothers in their own homes.

The attitude of the public and parents in regard to early marriage has considerably changed in recent years and the age of marriage is gradually rising. Moreover, legislation with a view to raise the age of marriage is under consideration.

We have already had occasion to refer to the work of the Indian Women's University at Poona and its associated institutions. Excellent work is being done by such organisations as the Seva Sadan at Bombay, Poona and Madras—an association controlling large numbers of night schools, adult classes, home classes and domestic arts classes for women. In Bengal, the Punjab and other provinces, there are many private and unrecognised associations conducting adult classes for women, maintaining widows' homes and doing social work amongst the poorer classes of the community.

Of late women's activities have spread in the educational, social, economical and political spheres of life, and as a result of this there have been started in many provinces associations, clubs, homes for adult women's education, social service centre, health and welfare associations and rescue homes mainly through the initiative and organising efforts of public-spirited women.

All these activities have necessarily infused a new spirit among educated women and have widened their out-look. The new movement has received fresh impetus from the All-India Conferences of Women, which have now become annual functions and which are attended by large numbers of women delegates from every province. The delegates on their return to their provinces are keeping alive the interest of women in their educational needs by the holding of meetings and by explaining the aims and objects of the All-India Conferences. A result, therefore, of these Conferences has

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been that an extensive propaganda on educational and social reform matters has been carried on in most provinces by local organisations.

There are indications that the Indian women's demands and aspirations to participate in the wider social and public activities of the country are everywhere receiving consideration and the rare opportunities which have been given so far to women on legislative bodies and local bodies have been used already to assist in the removal of social evils.

Position in Bengal

Analysing the position of the different provinces the report says :—

In Bengal, except in the big towns, the position is extremely depressing. An overwhelming majority of girls leave school after the first year and soon relapse into ignorance. In spite of the very large number of girls' schools only 17 per cent of the girls in Class I reach even Class II. The girls' primary schools are mainly staffed by men and co-education has been so little resorted to that only 14 per cent of the girls under instruction in institutions are reading in boys' schools.

In the high and university stages the Hindus have made some progress, but among Mohammedans, who form the majority of the population, the higher education of women has scarcely begun.

Moslem Education

On the question of the provision for religious instruction in schools and reservation of seats or provision for segregate schools for Muhammadans the report says :—It is obvious that if the system of primary education is to be rescued from the waste and ineffectiveness which afflict it, a great effort has to be made and the system of primary schools has to be reorganised. For that purpose it is of the first importance to decide whether the relatively ineffective and expensive plan of maintaining segregate schools for Mahomedans shall be continued, or whether arrangements for providing them with opportunities for religious instruction and observance in the ordinary schools shall be adopted. There can be no doubt that if in prorvinces where the educational progress of the Mahomedan community is impeded by leligious difficulties, such arrangements for religious instruction can be made as wil induce that community to send its children to ordinary schools, the public system will gain both in economy and efficiency and much will be done to free the community from the handicap and reproach of educational backwardness.

Arrangements of the kind that we suggest would obviously be facilitated by an increase in the number of qualified Mahomedan teachers in the ordinary schools and by the provision of separate hostels in schools and colleges where boarding accommodation is provided.

We need hardly say that where the path of educational progress of other communities is blocked in a similar degree by difficulties connected with religious instruction arrangements similar to those made for Mahomedans should be conceded to those communities.

We fully appreciate the force of the general arguments against a policy of "reservations" or 'preferences' in favour of particular communities or groups or sections of a people, and we admit that special reservations or preferences inside a public system of education of a democratic community require justification. A fair field and no favour is a maxim which commands ready assent. Yet in India no one now disputes that if the 'depressed' and 'untouchable' classes are to be enabled to start fair, something special must be done for them, and to this extent they are treated as favoured communities. Again, 'the most efficient system is the best' appears to be a self-evident truth. But 'efficiency' is not an absolute but a relative term ; it denotes the degree in which a machine, an institution or a system achieves its aim, and the degree in which the amount or value of the product corresponds to the amount of effort or money expended in producing it. The efficiency of a single school may, perhaps, be judged by reference to a relatively restricted aim, but the efficiency of a public educational system must be judged by reference to a very broad aim. In India, if anywhere, a description of that aim as nothing short of nation-building will find ready acceptance.

If, therefore, special arrangements inside the public system of education were made

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now and possibly for some time to come, to enable the Mahomedan community, to take its full share in the life and in the advance of the nation, this would not, in our opinion, be inconsistent either with sound democratic or sound educational principles. We wish we could say that no reservations are necessary and we should certainly wish that they should be as small as possible. As complications of an educational system they are undesirable in themselves but since in our belief they represent a necessary alternative to leaving the Mahomedan community in its present backward state, and leaving it to take the poor chances afforded by a system of segregate institutions, we have no hesitation in embracing that alternative as justifiable on broad grounds of national policy.

We suggest, therefore, that provincial Governments should carefully consider the question of reservation of a suitable number of places for Mahomedans in those publicly managed institutions in which it is not possible at present to admit all applicants. If and when they can be enlarged, to that extent the necessity for reservations will disappear.

The particular form and degree of reservations made in favour of Mahomedans will differ in different provinces and in some provinces they will no doubt be slight.

We are of opinion that if a reconstruction of the educational system is carried out in certain provinces by a well-arranged and equitable distribution of schools and by a development of vernacular schools, the need for 'reservation' will be much less than would appear at present to be necessary. But in any case, during this period of reconstruction, and until Mahomedans have recovered lost ground, reservation will probably be necessary in some provinces. It is significant that in the Punjab, while the number of Mahomedan pupils rose from 159,791 in 1917 to 545,831 it was not found necessary to have any 'reservations' in any school.

We would again add, as we did when dealing with the question of religious instruction, that if in the case of other communities the same necessity is found to exist for making special arrangements, whether by way of reservation of places or otherwise to secure or encourage their educational advace as has been found to exist in the case of Mahomedans, similar concessions should be made to those communities.

Depressed Classes

Coming to the education of the Depressed Classes the Committee says :—

Two policies have been suggested for meeting the educational needs of the depressed classes. In the view of many of our witnesses their interests can best be safeguarded by a policy of extending the system of segregate schools and of providing separate supervising staffs for these schools. The other policy is to admit the children of the depressed classes on equal terms into the ordinary schools.

We are strongly of the opinion that the policy of the 'mixed school' is the right one. The system of segregate schools tends necessarily to emphasise rather than to reduce the differences between the depressed classes and the other Hindu castes.

We are aware that it may still be necessary in a few places particularly in those places where a great majority of the local population belong to the depressed classes to provide schools for them ; but such schools should be regarded as ordinary public schools and not as segregate institutions. In our opinion, the more the special schools tend to become mixed schools the better it will be for all sections of the people.

There is a further reason why we consider it essential that the orders of the Provincial Governments in regard to the free admission of depressed class pupils into the ordinary schools should be enforced immediately and rigorously. Our Review has shown not only that compulsion has been introduced already in a considerable number of areas, but that many schemes for compulsion are likely to be adopted during the next few years. If under schemes for compulsion separate schools have to be provided for the depressed classes in many areas the cost of the schemes will be very largely and unnecessarily increased. The figure for the enrolment of depressed class pupils in the ordinary schools during the last five years have shown the extent to which prejudice is dying out and when compulsion is introduced on a large scale it will, we hope, be only a matter of time before all classes of the community become accustomed to new and more wholesome conditions of life.

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We desire to point out in conclusion that it will not be sufficient for Government merely to insist on the admission of the children of the depressed classes to the ordinary schools. It will be necessary to see that the regulations are carried out in the spiri t as well as in the letter, and that the children are treated on equal terms in all respects with the children of other communities.

European Education

Referring to the education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians the report says :—

In view of the numerous representations which have been made to us, it will be convenient briefly to summarise the results of our survey of European schools.

The proposal to make European education a central and non-votable subject is undesirable, and its adoption would be prejudicial to the interests of the community.

If uniformity and co-ordination are needed, a representative central body, possibly with powers to control and conduct examinations, might be established without interfering with provincial responsibility for European education.

In view of differences in religion, language and conditions of life, the retention of European schools in the hills and of the large European schools in the towns is necessary and desirable. But, in the interests of the great majority of the poorer pupils who have to fit themselves for obtaining appointments through the open door of competition and merit, the smaller and less efficient schools should be amalgamated or closed. Such schools if retained would benefit by the admission of a larger number of non-European pupils.

The needs of small and isolated bodies of Angol-Indians should be met by the award of stipends rather than by the maintenance of a large number of small schools.

The courses and curricula should be adapted as far possible to the requirements of Indian universities ; and the teaching of the vernaculars should be improved.

Government of India

Turning to the position of the Government of India in regard to education in the country, the Committee recommend the re-establishment of the Bureau of Education which was abolished in 1923. Regretting the disappearance of the Government of India's influence on the formation and execution of educational policy, the Committee remark that the expansion of education favoured by the Reforms has been on ill-considered lines and neglectful of the proposals made by the Government of Ir.dia, notably in regard to the best method of provision of vernacular education and for the education of women. The committee proceed :—

"In our opinion and the opinion of a number of our witnesses, the advice of a Central Bureau of Education on a number of matters would be of great value to the provinces.....We think that the growth of education in India would be materially assisted if an efficient central organisation were re-established with the Government of India, of which the functions would be to give information and advice to the provincial administrations and to keep them in close touch with each other."

The Committee also thinks that constitutional means should be devised to enable the Imperial Government to come to the aid of provincial Governments and that the Government of India should not continue to be divested of all power to make central grants to provincial Governments for mass education.

I. E. S. Decline

The Committee make some important observations in regard to the Indian Education Service.

They draw attention to the fact that from 1922 to 1927 the number of sanctioned posts declined from 373 to 368 in the case of men and from 42 to 38 in the case of women. Equally disturbing, they declare, is the large number of vacant posts, which increased from 62 to 113 in the period mentioned. In this regard the Committee remark :—

"The progressive extinction of the Indian Educational Service accompanied by the failure to reconstitute the provincial services (after a period of nearly five years) has been disastrous to the organisation of Indian education."

The Committee proceeds :—

"As a result of the inaction on the part of Government the number of fully

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qualified men and women competent to hold the higher posts in the Department, has become totally inadequate in every province. Since 1914, it has been almost imposible to recruit highly qualified Indians, since the only ordinary appointments normally open to such persons were posts on Rs. 250 at the bottom of the scale in the present Provincial Educational Services. Such appointments were not attractive to men with European qualifications who could secure better prospects in several other departments.

"We have been informed that the delay in constituting a new Provincial Service to take the place of the Indian Educational Service has been due to a number of reasons. "In the first place, the proposals regarding the reorganisations in the provinces had to be scrutinised by the Secretary of State in order that he might safeguard the existing rights, interests and prospects of the remaining members of the Indian Educational Service, and accord sanction to the creation of new posts carrying pay over a fixed maximum.

"In the second place, although the provincial Governments were at full liberty to reorganise the provincial services as they thought fit, subject to the limitations already mentioned, the Government of India considered it advisable to attempt to secure some degree of uniformity in the pay and conditions of service between the several provinces.

"We understand also that in some provinces the proposed reorganisation has been postponed from year to year on financial grounds.

It is essential that some finality should soon be reached in these deliberations.

"We are of the opinion that the conditions of service in the reorganised Provincial Services should be such as to attract Indian candidates with high European or other qualifications, and that arrangements should be made, whenever necessary, to recruit Europeans, on special contracts, to posts outside the ordinary cadres. Without such men and women, the best interests of Indian education must inevitably suffer.

"But, we fear that, even if satisfactory conditions of service are arranged, there may still be great difficulty in finding satisfactory recruits, mainly on two grounds :—

(a) The reservation of certain posts for the remaining members of the Indian Educational Service.

(b) The doubtful validity of contracts made by Government with persons whose salaries are votable."

"With regard to the recruitment of Europeans on special contracts, doubts have been expressed as to whether a contract entered into by a local Government will hold good if the Legislature refuses to vote the pay of the officer concerned, and in one province we were informed in evidence that legal opinion had pronounced such contracts as invalid.

"We understand that these doubts have already hindered recruitment, and we think that it is necessary to make such arrangements as will place the recruitments of Europeans on an unassailable basis. When local Governments require the services of a European for special purposes, such as the teaching of English or technical subjects, a special contract, with adequate safeguards, will be necessary, since the pay and prospects of the new Provincial Services are unlikely to attract the right type of European recruit.

Discussing the subject of the financing of education the Committee state that calculations have been made in several provinces of the ultimate recurring cost of universal compulsory primary education and from these it appeared that the total estimate of Rs. 19.5 crores recurring was not likely to be exceeded and might even be reduced. In addition to that expenditure there would, of course, be a heavy capital expenditure on buildings and equipment.

"But the total sum to be raised," the Committee add, "is not abnormally large and with a well-devised programme, spread over a period of years, the goal of almost universal compulsion should be within the reach of at least the wealthier provinces of British India."

Minutes of Dissent

Raja Narendranath, one of the members, appends a dissenting minute to the report. He objects to the proposal of the Committee for reservation of seats in schools for Mahomedans and other classes and to the suggestion for introducing religious

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education in public schools for classes desiring them, as in his opinion, "reservations once created tend to become permanent and can be removed only by the intervention of a third party." If the special arrangements suggested for Muslims are extended to other communities, as in equity they must be extended, he says much confusion will be the result.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi appends a note to the report on women's education.

Sir Amherst Selby Begge in his note has concurred generally in the views expressed in regard to the growth of education in British India but he has desired to make some reservations in respect of Chapter V. which in his opinion does not adequately represent serious defects of Secondary Education and Chapter VII which seems to him to advocate more rapid and extensive expansion of female education than is wise or practicable.

The U. P. Simon Committee Report

The report of the United Provinces Simon Committee, which was circulated to the members of the Legislative Council on the *5th September 1929* is a document of 257 pages, out of which 124 pages constitute the report proper and 127 pages of smaller type an explanatory note by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Mr. J. P. Srivastava, the Chairman, appends a note of five pages regarding Dr. Khan's note to enable its being understood in its proper perspective. (*for the personnel of the Committee see Register 1928 vol. II p. 238.*)

The report is unanimous, Dr. Khan's note being only an explanatory one with just a small difference regarding the retention of the Indian Civil and Police Services. The most curious feature of the report, however, is the proviso of the Minister-member, Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh, who agrees to the report except so far as it is inconsistent with the statement of the Ministry made before the Joint Free Conference at Lucknow. It is nowhere mentioned what evidence the Ministers gave.

The report proper is divided into three parts. Part I reviews the working of the 1919 reforms in the province. Numerous defects in the working of dyarchy have been discussed. The committee thinks that, examined a little closely, the dyarchical system of government would appear to be a contradiction in terms. The achievements of the various departments under the Reforms are briefly examined.

Commenting on the small percentage of the population at present enfranchised, namely, 3-5 per cent., the committee shows that the electors evinced greater interest in each successive election. The committee strongly criticizes the huge size of the constituencies. It also discusses in detail the attitude of the Council towards the transferred as well as reserved departments and finds that its attitude has been eminently reasonable.

Commenting on the difficulties of local bodies, the committee thinks that there has been injudicious relaxation of control from the headquarters and holds that local self-government is by no means inconsistent with an effective survey, occasional control or stimulus of the central authority.

The committee concludes the survey by saying that dyarchy is unworkable, cumbersome and illogical. The province has made the best of this awkward system for nine years and there seems to be no reason why it should be saddled with it any longer. The province has made the most of the Reforms and established its claim to a further substantial instalment. The Legislature has shown increased responsibility. There is a marked awakening in the electorate and the reserved and transferred departments under successive Ministers have made remarkable progress despite the insuperable difficulties of finance and the political conditions prevailing in the country during the nine years. The committee ventures to think that for reasonableness and a real desire to work the Reforms the province has shown itself second to none in India.

Part II discusses some principal objections taken to the grant of provincial autonomy. The communal tension has been dismissed as a passing peace. The present cleavage along communal lines is due very largely to the fact that in the

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expected Reforms each community is out to get for itself the most it can. The minority community probably thinks that now is the chance to drive hard the bargain, because it knows that constitutional problems cannot be solved without its co-operation. The committee recommends the following safeguards for the Muslims :— They should have 30 per cent. representation in the Legislature according to the 1916 Pact, also a due share of the nominations that are in the Governor's unfettered prerogative. With regard to separate electorates the committee thinks that as long as the present estrangement between the two communities exists, they seem to be an unavoidable necessity. Their recommendation is that separate electorate be allowed for the present but it should be open for the minority community to decide at any time in favour of joint electorates. This amendment may be effected by the provincial Council provided that three-fourths of the members of the minority community in the Council agree. The Muslims should have adequate representation on all local autonomous bodies. Guarantees may be given for the protection and promotion of the Urdu language, Muslim education and culture, etc. Regarding representation in the services the committee realizes the impracticability of a definite communal proportion in all services, but recommends that as far as possible one-third of the appointments should go to the Muslims. While realizing the difficulty of working the provision the committee recommends that the old demand of the Muslims for a provision that a Bill or a resolution objected to by three-fourths of the members of a community should be disallowed, may further be investigated.

Similar, though far less comprehensive, safeguards are recommended for the depressed and backward classes and Anglo-Indians. A notable recommendation is that the appointments at present held by the Anglo-Indians in Railways, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs and I. M. D. services and the educational grants of Anglo-Indians and Europeans be maintained,

Recommendations.

Part III embodies the recommendations of the committee, the chief of which are as follows :—

Retention of the Governor's present emergency powers excepting the powers of certification of Bills ; a Cabinet of six joint Ministers, the Chief Minister selected by the Governor and the others on the advice of the Chief Minister ; the Ministry to be removable by an absolute majority except in budget sessions ; a bi-cameral Legislature consisting of a lower house of 182 members and an upper house of 50 or 60 ; the upper house to have substantial powers of putting a break over the lower house ; the deadlocks to be removed by joint sessions ; the upper house also to have power to demand a joint session to consider substantial cuts in the budget ; the term of the lower house to be five years and of the upper house six years ; particular attention is given to franchise ; adult suffrage is dismissed as impracticable at present ; lowering the revenue qualification to the payment of Rs. 10 and a rent of Rs. 25 ; also the possession of the vernacular upper primary class IV certificate or matriculation certificate to be entitled to a vote ; special franchise to woman, besides the ordinary qualifications possessed in her own right as woman, whose husband possesses a highly restricted franchise qualifications to be also entitled to vote ; the committee does not discuss the reforms in the central Government, but contemplates Dominion Status at no distant date ; the strength of the Assembly to be doubled and one-fifth of the provincial quota to the Assembly to be returned by the local Legislature from its own members ; immediate provincialization of all-India Services, safeguarding the rights of the present incumbents ; institution of a provincial public service commission with wide disciplinary powers ; immediate separation of the judiciary from the executive (this reform is regarded as overdue) ; centralization of the High Court is opposed, and establishment of a Supreme Court is recommended.

Dr. Khan's Note

Dr. Shafaat Ammad Khan appends what purports to be an explanatory note, which is far bulkier than the main report itself. He discusses at great length the position of the Muslims in the province and, after remarking that not a single representative Muslim in India at the present time approves of the Nehru Report, pleads for a statutory guarantee to Muslims who should not be sacrificed on the alter of any theory propped up by any community.

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A Snub To Dr. Khan.

Mr. Srivastava questions the propriety of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan writing a note full of points which were never discussed in the committee. He complains of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan trying to convey an impression through his note that the Muslims in the U. P. are a down-trodden and forsaken minority. He further regrets Dr. Shafaat Ahmad dragging in the Nehru Report, which was not discussed in the committee. The chairman finally discloses that with the exception of difference of opinion on the retention of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad was in complete agreement with the committee's recommendations.

The Bombay Simon Committee Report

The report of the Bombay Legislative Council Committee, which collaborated with the Simon Conference, were circulated to the members of the Legislative Council at Poona on the *27th July 1929* along with the minutes of dissent of Syed Miran Muhammed Shah, Rao Saheb D. R. Patil, and Sardar G. N. Majumdar. (*For personnel of the Committee see Register 1929 vol. II p. 79.*)

The *majority report*, in the first place, urges the removal of officials and nominated members. After an exhaustive inquiry, they state, they have come to the conclusion that Sind must continue to be a part of the Bombay Presidency.

They suggest that steps should be taken to widen the electorate and to give the rural population a larger representation.

In their opinion the future Legislative Council for the presidency should consist of 140 members. In this they give ten reserved seats to the depressed classes, four to labour and 31 to Moslems with separate electorates.

According to their scheme Moslems will retain the separate electorates while the interests of the Mahrattas, the depressed classes and the Indian Christians will be ensured by reservation of seats. They also recommend that two additional seats should be given to the landholders' constituency.

With regard to the provincial executives they hold that the time is now ripe for them to recommend that all subjects with the exception of law and order should now be transferred to the control of ministers. Law and order, they think, should for some years continue to remain reserved. The existence of serious disorders between the two major communities in the presidency and elsewhere in India makes the immediate transfer of this subject to the control of the newly elected Council difficult and dangerous.

They recommend that a period of five years should be provided, during which time the new elective Councils should have an opportunity of settling down to their work and that after that period it should be left to the decision of the Legislative Council, with the concurrence of the Upper House which they seek to establish, whether the subject should be transferred.

They propose a unitary provincial government consisting entirely of ministers chosen from among the members of the Legislative Council and jointly responsible with a Chief Minister should submit the names of the other ministers for the approval of the Governor. They think that this scheme will put an end to dyarchy when the ministry is chosen entirely from the majority party of the Council.

The powers of over-riding the advice of his ministers given to the Governor under the existing Government of India Act should no longer be continued. In the event of a breakdown the majority invest the Governor with powers similar to those he holds at present as a safeguard against the passing of hasty and ill-considered legislation or legislation which may discriminate against particular classes or communities.

The majority recommend the creation of an Upper House elected on a different franchise and for a longer period than the Lower House. The Second Chamber is to consist mainly of representatives of the larger landed and commercial interests.

The majority do not think that there is any necessity for the continuance of the

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special powers of vetoing and certifying which are at present vested in the Governor.

Minutes of Dissent

Syed Miran Muhammad Shah puts in, in his minute of dissent, a strong plea for the separation of Sind maintaining that the question of financial deficiency, administrative difficulty and future political status will present no real obstacle to his recommendations.

Rao Sahib D. R. Patil demands complete provincial autonomy, including transfer of law and order. He opposes the new constitution of a Second Chamber, expresses the view that population alone could form the basis of representation, asks for larger and more effective representation for the village population, objects to plural constituencies, urges the reservation of more than seven seats for Maharattas in the Council and challenges the proposal to increase the representation for Sirdars and Inamdars as reactionary.

Sirdar G. N. Majumdar strongly endorses the recommendation for providing adequate representation to special interests such as landholders. He is in favour of transfer of law and order, opposes communal electorates, and outlines scheme of financial and Provincial Government.

Dr. Ambedkar demands adult franchise, complete provincial autonomy, a wholly elective legislature, abolition of class and communal electorates except for Europeans, reservation of 33 seats for moslems and 15 for the depressed classes in a legislature composed of 140 members. He opposes the proposal to set up a Second Chamber and suggests that the Governor should be merely a constitutional head with no emergency powers. He wants a distinct provincial civil servics and rapid Indianisation of the services.

The Punjab Simon Committee Report

A demand for full responsible government for the province was made in the majority report of the Punjab Simon Committee which along with the dissenting minutes by two Hindus and one Sikh member, were circulated to the members of the Punjab Council on the *30th July 1929*. The dissenting members suggested safeguards in the interest of the minorities, and insisted on the vesting of simultaneous responsibility in the Central Government for the safety of the Indian Empire against disruptive forces.

The majority report was signed by Captain Sikander Hayat Khan, Chairman, Mr. Owen Roberts, Chaudhri Chhoturam, and Chaudhri Zafarullah, while one dissenting minute was signed by Raja Narendranath and Dr. Narang and the other by Sardar Ujjal Singh.

The *majority report* says: "We wish to draw the attention of the Indian Statutory Commission to certain distinctive and characteristic features for the Punjab which distinguish it from the rest of India. The Punjab is pre-eminently a land of peasant proprietors almost all of whom belong to the martial races. Situated as it is, the province has had to face successive invasions from the north-west and has been the camping ground of both the invading and defending armies. This, and its close vicinity to the frontier and tribal territory, has, of necessity, made the people of this province, sturdy and martial. It is therefore not surprising that the Punjab should have been selected as the main recruiting ground for the Indian army. It is due to this fact that two-thirds of the existing Indian army consists of Punjabis and the pages of history bear testimony to the gallantry and devotion of the Punjabis from the time of the mutiny onwards. In more recent tmes during the Great War the Punjab has not only helped to secure victory fior the Empire and its Allies, but also won reforms for India. Again the Punjab is a markedly liberal province in its outlook and the contrast of social and economic status between the different sections of the people is not so sharp in the Punjab as in some other provinces, and consequently there is no danger of political power

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being made a close preserve in the hands of a small oligarchy. Further, the Punjab has been conspicuously successful in working the present Reforms in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation, an achievement which in itself is a sufficient proof of its capacity to manage its own affairs and which makes its demand for the grant of full responsible government irresistible."

The majority report urges the transfer of all subjects to Ministers. The Governor is to be the constitutional head of the province with the necessary powers of veto and interference. The Chief Secretary is to be ex-officio secretary to the cabinet. The Central Government's power of interference and supervision is to be confined to those subjects in which the Central Legislature is interested and to matters requiring interference in the interests of the security and stability of the country as a whole.

The form of the country's government is to be federal, with residuary powers vested in the Provincial Government. The majority suggest that autonomy in the provinces should wait for the establishment of responsibility in the Central Government. As regards the Legislature, it is recommended that there should be a unitary provincial chamber elected by direct vote by constituencies returning single members. Local councils should fill half the elected seats of the Council of State, and one-fifth of the elected seats of the Assembly. The present division of urban and rural should continue. Separate electorates must continue for Muslims and Sikhs and Europeans. Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians should also be allowed to return their representatives through their own electorates: but all communal constituencies should be open to members of every caste or creed to contest.

The Punjab Council's strength should be increased to 165 members and nominated members should disappear and special constituencies should be abolished. The life of the Council and the Assembly should be increased to five years and that of the Council of State to seven years.

Muslims should have one-third of the seats reserved in both the chambers of the Central Legislature. Full weightage should be given to Sikhs in the Punjab provided the Muslim majority is not reduced to a minority or equality. It is further recommended that Sind be separated and given full reforms, that the North-Western Frontier provinces should get the Montford Reforms and Baluchistan should also have reforms.

As regards the services, it is recommended that the I. C. S. and the Police Service should continue to be recruited by the Secretary of State and the other services should be recruited by the Central Public Service Commission for all-India services and by the Provincial Service Commission for the Provinces.

Separation of executive from judicial functions should be taken in hand at once while the High Court Judges should be appointed on the recommendation of the Local Government.

Hindu Members' Note of Dissent

Raja Narendranath and *Dr. Gakulchand Narang* in their note of dissent declared:

"The recommendations of the majority are actuated by purely communal feelings. They want communal electorates, communal representation in the Central Legislature, reforms for the Frontier and Baluchistan and separation of Sind. If any further proof were needed of their limited outlook it is furnished by the fact that they do not desire the introduction of responsible Government in the Central Legislature either to precede or even to synchronise with provincial autonomy. We feel that no province would deserve any political advance if it is not prepared to abandon communalism. We want that no extension of powers to popular control be made unless a proportionate extension of responsibility is made in the Central Government.

They protest that the Nehru Report has been adopted by the majority so far as it is favourable to Muslims and that Frontier reforms has been advocated without hearing military experts, belitting the importance of the defence of the Indian Empire. They protest that in all these recommendations the majority have gone beyond their provincial sphere and not pronounced on any data placed before them.

The two Hindu members recommend changes in franchise as proposed by the Punjab Government. They ridicule the proposal of the majority to throw open communal constituencies to all the communities. They consider reforms for the frontier as a "big jump into the unknown." They propose a second chamber for

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the province and urge special concession to the Sikhs. They propose that the Cabinet should represent all the important communities in the province and that law and order should be treated as a central subject. They opine that the provinces must be considered to be creatures of administrative convenience. Otherwise separatist tendencies would develop, endangering the commonwealth.

They recommend that the powers of the local government in the matter of taxation should remain the same as at present.

Sikh Member's Note.

Sardar Ujjalsingh endorses, mostly in constitutional matters, the views of the two Hindu members. He condemns communal electorate and offers, on behalf of the Sikh minority, to do without them if the others do the same. But if the communal electorates were to continue, he urges full weightage be given to the Sikhs. He says the majority agree to full weightage in principle but do not grant it in practice. When in U .P., 14 per cent Muslims have 30 per cent representation why should not Sikhs who stand on a identical footing have the same representation ? He declares that the balance of power between the three principal communities would avoid chances of communal tyranny. The insistence of the majority community on a statutory majority over all the minority communities is a fundamentally wrong basis for Parliamentary Government.

Sardar Ujjal singh offers a solution of the electorates question by suggesting an original formula. He says: "There should be joint electorates and members should be elected on the principle of proportional representation by the list system or a system of sigle transferable vote. But this system, if adopted, should be adopted for the whole country."

He advocates that the Central Government should have power even to suspend the Provincial Constitution in case of gross mismanagement or abuse of power and that, to create confidence, the Minister in charge of Law and Order in the province should belong to the minority community. The scheme of reforms would, he says, be judged not by the liberality in the provincial sphere, but by its liberality in the central sphere. He deprecates the desire of the majority members to set up a Muslim majority in certain provinces to balance the Hindu majority in the other provinces. He declares that while other communities can think of balancing one province against another, the Sikhs have all their interests centred in the Punjab. The Akali movement itself was caused by the disappointment of the community with the share of representation it got in the reformed council. He could well conceive the disappointment of his community if its legitimate demands were not acceded to.

The Bengal Simon Committee Report

The report of the Bengal Provincial Simon Committee, which worked with the Simon Commission and the Central Committee, was issued on the *3rd August 1929*. The report was signed by six members, namely, Sir Abdul Karim Ghuznavi, the Maharaja of Mymensingh, Mr. W. L. Travers, Mr. K. G. M. Faroqui, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and Moulvi Abul Kasim.

The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur, who was originally elected as a member, resigned sometime after when he was appointed a Minister. The Committee therefore consisted of six members, and the report is almost unanimous except on some points on which difference of opinion existed and individual members uttered a note of dissent.

Mr. Fazlul Huq dissented from the view of the other members who favoured the establishment of an Upper Chamber. He considered it unnecessary, and held that public opinion was strongly against it.

Along with the report as an appendix is published the memorandum by Sir A. K. Ghuznavi to the Hartog Committee, in which he pleads for ten crores of rupees being allotted for the education of Moslems.

The Provincial Committee report emphasises the financial stringency under which the province has been suffering, and insists that at least an additional 4 crores should be assigned to Bengal, and says that no amount of reform would be popular

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or worth having until the finances of the province are put on a satisfactory footing.

On the question of adult suffrage, the Committee's opinion is that it would neither be desirable nor practicable at present for the obvious reason of the illiteracy of the masses, millions of whom do not know what the vote means nor understand the implications of Representative Government.

The Committee opine that the total number of voters, both Mahomedans and Non-Mahomedans, would almost be doubled as a result of making the voting strength proportionale to their population. Hence, the size of the constituencies should now be reduced by half, and this would enable them to double the existing number of members of the Council, which would be roughly one member for 10,000 voters or 2,27,000 inhabitants.

Referring to the basis of representation the Committee state that the non-Mahomedan elements in the Council through general constituencies, should be proportionate to the number of the population.

Mr. Travers, on behalf of the European Community, is of opinion that the Chamber of Commerce should have two additional representatives and North Bengal should have one additional elected seat in the Assembly.

On the question of the duration of the Council, the Committee says that the term of the Legislative Council should be five years and that of the Upper Chamber seven years. Both the House should have elected Presidents.

Summarising the main conclusions the Committee state : The ultimate goal, so far as this province is concerned, is complete provincial autonomy; in other words, autonomy vis-a-vis the Central Government and the establishment in the internal political system of Full Responsible Government. For the attainment of the goal the immediate steps recommended are financial adjustment between the province and the Central Government, transfer of all provincial subjects, excluding Police, to the charge of a popular Minister, and according to some, the inclusion of Police in the transfer, with necessary safeguards—a strong Central Government, a bicameral provincial legislature and the two important communities being given representation according to the proportion of population, and other important interests being adequately represented.

The ultimate authority of the legislature should be vested in a joint session of the two Chambers on all matters including vote of censure. There should be separate communal electorates. The Committee favor a provincial Public Services Commission. Lastly, the Committee opine that the prevalence of bribery and corruption within the legislature as well as in the constituencies, should be put an end to on the lines existing in the United States and Canada.

The Madras Simon Committee Report

The Madras Simon Commission Committee's report to the Indian Statutory Commission, which was issued to the press in the beginning of *August 1929*, is a short unanimous report. The Committee consisted of Sir Parasaram Patro, Chairman, Diwan Bahadur S. Kumararwami Reddiar, Kumararaja of Venkatagiri, Khan Bahadur P. Khalifulla Saheb Bahadur, Messrs. Daniel Thomas, P. Sivarao and N. Siva Raj, members.

The most important recommendations, made by the Madras Simon Committee, are : (1) The grant of Provincial autonomy or full responsible Government : (2) The establishment of responsible Government in all the civil departments of the Government of India, excepting those dealing with defence, foreign relations and relations with the Indian States, and (3) a declaration of the British Government that full Dominion status, within the British Commonwealth of Nations is accepted as the goal of India, to be achieved in a reasonably definite period.

The Committee in its general survey of the present situation says that whatever be the attitude towards dyarchy as a political experiment, what is now needed for the purpose of determining the future political advance is a re-investigation of the

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forces which demanded political progress in 1918. If these forces are to-day as insistent for political progress as they were in 1918, it is a matter of little importance whether dyarchy has been successful or not. The main issues in the political field to-day are whether there is a need for political advance, and, if so, what is the extent to which it is desirable to go.

Summarising the reasons which impelled Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to conclude in 1918 that political advance on a large scale was necessary, the Committee says: The very same causes, viz., political dissatisfaction, social stagnation, administrative weakness, lack of moral and material progress and moral forces, have now with the passage of time become intensified. More over the progress made in the last 10 years under Indian direction in education, local self-government and in general enterprise amply justifies further political advance.

If large political progress was necessary in 1918, it is even more so in 1929. The Committee further says that the claim for Dominion Status for India is based on justice as well as on the National Demand. The strength of England's rule in India has been based as much on her physical power as on her moral qualities. We believe that in the long run moral strength is more powerful than physical strength and that it is in the interests of England herself to satisfy the just aspirations of India.

As regards the working of dyarchy in Madras, the Committee feels justified in stating that this Province has worked dyarchy as successfully as a transitional system of the kind can be worked and that satisfactory political capacity and organising ability have been shown by the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects. Progress in the interest taken by voters in elections, in political education of voters by their representatives and in the development of the party system in the Council and in the country has been encouragingly steady.

As regards the working of dyarchy in other provinces the Committee says that it is generally admitted that dyarchy has been worked successfully in a majority of the Provinces. The particular success of Madras and the Punjab is mainly due to the fact that the non-Brahman Party in Madras and the Moslems in the Punjab were willing to work dyarchy.

The difference between these two provinces and the rest of India is based not on a difference in political ability, but on a difference in the willingness to work the particular method of dyarchy.

These two provinces show that the existence of communal differences are not a bar to political progress in a province. The success of dyarchy in Madras and elsewhere is evidence of the general fitness of the country to work a political constitution which receives the general acceptance of the people.

Regarding the working of the Central Government the Committee says that the relations of the Executive and the Legislature in the Central Government are such that none who desires constitutional progress can desire their continuance.

If the Central Government be responsible to the Legislature, the orientation of administration in India is likely to be different from what it is. Decentralisation—the transference of authority from the Central Government—is mainly demanded because it means the transfer of power from a part of Government which is responsible only to the Secretary of State to parties that are responsible to the people. The undue postponement of the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government may thus give an unhealthy permanent twist to the administrative organism.

India would be willing to have a Central Government strong enough to maintain her as a nation, but this willingness is diminished if the Central Government is irresponsible. The Committee holds it undesirable, therefore, to consider only the reform of Provincial Governments and leave alone that of the Central Government. If the principle of a democratic Government is to be introduced, it is as necessary to introduce it in regard to central subjects as in regard to provincial subjects.

After a careful consideration of all facts before us, says the Committee, we recommend the following steps to be taken immediately :—

(1) The grant of provincial autonomy or full responsible Government.

(2) The establishment of responsible government in all the civil departments of the Government of India, that is, in all departments except those dealing with Defence, Foreign relations and relations with Indian States.

(3) A declaration by the British Government that full Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth of Nations is accepted as the goal of India to be achieved in a reasonably definite period and that the automatic achievement of such status in such time will be brought about by the provision of adequate means

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for the Indianisation of the army and other forces of defence.

There has been a certain amount of doubt expressed as to what "provincial autonomy" means. It means the self-government of the people in the province and therefore implies responsible government. It also means freedom from external control, but this within defined limits ; for a Provincial Government is necessarily correlated with a Central Government and the relation between the two should imply a measure of authority on the part of the later over the former. What is now demanded is that responsibility should not be limited to a part of the provincial sphere of Government, but should be extended to that sphere in full and that the limits within which the provincial Government is independent of the Central Government should be definitely laid down. The present division of provincial and central subjects is reasonable and should continue.

In regard to the Central Government the Madras Committee believes that the control of the civil departments by a popularly elected legislature to whom the executive should be responsible is essential in the interests of true economic progress. Control over Customs, Railways, Shipping, Banking and Currency and the Exchange, if it continues in the hands of an irresponsible Central Government, however justly the latter may act, will breed irritation and suspicion on the part of the people.

The appalling poverty of the people, the large amount of unemployment among the educated classes and the comparatively small return India gets from her enormous natural resources, all demand that control over the economic life of India should be transferred to the people of India. In these departments no religious or caste differences can have any effect. Whatever may be the form of administrative or constitutional changes in the country, there can be no substantial progress unless the changes tend to advance the economic welfare of the people which is the primary concern of the government.

Indced, if self-government in India is to be real, it should begin with the work of economic reconstruction. Autonomy only in the subjects that are now classed as provincial will be husk without the grain which control over economic life can alone provide.

Even if it happens that, in some of the provinces, Law and Order continues to be reserved, all other subjects being transferred, this will not interfere with our proposal for the immediate transfer of the "civil" departments of the Government of India, as the central subject of Defence, which is connected with the provincial subject of Law and Order, will be administered for a time as at present by the Central authority.

The Committee devote a few keen sentences to the criticism that India cannot defend herself and therefore cannot be entitled to Dominion Status. The fact is, it is pointed out :—

India is defended largely by Indian soldiers and entirely out of Indian money. It is in spite of the repeated demands of Indians and in order to meet the needs of British Imperial strategy that the Army is officered mainly by Englishmen and a large British force is kept in India. As seen from the evidence placed before us, the military policy of India has never yet been considered from the point of view of the legitimate needs of India. It is not fair that England should first omit to make India militarily self-sufficient and then use her own omission as an argument against giving her Dominion Status.

The unanimous recommendations of the Skeen Committee have been turned down by the Government of India, presumably at the behest of the Secretary of State. The Skeen Committee have shown that it is not the lack of material, but wrong methods that have stood in the way of Indians coming forward in adequate numbers to serve as officers in the Army. It is alleged that Indians lack the qualities necessary for leadership in the army.

In the Great War, however, Indian non-commissioned officers readily took the place of fallen British officers and the available evidence shows that they acquitted themselves well. Leadership requires opportunities for development and Indians have been practically kept out from such opportunities. Leadership requires not only courage but also intelligence, but Indians with intelligence have hardly been given a place in the Army, though recruitment being limited to particular classes and to subordinate positions. It is not the lack of desire or ability on the part of India, but the policy of Britain that is responsible for the fact that india, though it supplies all the money and most of the soldiers, is yet not self-sufficient for the purposes of defence.

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It seems to the Committee that the contention that Englishmen would not like to serve as officers in the army under Indian superiors is not tenable. Besides being recruited as officers, Indians should be admitted to the artillery and the other branches of the Army from which they are now excluded. As regards the Navy, the self-governing domi ions of the British Commonwealth have not taken up in full the obligation of defending themselves by sea and India may, for the present, remain in the same position.

The Committee is not in favour at present of an extension of the franchise to all adults which will raise the electorate form about 1½ to 23 millions. There are two alternative methods of dealing with franchise. The first is to leave the franchise as it is and give the Legislative Council power to alter it according to requirements. The second is to lower the franchise to half its present level. It has been calculated that such a lowering of the franchise will roughly double the electorate i. e., raise it to about 6 per cent of the population. The Committee is in favour of the first alternative with the exception of Mr. Siva Rao who prefers the second.

But if the Commission feels that an immediate broadening of the basis of the franchise should accompany an increase in the powers of the Legislature, the Committee would recommend the second alternative. The Committee wishes to raise the strength of the Council to about 150 on the existing franchise and 200 if the franchise be lowered. The Committee propose that the official bloc be abolished, the nomination of experts, whether official or non-official, being permitted for special purposes.

As regards the communal electorates for Moslems and Indian Christians, the Committee recommends the retention of the existing communal electorates for Moslems and Indian Christians as also for Europeans and Anglo-Indians for a time. Two of the members of the Committee, however, hold that their communities should be brought also on the general electorate but without the right to stand as candidates.

The present special representation for commercial and other interests is also retained.

The Committee feels that the landholders have weighty interests in the Presidency and that their interests are likely to be in conflict with those of their tenants who find a large representation in the Council and therefore recommend that special representation for the landholders should be continued. One member is against such special representation. The Committee is in favour of special representation for the Universities. The Committee feels that no separate representation of agricultural labour is necessary in this province as a large proportion of such labourers and cultivators are included in the general electorates Industrial labour is not at present sufficiently organised to be separately represented. The Committee is in favour of the abolition of reservation of seats for non-Brahmins in Madras.

The Committee is in favour of single member constituencies provided they are arranged so as to avoid preponderance of one community in any particular constituency.

The Committee recommends that the term of the Council may be fixed at five years as the present period of three years is felt to be unduly short.

The Committee proposes that the executive power in the province be vested in the Governor acting with a Cabinet of seven Ministers of whom one, the Chief Minister, may be selected by the Governor and the rest appointed by the Governor on his recommendation. The Ministers will be jointly responsible to the Council and should resign if a no-confidence motion against them is carried by a majority of the total strength of the Council. The Chief Minister will be the President of the Cabinet and will have the powers of the Finance Member of the Government.

The existing powers of the Governor in regard to legislation may be continued with the exception of power under section 72-F of the Government of India Act which relates to reserved subjects and may be abolished with the abolition of reserved subjects. He will be the agent of the Central Government. In virtue of his powers he will be in a position to safeguard the interests of minorities, services, etc. as he may be required to do in an Instrument of Instructions issued to him by the Sovereign. In emergencies he will have power to order administrative action to be taken which is necessary for the peace and tranquillity of the province.

In the opinion of all but one member of the Committee, the balance of advantage is in favour of a second chamber, the constitution and functions of the chamber

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being tentatively similar to those of the Council of State and the strength of the Chamber not exceeding fifty.

Regarding the electorates for the Assembly and the Council of State the Committee recommends that the present franchise be retained. Separate electorates may continue for the present for Moslems. For Indian Christians, election through separate electorates should be substituted for nomination. Nomination for depressed classes should continue. The strength of the Assembly may be fixed at 200 to 250 and its term at five years. The position as regards the Council of State may continue as at present.

The Committee recommends that the Governor-General be in charge of the Foreign and Political Department and that the Commander-in-Chief be in charge of defence. All other subjects should be in charge of a Cabinet consisting of Ministers responsible to the legislature. The present powers of the Governor-General in regard to Provincial Legislative Councils in respect of legislation will continue. The Committee adds that these proposals are solely intended for the transitional stage before the attainment of Dominion Status.

The Committee recommends that immediate action be taken on the lines of the Skeen Committee so as to have the defence forces officered mainly by Indians within the period set for the attainment of Dominion Status. More than one Indian Sandhurst should be opened to train Indian officers.

The Committee believes that India will in time form a federation in which the Indian States will find their due place though they can be brought in only with their consent.

The Committee holds that residuary powers should vest in the Central Government on the model of the Canadian constitution. The present division of provincial and central subjects is satisfactory and should be retained.

The majority of the Committee is of opinion that there should be separation of executive and judicial functions so as to secure an independent judiciary and improved administration of justice.

The Burma Simon Committee Report

The Burma Provincial Simon Committee (*for personnel see Register 1929 Vol. I p. 345*) in their report submitted to the Council on the *5th August 1929* strongly recommended the immediate separation of Burma from the rest of British India as the first step towards the attainment of full responsible Government. Burma's political connection with India, the report states, is arbitrary and unnatural. Burma's political subservience to India has seriously jeopardised her financial and economic interest even threatening to denationalise her.

Regarding the form of administration after separation, the committee indicate the lines along which Burma should advance to the goal of full responsible Government without attaching too much importance to such names as home rule, dominion status and so forth.

The committee opine that Burma's revenues would develop more quickly if she is separated and Burma would gain at least three crores per annum.

The committee desire that after separation Burma be placed in direct relationship with the Home Government through the Secretary of State, who should have a separate Council to deal with Burma affairs. The report states that increased representation be given to Indians, Karens and Anglo-Indians and communal representation to Burma Moslems.

Opinion is strongly divided on the question whether the Burma Legislature should be unicameral or bi-cameral, the majority favouring the former until a proper party system is evolved. The majority favour the retention of the official bloc as a steadying influence.

Franchise should remain unaltered for the present and executive power should be vested in the Governor acting with the advice of ministers of whom five shonld be

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non-official with joint responsibility, the ministers being responsible to and removable by the Legislature.

Power to alter the constitution should be vested in the local Legislature, but not before the expiry of five years since the introduction of the new constitution guaranteeing full right of citizenship to the minorities.

The Committee also recommend that after separation and adoption of the above constitution a Public Service Commission be appointed by the Governor acting with the ministers to deal direct with the future recruitment appointments, discipline, retirement and superannuation of public offices.

The report concludes : "If separation is considered outside the region of practical politics, the Committee recommend, as an alternative, that Burma be given at least the same advance as granted to the major provinces of India.

Minutes of Dissent

The report contains two notes of dissent. Mr. *U. Ba U*, in his note of dissent, recommends dominion status. Mr. *M. M. Rafi* differs from the view that the first step towards the attainment of full responsible Government is separation.

Mr. Rafi argues that separation need not necessarily precede responsible Government and warns those who are committed to such a course that, in the event of Burma not being granted Home Rule as the next step, which is most likely, separation would mean a leap in the dark. "It will leave Burma weak and isolated, divorced from a connection which, whatever its detractors might say, admittedly helped her in the past to rise from her political slumber and fight her political battles and to which the present Reforms in Burma are largely due. That is the reason why a large section of the Burmese people is opposed to separation". "My conception of provincial autonomy," he proceeds, "includes the transference of all provincial subjects, not excepting law and order, to the control of popular ministers responsible to the Legislature, and the elimination of the official bloc and nominated members." He expresses the opinion that Burma should have a bi-cameral legislature elected on a higer franchise based on property. The interests of the minorities should be safeguarded not only by communal electorates, but also by providing for the education of the children of the minority communities from State Funds and reserving a certain percentage of appointments in the Public Services for them.

The Assam Simon Committee Report

The Report of the Assam Simon Committee was submitted to the Assam Council on the *9th September 1929.* (*For personnel of the Committee see Register 1928 vol. I p. 348.*)

The Committee recommended universal suffrage for all persons of not less than 25 years of age, with open voting for the illiterate, and, alternatively, suggested universal household suffrage, i. e. vote for each occupied house, the local legislature deciding as to which of these alternatives should be adopted.

The Legislative Council should consist of 95 elected members. The Governor may nominate not more than five members, one representing the backward tracts, if ,as recommended by the Committee, the legislative and financial control in respect thereof should continue as at present.

The Committee are not convinced that the existence of the second chamber and the expense involved would be justifie d by its utility, though they do not agree with the statement in the Government memorandum that there is no suitable material for it in Assam.

The representation of Assam in the Legislative Assembly should be on the basis of area as well as population and all provinces, large or small, should be equally

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represented in the Council of State which should be, so to speak, the Council of the Provinces.

The Committee do not recommend any territorial change, one member dissenting. Neither Sylhet nor any part of Goalpara should be transferred to Bengal. The backward tracts, being a potential source of wealth, should continue to be part of the province. Khasi and Jainthia Hills should no longer be classed as such, but placed on the same footing as plain districts.

Dyarchy should go and all subjects, including Police, subject to certain safeguards, should be administered by ministers jointly responsible to the legislature, who should be four in number, appointed by and holding office during the pleasure of the Governor, three on the advice of the Chief Minister. The Minister's pay should be fixed by an act of the local legislature which shall have a life of five years unless dissolved earlier by the Governor. No special majority should be fixed for no-confidence. The Chief Minister should preside at Cabinet meetings.

The Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service should be all-India services for the present and all other services should be provincialised. Recruitment and control of services should be vested in the Public Services Commissions free from political influences, one central commission for the all-India services and the other local Commission for the rest.

Regarding the financial settlement, the Committee urge that disparity in the level of administration between the other provinces and Assam, which was the legacy of the pre-reform period and which the Meston Settlement did not sufficiently allow for in the case of Assam, should be taken into account at the next financial settlement, which should provide for a special central contribution to Assam in a form to be decided by a commission in view of Assam's past history and present low level of administration and future needs.

The B. & O. Simon Committee Report

The recommendations of the Bihar and Orissa Simon Committee was published on the *17th September* 1929 in three separate reports. (*For personnel see Register* 1928 *vol. II p.* 273.)

Raja Bahadur Amawan, the Chairman, Mr. Chandeshwar Prasad Narayan Singh and Mr. Lakshmidhar Mahanti signed what is known as the *majority report.* According to their proposals provincial autonomy should be granted in all subjects now classed as provincial and the local Government should be composed of a Cabinet responsible to a bicameral legislature, the Lower House being elected on a much higher franchise than at present and being "representative of various interests imbued with ideas of conservative innovation." They treat the second chamber proposal as an integral part of their plea for provincial autonomy.

The majority do not suggest the extension of the present franchise but in order to adjust inequality of franchise between proprietors and ryots they propose that the minimum qualification in case of proprietors in general constituencies only to be double that of others. They further suggest lowering the standard of qualification for special landholders' constituencies by fifty per cent so as to include more of those whose status justifies representation in special constituencies.

The committee are of opinion that minorities like Moslems, depressed classes, Europeans and domiciled Bengalis be given adequate representation in the legislature.

The strength of the Lower House be fixed at 125, the official bloc and nominations to be abolished.

Ministers are to have parliamentary secretaries, who will ordinarily sit in the other House.

The committee propose a system of election by direct method. In their opinion

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it would be futile to deny that separate electorates are an impediment to the growth of a national spirit but they have reluctantly accepted them as the Moslems have so insistently demanded their continuance for sometime more. But they would also insert a provision in the constitution by which joint electorates will be substituted if a majority of the representatives of the community concerned declare in their favour by a resolution in Council.

The Upper House will be composed of forty members representing the landed aristocracy, and men of intellect and experience.

As regards the powers of the Upper House they recommend that in matters of legislation including taxation and bills it should have equal and concurrent powers with the Lower House. All bills may originate in either chamber with the exception of finance bills.

In the event of a deadlock between the two Houses the Governor should have, at the instance of the second chamber or of his own accord, the power to call a joint session of both Houses and the matter should be decided by a majority of votes.

They recommend that the Executive Government of the province should consist of a Governor and a Cabinet of five to seven ministers from members of both Houses, one occupying the position of Chief Minister and all to be jointly responsible for the whole field of provincial administration. They imagine that it will always be possible to find one seat for Moslems in the Cabinet. If Orissa remains a part of this province it should also have a voice in the Cabinet.

A vote of censure against the ministry for the purpose of resignation will be effective only if passed by a majority of members of both Houses at a joint meeting convened for the purpose.

They recommend that the Governor to be given certain discretionary powers to be used especially when the peace and tranquillity of the province are threatened and where delay in summoning the legislature is likely to lead to undesirable results.

The Governor will be responsible for seeing that the powers of the Central Government are effective and should both Houses refuse supplies he should have the power to certify a sufficient amount to meet the immediate commitments of Government.

In legislation, in addition to the power of veto or remanding or reserving a bill, the Governor will be given the power of certifying a bill if he considers it essential in the interests of a minority community.

In the field of executive action only, where the central control was threatened, should the Governor be given the power to suspend the orders of the Executive Government until a reference is made to the Central Government and orders obtained thereon.

The majority recommend that Moslems should have their share of representation on a population basis by reservation of separate seats and it will also be open to them to win more seats in open contest with other communities, which in their opinion would foster a national spirit. They recommend safeguards for the protection of the cultural, linguistic and religious interests of minorities. The proposed safeguards are a provision to ensure moslems an adequate share in the grants-in-aid given by the State to educational institutions, freedom for promotion of the Urdu language, culture and religion, guarantees for the protection of property of charitable institutions, a provision that no bill or resolution on any part thereof be passed in the Legislative Council if a standing majority of that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution on the ground that it affects the particular interests of the community concerned, the question whether the matter is communal to be decided by the Governor.

Regarding the Moslem demand for reservation of a fixed percentage in the services, local bodies and the cabinet, they regard it evil in principle and impracticable.

As regards the general constituencies for the Lower House they recommend increased representation for landlords to the extent of one from each district elected by an electorate of their won.

They recommend that the Central Government to be responsible to the Central Legislature the obvious limitation being the military, political and foreign departments. They suggest that one-fourth of the members of the Assembly be elected by the provincial legislatures.

They recommend a separate province for Orissa. They propose that five districts

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of the United Provinces bordering on Bihar, which are permanently settled including Benares, Gorakhpur, Ballia and Azamgarh, be amalgamated with Bihar.

The committee are emphatically of opinion that nothing short of insuperable obstacles should stand in the way of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts into a separate province. Regarding the suggestion for the formation of Chota Nagpur into a separate province they consider it out of the question.

Minutes of Dissent

Moslem members of the Committee submitted a separate dissenting report. They strongly advocate the maintenance of separate electorates for Moslems on the existing basis of 25 per cent. representation.

They also recommend constitutional guarantees for Moslems, representation in the Legislatures and a corresponding 25 per cent. representation in the local bodies.

They recommend provincial autonomy with the exception of law and order which should continue as a reserved subject. They propose that the Governor should be empowered to certify a Bill which he considers essential in the interests of a minority community.

They oppose the proposal of a second chamber and increased representation of landlords in the legislature. They recommend a federal constitution for the Central Government in which residuary powers are vested in the provinces. They support the demand of the Oriyas for a separate province.

Mr. *Sarat Chandra Roy* in a separate note, advocates the separation of the aboriginal tracts from Bihar proper and their formation into a separate province, failing which, the amalgamation of Chota Nagpur with Orissa and their formation into a separate province is recommended.

He recommends a larger representation for aboriginals in the legislature and certain other safeguards for them. He proposes complete provincial autonomy and introduction of responsibility in the Central Government. He advocates joint electorates but would not decrease the present proportion of Moslem representation.

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Proceedings of the

The Legislative Assembly Council of State

&

Provincial Councils.

July–Dec. 1929.

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The Legislative Assembly.

President:—Honb'le Mr. V. J. Patel.

The Assembly's autumn session opened at Simla on the 2ND SEPTEMBER 1929. As this being the first sitting, there was naturally speculation as to whether the President would make any statement regarding the controversy between him and the Viceroy arising out of the Viceroy's speech on the closing day of the last session. It may be mentioned here that President Patel had lodged a strong protest against the Viceroy's criticism of his ruling, and wished this practice to be stopped by the Viceroy because within the four walls of the House there was no one except the House which could pass a judgment on the President's ruling.

This expectation was realised when, after question time, President Patel communicated to the House the text of the correspondence between him and H. E. the Viceroy. Lord Irwin's letter was couched in a very conciliatory spirit and at once conceded that the principle the President had enunciated was truly parliamentary and assured him that he not only accepted the principle, but regretted that the President and others should have put on his words an interpretation when though it appeared inevitable in the circumstances, did not represent his intention. The Viceroy took his stand on the fact that he had frankly acknowledged in that very speech, that, within the House, the President was the sole interpreter of the rules. The following is the text of Mr. Patel's statement :—

Mr. Patel's Statement.

"I desire to make a statement on a question concerning the dignity anp independence of this House, and the authority of the Chair, which arose out of the address delivered in the Chamber to the members of the Central Legislature on the closing day of the last session by the Governor General.

"As hon'ble members are aware, it has been my constant endeavour since I have been elected to this Chair to uphold the dignity and independence of this House and the authority of the Chair to the best of my capacity. I have always maintained and will continue to maintain so long as I am in this Chair, that the House and the Chair are, subject to the constitution, supreme within the four walls of this Chamber, and I would be unworthy of the confidence reposed in me by the House if I failed on any occasion to raise my voice in protest against any action which, in my view, seemed to challenge or undermine that supremacy. I accordingly, thought it my duty to address the following letter to H. E. the Viceroy on the 8th of May last :—

Letter to Lord Irwin.

My dear Lord Irwin,—It was with considerable pain, surprise and sorrow that I listened, the other day, to your address to the two Houses of the Indian Legislature. Of course, it goes without saying that Your Excellency is entitled under the constitution to summon the members of the two Houses at any time for the purpose of addressing them, but I am quite clear that Your Excellency's action in utilisiug the occasion for criticising the Chair's ruling is not only unprecedented and calculated to affect both the dignity of the House and the authority of the Chair, but also constitutes, in my opinion, a departure from constitutional usage and traditions. For these reasons, it is impossible for me to acquiesce in the course Your Excellency has thought it right to adopt. Such a precedent might be repeated by your successors, and it is my duty, as President of the Assembly, to enter my strongest protest against it as soon as I can. The only question I am considering is whether I shall be right in making known my protest now by communication to the Press or whether I should not wait till the Assembly meets, and do so more

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appropriately from the Chair of the Assembly. Perhaps Your Excellency will agree that though we have, in the past, more than once differed on matters relating to the Assembly, such differences have never been publicly displayed. It is a matter of regret to me that Your Excellency should have departed from that practice.

The proceedings of the Assembly would have disclosed that there was to say the least, room for honest difference of opinion. The person occupying the Chair had in the circumstances and in the situation that arose, to interpret the rules and lay down the procedure as best as he could in the exercise of his undoubted powers, and you yourself were frank enough to admit, in your address, that the only appropriate person to interpret in either House of the Legislature the rule under which it works is the President of the House himself.

In the matter of the interpretation of the Rules and Standing Orders, the only safe guide is to go by their language. Your Excellency will agree with me that I could only proceed on the Rules and Standing Orders as they stand at present, and according to the best of my lights I could not go in search of the "original intention" apart from the language of the Rules. While so, it is somewhat surprising that, in more than one place Your Excellency refers to yourself and to your Government not being satisfied as to my interpretation being in conformity with the original intention, on my ruling being calculated to interrupt the work of the House, and upon the legislature being prevented from forming its own judgment on the question whether or not it could usefully conduct its debates. The reference to the technical difficulty created by my ruling standing in the way of your sharing the responsibility of protecting the order of the state with the legislature, the intention announced in Your Excellency's address that the proper authority will so amend the rules as to prevent the President of either House from impeding the progress of legislation, all these appear to me, in the circumstances and in the context, nothing short of a censure passed by Your Excellency upon my ruling.

I need hardly point out that, under the Rules and Standing Orders I am the sole and final authority on all questions relating to order arising in the House, and if my conduct is to be impugned it can only be impugned by a direct appeal to the House upon notice of a motion properly given, when a straight issue would be laid before the House. In no other manner and by no other authority could the ruling of the Chair be subject to any criticism or censure within the Assembly Chamber, of which I am the President. Such, indeed, is the sanctity attached to the rulings of the Chair by the constitution and convention.

For obvious reasons, I do not desire to embark on a discussion of the merits of the point of order before the House, though I still maintain that I was right in the ruling which I gave, and that it was the only possible ruling consistent with the fundamental right of free speech and debate of the members of the House and with its functioning as a deliberative Assembly.

It is not my purpose and indeed it is not within my province to deal with the question as to the necessity for any amendment in the rules, nor am I concerned with the point as to whether the occasion warrants such amendment. I need hardly point out that the fact of Your Excellency having to fall back on your powers under Section 72 of the Government of India Act in the circumstances that have happened, neither enters into the merits of this communication nor could it be an element in the decision I arrived at on the point of order.

I write this because it is possible that Your Excellency might not be in this country when I make my statement, and I thought it was proper that I should let you know my intentions. Since you made your speech I was searching for some precedent from the proceedings of the Parliaments of the Dominions in support of your action, and I am in a position to inform Your Excellency that never before has any representative of the Crown such as you, have chosen to criticise any ruling of any Speaker of any of the Parliaments of the Dominions in the manner in which you have criticised my ruling.'

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) V. J. Patel.

Lord Irwin's Reply.

"On the 15th May, I received from His Excellency the following reply :—

Dear Mr. Patel,—His Excellency has received your letter of the 8th May, and desires me to thank you for the courtesy that prompted you to acquaint him with your intentions. The action which you have felt impelled to take is based upon the assumption that, in his address to the Legislature, His Excellency passed a criticism or censure upon your ruling. His Excellency feels that there has been in some quaters a misapprehention both of the purpose of his address and of the language which he employed to give

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expression to it, and therefore welcomes this opportunity of making plain in greater detail the precise implications of the action he thought it his duty, in the very difficult circumstances, to take without entering into the question of the merits of your ruling which as you correctly point out, are not now in issue.

His Excellency desires me to say that it was no part of his intention by his address, as indeed within the House he would consider it improper, either to criticise the ruling you had given or pass a censure upon you for it—and His Excellency regrets that his words should have been so interpreted by yourself or by others. Such an interpretation in the circumstances in which the address was delivered was perhaps inevitable but His Excellency wishes me to make plain to you, and through you, to the Assembly, his entire concurrence with your view that within the House it is the President, subject only to the House itself in the established from as indicated in your letter, who is the sole, final authority under the rules and standing orders on all questions relating to order that may arise. His Excellency indeed defined his position in his address by emphasising that in his view, the only person qualified to interpret within either House the rules under which it works was the President of the House concerned. His Excellency accordingly desired to confine himself to pointing out the practical results that followed from the ruling, and to stating the action which, in his view, was imposed upon himself and upon the Government for the proper discharge of their own responsibilities.

I am desired by His Excellency to add that he fully shares your anxiety to maintain the dignity of the House and the authority of the Chair. He earnestly hopes, and has no doubt that such a hope is entertained by the President, that the passage of time may see the gradual establishment, around the Chair of the Assembly in the constitutional conditions of the Indian Legislature of such a body of tradition as has, in the sphere of the House of Commons, enabled each of a long line of Speakers to be successively accepted as the impartial guide and trusted friend of all sections of the House. To this end, His Excellency trusts that he and the President may continue to co-operate. Since His Excellency has made it clear that it was not his intention to criticise your ruling, he does not feel it necessary to discuss the arguments which you adduce upon the subject of Dominion presidents.

A regards the question you raise as to whether you should make your position known by the publication of your letter, and of His Excellency's reply through the Press or by direct statement in the Assembly, His Excellency would suggest that the more convenient course would be that you should read to the Assembly on as early a day as convenient, your letter to him, and his reply. His Excellency feels that the matter is one in which all the members of the Assembly are directly interested, and that it would be proper that the correspondence should be directly presented to them.

(Sd.) G. Cunningham.

President Patel continued: "I breathed a sigh of relief when I read that reply which, in my opinion, constitutes a sufficient vindication of the dignity and independence of this House and the authority of the Chair which I thought had been seriously assailed. The Governor-General has here made it plain that he had no intention of criticising or censuring the ruling. He has also said that he would consider it improper for him to do so within the House, and more than that His Excellency has impressed his entire concurrence with that part of my letter which defines the position, in this respect, that, within the House, it is only by the House itself that the ruling of the Chair can be subjected to criticism and censure. His Excellency has further made it clear, in reply, that in the circumstances in which the address was delivered, such an interpretation of his words, as I and others have put, was perhaps inevitable, and he considers it regrettable that his words should have been so interpreted. In view of what His Excellency has said, I am convinced that it was not his desire to establish a precedent derogatory to the dignity of the House, and I am sure the House would agree with me that the incident must now be treated as closed.

"I desire to state in conclusion that nothing has pleased me more in His Excellency's reply than the sincere expression of his anxiety to see the establishment in this country of the best Parliamentary traditions and conventions, and to co-operate with the Chair for that purpose, and I need hardly assure His Excellency and his Government that I fully echo his desire in this respect".

Official Bills.

After President Patel had read his statement, Government introduced 12 Bills. These included two by Sir George Schuster relating to Income-tax.

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One was designed to bring together minor amendments relating mostly to the machinery of administration, and not designed to affect the incidence of taxation. The other Bill was intended to give the same relief in respect of income-tax to contributions made to private provident funds maintained by commercial and other employers as now given in respect of life assurance premia. This concession was proposed in order to encourage thrift. The form the concession would take was that of exemption from income-tax of contributions made both by the employer and the employee in so far as these contributions did not exceed one-month of the employee's salary. It was not intended to double the total relief which could be claimed by any individual, and if a subscriber to a provident fund was also paying an annual life insurance premium he would be entitled to claim income-tax relief in respect of the latter to the extent that joint contributions to the provident fund fall short of one-sixth of his totat income. The concession was to be restricted to provident funds which were subject to irrevocable trusts and otherwise conformed to the conditions laid down in the Bill.

Cantonment House Act Amending Bill.

Mr. Tottenham, the Army Secretary, introduced a Bill for amending the Cantonment House Accommodation Act in order to provide against the inconveniences and delays which, under the present system, occurred regarding appeals about rent or repairs. It was proposed to abolish arbitration committees and provide for reference of appeals to civil courts direct.

Bengal Pilot Service Bill.

Sir James Crerar introduced a Bill in order to provide for the administration of the Bengal Pilot Service by the Governor-General in Council direct instead of through the local Government.

Commerce Standing Committee.

Sir George Rainy then moved for the election of a panel of nine members of whom three would be nominated to serve on the Standing Committee of the Commerce Department.

Mr. B. Das objected to this procedure, and said that a Government which was fond of amending the Legislative Rules could have done the same. He asked, why not follow Sir Bhupendra's lead ?

Sir George Rainy said that Government realised the feeling of the House against the election of a panel but the question could best be reconsidered in the cold weather session, when most of the Standing Committees would be constituted. In the meantime, he wanted his Standing Committee on the old basis. The motion was agreed to.

Standing Committee on Roads.

Sir Bhupendranath Mitra's motion in respect of the direct election by the Assembly of the Standing Committee on roads was carried. The House applauded his statement that it was in accordance with the verdict of the House given last session. The motion was carried.

Merchandise Marks Bill.

Mr. Neogy moved that the Indian Merchandise Marks Amending Bill be continued. He said that his Bill was circulated but lapsed owing to its not having come up for consideration in two sessions. The Assembly could specially permit him to continue the Bill. The House agreed. The Assembly then adjourned.

Amendment of Assembly Rules*

On the 3RD SEPTEMBER a very interesting situation developed when non-official resolutions were taken up. The President announced that he had received a telegram from Mr. Yusuf Imam authorising Mr. S. C. Mitra to move his resolu-

*On the 24th August 1929 a "Gazette of India" notification announced that the rules of business of the Legislative Assembly had been altered. Under the new rule the President of the Legislative Assembly would have no discretion to prevent "the discussion of any motion relating to a Bill made by a Member-in-Charge of the Bill." This question arose out of the controversy over the "Public Safety Bill" at the last Delhi session when

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tion. The President said that the resolution was, however, partly out of date as it wished the Secretary of State not to accord sanction to the new Legislative rule while sanction had already been accorded. Therefore, Mr. Mitra could amend it to keep it within the main purposes of the original resolution.

Mr. Mitra accordingly asked for permission to move a resolution that the Secretary of State, by according sanction to the new rule, had forfeited the confidence of the House, that the part played by Lord Irwin in this matter was highly reprehensible and that steps be taken forthwith to make this House the master of its own procedure.

The President declared that the reference to Lord Irwin seemed altogether inadmissible and wished to hear what Mr. Mitra had to say.

Mr. Mitra replied that the Standing Orders prevented him in his speech only from impugning the conduct of the Governor-General. The Law and Home Members had during the last session stated that the President could not escape by an hair's breadth from the rules of the House. Therefore, as no express power was provided to rule this out, the President was powerless and his motion was in order.

Mr. K. C. Neogy said that the only immunity enjoyed by the Governor-General was in respect of speech not of a resolution. Moreover, Lord Irwin was not the Governor-General at present.

The Home Member objected to this irrelevant matter being introduced.

Mr. Patel said the issue on which he wanted an opinion was whether the Chair had the inherent power to disallow this resolution on the ground that it involved an abuse of forms of procedure of this House.

Sir James Crerar said that Standing Order 29 prevented any reflection on the Governor-General's conduct in the course of a speech, while Standing Order 61 imposed an obligation on the member to move the resolution before speaking. Thus a resolution became part of the speech and became inadmissible if it impugned the Governor-General's conduct.

The President : Supposing the Chair holds that the resolution is different from the strict speech, under what Standing Orders of the rules he asks me to disallow this part of the resolution ?

Sir James Crerar : I reply more particularly on the correct interpretation of the two Standing Orders mentioned.

The President called on the Law Member to assist them.

Sir B. L. Mitter said that the resolution was an essential part of the speech and therefore must be disallowed.

The President : If no speech is possible, then I should disallow the resolution. (Congress applause and laughter). President : Order, order.

The Law Member : This is not a matter for laughter but a serious question.

The President : It is a very important matter.

The Law Member said that there was no other Standing Order covering that point except that on a strict interpretation of the rules it would be ruled out.

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the Hon. Mr. Patel stopped its further progress as, in his opinion, any discussion regarding this Bill was not possible without reference to matters of fact already under adjudication by a Court of Law. The present alterations in the rules of business were proposed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State had sanctioned those changes. The following is the text of the new rule :—

"In exercise of powers conferred by Sub-Section (1) of Section 67 read with Section 129-A of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General-in-Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council is pleased to direct that following further amendment shall be made in the Indian Legislative Rules, namely :—

" After Rule 17 of the said Rules the following shall be inserted namely :—

" 17-A : Notwithstanding anything contained in Rule 15 or Rule 17, the President shall not have or exercise any power to prevent or delay making or discussion of any motion relating to a Bill made by a Member in charge of the Bill, or to refuse to put or delay putting of a question on any such motion, unless such power is expressly conferred upon him, or such motion or discussion or putting of such question as the case may be is exprensly prohibited or directly precluded by any provision of the Government of India Act, these rules or standing orders."

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The President : I am convinced that this motion involves an abuse of the procedure of the House. The question is, have I express power to rule it out ?

The Law Member : The objection I took to your last ruling was that it related to a bill already in possession of the House, but here on a strict interpretation of the rules you won't admit the resolution.

The President next called upon Sir D'Arcy Lindsay who pleaded that his section in the House was unable to follow the controversy owing to inaudibility and said that as the President considered the resolution objectionable it must be disallowed.

The President's Ruling.

The President said that it was very curious that this question whether the Chair had inherent power to disallow a motion on the ground that it was an abuse of the procedure of the House arose on the very resolution which sought to protest against the action of the Government in endeavouring to take away that inherent power. He sympathised with both the Opposition and the Government, because the former contended that the Chair had no express powers while the Government felt that reading the two Standing Orders together the resolution constituted an abuse of the Standing Orders. The question raised was very important. The rules gave him no express power to disallow this part of the resolution, yet they empowered him to prevent a member from speaking one word on that part of the resolution and unless he had some powers expressly implied or inherent he could not prevent Mr. Mitra from moving that part of the resolution. "I am convinced that the occupant of the Chair in every deliberative Assembly possesses, and must possess if he is to function, inherent power to prevent an abuse of forms of procedure of the Assembly. I know these are wide powers liable to abuse, but the remedy is in the hands of the Assembly itself, namely to remove such occupant from the Chair. The remedy does not lie by way of endeavouring by rule or resolution to take away the powers of the Chair which are so very essential for the very existence of the Chair and this House. I am, therefore, convinced that the Chair has got inherent powers to rule a motion out of order on the ground that it involves an abuse of the rules of procedure of the House. I accordingly rule out the second part."

The President next suggested to Mr. Mitra to keep in view the correspondence between him and Lord Irwin and consider whether he should move the resolution at this juncture and wanted to know the Government's attitude regarding the amendments of the rules in the future. He knew that some members were annoyed at the Secretary of State's sanction to the rules after the resolution had been balloted, but hoped that his suggestion would be considered.

The President next asked the Government to explain their attitude regarding the question of making amendments to the Legislative rules in future.

The Hon'ble Sir B. L. MITTER said that this had been engaging the attention of the Government. Although the constitution did not provide expressly for consultation with the Legislature before making addition to the rules, there was nothing to exclude the establishment of conventions or understandings whereby the executive might adopt the practice of approaching the Legislature for advice before proposing such amendments. Indeed Rule 48-A providing for separate discussion of Railway budget was decided on a resolution moved in and accepted by the Assembly. The present motion called on the Government to take a further step in advance and to agree to bring before the House all important alterations of the Legislative Rules before reporting them for sanction to the Secretary of State in Council. The Government were anxious to meet the wishes of the House in the matter. When the amendments had been considered by the Assembly, the Government would give the most careful consideration to the views of the House, but they could not bind themselves or the Secretary of State to do more than that. The only reservation was in cases of emergency and the Government must, if they should discharge the responsibility vested in them, remain the judges of what constituted such emergency as to require them to proceed without consulting the Legislature in respect of any change in the rule. Subject to such exceptional cases, the Government were in full sympathy

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with the establishment of a convention whereby both Houses of the Legislature could be consulted before any important change was made in the rules.

The Hon'ble Mr. PATEL regarded the Government's statement as one point gained, for, henceforth the Assembly would be consulted on all important amendments except in emergencies which would be rare before a Government proposal was placed for sanction before the Secretary of State. No useful purpose would be served by discussing or recording a vote of censure against the Government of India or the Secretary of State for not consulting the Legislature regarding the particular amendment already sanctioned. What the Assembly wanted was not merely power to discuss rules but the right to make and unmake rules. The Assembly was not so much concerned with the right to be consulted. The whole of the Government of India Act including the rule recently sanctioned was in the melting pot and he therefore advised Mr. Mitra not to make his motion.

Mr. Mitra, in accepting the advice of the Chair regretted that there was reservation as to cases in times of emergency.

Establishment of Village Panchayats.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar then moved a resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee of officials and non-officials to examine rural conditions in various provinces and recommend ways and means for establishing in village or groups of villages with a population of one thousand or over efficient panchayats mainly elected on adult franchise and possessing sufficient legal powers and financial resources for administering all village concerns and deciding in courts. The speaker said that the Government could not divest itself of the responsibility of trusteeship of the masses of India. The responsibility had been shifted to Ministries many of whose communal activities had not been conducive to the welfare of the masses. Without disparaging the work of great leaders who desire the betterment of the country by altering the constitution of the Central Government the speaker urged that real work lay at the villages where an ideal scheme of self-government could be evolved.

Mr. M. K. Acharya, supporting the resolution said that the credit for the idea belonged to the late Mr. C. R. Das according to whom no true scheme of Swaraj could be evolved unless it commenced with rural autonomy essential for real development. Villages, he said, should all become small republics and thus form the best foundation for real Government.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar understood the mover required through this committee the formulation of a central policy for the guidance of Provincial Governments. At present, there was a variety in the administration of Panchayat law and the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission had been grossly violated by the Governments of certain provinces whose administration of this law made Panchayats unpopular. A case had been thus made out for the Government of India to take steps to formulate a central policy.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, a Punjab official, with a knowledge of the working of village panchayats, described the resolution in the present form as not acceptable to the whole of India. No doubt, panchayats had worked well in some villages but in others the system had not been tried. The Panchayats Act provided the basis for the introduction of the system in any village, but a good deal depended on the support which townsmen gave to them and the encouragement which leaders of public opinion gave to them.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar) supported the resolution because it would give the panchayats an impetus which they needed most.

Discussion had not concluded, when the Assembly adjourned.

Discussion on Child Marriage Bill.

On the 4TH SEPT. Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Child Marriage Bill as amended by the Select Committee was put for consideration. (For text see foot note).

TEXT OF THE BILL

The following is the text of the Child Marriage Bill as amended by the Select Committee. The words printed in bold types indicate the amendments suggested by the Committee to the original bill :—

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Mr. Acharya moved that the consideration of the Bill be postponed in view of the late publication of the report of the Age of Consent Committee and in view of the desirability of assessing, with the help of adequate evidence, the real value of that portion of the report, which dealt with the marriage laws and customs obtaining among the Indian communities. He said that the House could not consider the Bill without making sure that every member had got a copy of the report of the Age of Consent Committee. An onerous responsibility lay on the Government. He was not enamoured of this legislation, which must not be passed hastily. The period of two years that the Bill had been before the country was nothing, but a mere drop in the ocean of time.

Whereas it is expedient to restrain the solemnisation of child marriages; it is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (i) This Act may be called the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929. (ii) It extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and the Santhal Parganas. (iii) It shall come into force on the 1st day of April, 1930.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context.—(a) "child" means a person who, if a male, is under eighteen years of age, and if a female, is under fourteen years of age; (b) "child marriage" means a marriage either of the contracting parties to which is a child; (c) "contracting party" to a marriage means either of the parties whose marriage is thereby solemnised; and (d) "minor" means a person of either sex who is under eighteen years of age.

3. Whoever, being a male above eighteen years of age and below twentyone, contracts a child marriage shall be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

4. Whoever, being a male above twenty-one years of age, contracts a child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

5. Whoever performs, conducts or directs any child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both, **unless he proves that he had reason to believe that the marriage was not a child marriage.**

6. (i) Where a minor contracts a child marriage any person having charge of the minor whether as parent or guardian or in any other capacity, lawful or unlawful, who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnised, or negligently fails to prevent it from being solemnised, shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both: **Provided that no women shall be punishahle with imprisonment.** (ii) For the purpose of this section, it shall be presumed, unless and until the contrary is proved, that, where a minor has contracted a child marriage the person having charge of such minor has negligently failed to prevent the marriage from being solemnised.

7. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897, or section 64 of the Indian Penal Code, a court sentencing an offender under section 3 shall not be competent to direct that, in default of payment of the fine imposed, he shall undergo any term of imprisonment.

8. Notwithstanding anything contained in section 190 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, no Court other than that of a Presidency Magistrate or a District Magistrate shall take cognisance of or try, any offence under this Act.

9. No Court shall take cognizance of any offence under this Act save upon complaint made within one year of the solemnisation of the marriage in respect of which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

10. The Court **taking cognizance of an offence under this Act** shall, **unless it dismisses the** complaint under section 203 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, either **itself** make an inquiry under section 202 of that Code, or direct a Magistrate of the first-class subordinate to it to make such inquiry.

11. (i) At any time after examining the complainant and before issuing process for compelling the attendance of the accused, the Court shall, except for reasons to be recorded in writing, require the complainant to execute a bond, with or without sureties, for a sum not exceeding one hundred rupees, as security for the payment of any compensation which the complainant may be directed to pay under section 250 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898; and if such security is not furnished within such resonable time as the court may fix, the complaint shall be dismissed. (ii) A bond taken under this section shall be deemed to be a bond taken under the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, and Chapter XLII of that Code shall apply accordingly.

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Continuing, Mr. Acharya said that they would be failing in their responsibility if they rushed through such serious legislation of a portentous nature, and he quoted the Home Member's warning at the time of the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee for ascertaining carefully the views of all legitimate interests when legislation affected deep-rooted religious instincts. He urged the Assembly to ascertain whether there was any widespread desire for such legislation. There was no time to study the Age of Consent Committee's report since it was published. Proceeding, Mr. Acharya found fault with the logic, argument and diction of the report of the Age of Consent Committee.

Mr. Acharya then read extracts from the report to show what appeared to him to be irreconcilable statements regarding the evils of early maternity. Lady demonstrators outside the Chamber in favour of the Bill were being used, as toys, and they were no safe guides to the Assembly regarding this Bill. All the members of the Assembly except perhaps the Moslem section could be easily discovered to be desirous of radical social reform, and therefore they were unable to appreciate orthodox Hindu opinion. If they could prove that in Vedic times post-puberty marriage was the law, then much of the objection of orthodoxy would be met. He quoted telegrams from ladies' meetings held in some stations in South India against the Bill.

Mr. Acharya proceeding wished that the Committee had known the happenings in Afghanistan and said that reform, however well meant, when forced down the unwilling throats of the people would do more harm than good.

Mr. Amarnath DUTT opposed the Bill, and considered the Age of Consent Committee's report fit for the waste paper basket like all reports of the foreign Government. People considered such legislation as unwarranted interference wtth their social customs. Were they to think that a Government which deported and imprisoned men like Tilak or was callous to the sufferings of several young men, was not aware of the situation that would arise when the Bill was passed ?

Mr. Sesha IYENGAR, who also opposed the Bill, said that it would create a revolution in the existing social order. After referring to meetings of protest held by ladies who had called the Bill preposterous, he drew attention to the opposition voiced by representatives of numerous places in Madras and by the priests of certain mutts, and quoted the views of several leaders of orthodox opinion against the Bill. The speaker thought that the provisions in the Bill flouted the shastras. The presence in Simla of deputationists from far-off Madras indicated the earnestness of feeling which existed against the measure. The speaker wanted to know if the House should be a party to a flagrant violation of the shastras. Instead of magnifying differences, the conflicting facts must be somehow reconciled.

Sir James CRERAR explained the attitude of the Government amidst loud cheers, as being one of cordial sympathy and strongest support to the Bill. If Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda should find satisfaction on seeing the measure on the Statute Book during the course of this session, the Government would be the first to congratulate him on that happy consummation. Between two extremes, one of rash and hasty and intemperate legislation, and the other of obscurantism and public conservatism, the dangers which lay were hardly distinguishable in their magnitude.

The Government's attitude throughout in all matters of social legislation was that there must be a deliberate and careful examination of the evils which they were endeavouring to remove, so that there might be a measure which would have the support of the public. Last time, when the Bill was before the Assembly, the Government supported the motion for postponement because the Age of Consent Committee had been appointed to consider and report on a matter which was greatly concerned with the subject matter of the legislation. The Government anticipated from the labours of that Committee that every shade of opinion would express itself on the question and that there would be the considered opinion of the Committee. Now, the country was more alive to the gravity of the evil which the Bill was intended to deal with. All opinions

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had ample opportunity of expressing themselves before the Committee, which had taken the utmost opportunity of weighing and considering that opinion in framing the recommendations, and the result was before the Assembly in the form of a report. The Committee was representative of different interests concerning the Bill. It had a high measure of legal, administrative and medical qualifications most essential for the consideration of the question. The report, indeed, constituted a landmark of advance in the controversy with which the Bill dealt. Anyone who studied that report would admit that Sir Moropant Joshi and his colleagues had rendered a very great public service and deserved the gratitude of the country.

The first conclusion that could be drawn from the contents of the Age of Consent report was that there existed a grave and corroding evil clamouring for a remedy. It was not merely that generation after generation of young girls were exposed to the injuries of early marriage, but legacies were left from which the country would undoubtedly suffer most vitally. The Government of India did not desire it to be understood that they, in and way, under-estimated the earnestness and sincerity of the opposition to the Bill. Any measure which modified a social custom of long duration would for a time, naturally evoke a large measure of opposition, but he hoped that in no long time, the principle of the Bill in its practical application would reconcile even the most stringent opposition with which the measure was at present met.

The Home Member concluded : " We are convinced that the evil exists. We are convinced that the measure of Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda is at any rate the first step in the direction of seeking a practical remedy. Where we find that evil, and where we find a promising remedy, we feel we must support what we think to be right. I trust a great majority of this House will agree in the view that this measure is one in the right direction, and it is their duty to support it."

Mr. K. C. NEOGY, who rose to oppose the Bill, referred to the opinions of the Local Governments, and asked how the Government of India proposed to work the measure when several local Governments were not giving it support. Dealing further with public opinion, the speaker referred to the Bengal Social Conference where a resolution in favour of the Bill was defeated by an overwhelming majority in spite of attempts made by its President Mr. Kelkar.

Mr. Neogy exhibited a large bundle of letters he had received against the Bill whereupon Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda amidst laughter showed also his big bundle.

Continuing his speech Mr. Neogy said that all oppositionists did not come merely from the orthodox pandits, but also from most unexpected quarters. The Kayastha Samaj of Bengal had opposed the measure. The speaker then described various shades oposition as indicated by the letters he had received and said that the complaint of some was that the report of the Age of Consent Committee was in the nature of a propagandist measure. He next quoted from the " Medical Review of Reviews " to show that the support of the Medical Conference had been obtained at the fag end of its session.

Mr. Abdul HAYE said that the Moslems had decided to support Mr. M. K. Acharya's amendment as they felt that Moslem opinion had not had time to get clarified, but it should not be understood that Moslems were opposed to the principle of the measure. Moreover, Moslems had not had adequate representation on the committee Either the Government did not rise to the height of the occasion or the Moslems had not given the matter serious attention which it deserved and which the speaker now wished his co-religionists to give it.

Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani rose to controvert Mr. Abdul Haye's statement that all Moslems were opposed to the measure, but the President said that it was not a point of order.

Proceeding, Mr. Abdul Haye said that a certain section of Moslems considered that since early marriage was not rife among them and there were sufficient safeguards in their personal law, there was no necessity for such a measure. Others thought that, even if the evil existed according to the Shariat, no Non-

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Muslim body could impose a law to remove it. The speaker therefore asked the House to postpone consideration of the measure if they wish to take the Moslems with them, as the Moslems needed time to overcome the handicap of unclarified opinion. He wished to make it clear that Moslems were not opposed to the principle of the Bill, to which, with certain modifications, they might give whole-hearted support if given time.

The Assembly then adjourned for the day.

Next day, the 5TH SEPTEMBER, Mr. N. C. KELKAR resuming discussion on the Sarda Bill said that the Bill, as it stood, was unacceptable and hoped the amendments proposed would be accepted. If, however, no amendment was carried, he would resume freedom of vote. He supported the principle of the Bill with a clear conscience. Mr. Neogy was perfectly right in obeying the mandate of the electorates. He (Mr. Kelkar) had no such mandate and would not hesitate to do the right thing on the spot. He asked Government to be generous and not to issue a mandate to the members on their side and requested the opponents to give up their relentless attitude. Analysing the Select Committee's report, Mr. Kelkar held that the objections to the Bill were mostly on questions of procedure and not on principle. The issue had narrowed down to the question whether the age of consent should be raised from twelve to fourteen. Here there was room for propaganda and education. The objection of conscientious objectors could be met by softening the Bill.

Dr. HYDER gave his whole-hearted support to the Bill. He expressed surprise that Mr. Acharya should still require more evidence of its necessity. Was not the tragic story of the high death rate amongst child wives and child widows, unfolded by figures of the last 60 years, quite enough? If the evidence of the funeral fires to which child wives were sent from their nuptial beds had not convinced the oppositionists about the necessity of the Bill, nothing would. Over a thousand youngmen replying to a question put by the speaker, as a university examiner, had unanimously declared child marriage to be the main cause of the high death rate in the country. As the measure sought to minimise this colossal evil the speaker strongly supported it. If those opposed to the Bill desired a better class of cows, why did they not desire a better kind of human beings?

Mr. PRICE declared that it would be difficult to find one single spot of ill-will against the Bill in the whole of the enlightened Bombay Presidency where opinion was unanimous in favour of it. Proceeding, Mr. Price stated that for every one case of consummation before the age of consent there were 50 cases where child sufferings went unavenged. The roots of Nationalism must be laid deep in the social habits of a people and so there must be a national law applicable to the whole country without any exception. Those who were trying to postpone discussion of the Bill were essentially wreckers of the Bill. Why try to stay the Bill and hesitate to make a bold frontal attack? Mr. Neogy was honest but he must remember he was in the Assembly as a member and not as a delegate from East Bengal. Laws like the present Bill obtained in Turkey, Algeria and Egypt. That showed that Islam and its Prophet had most generously restored women's rights to person and property which the hardheartedness of man had deprived them of.

Mr. K. C. ROY gave his whole-hearted support to the Bill. He welcomed the clear pronouncement of the Moslem view by Dr. Hyder, who came from the seat of Moslem learning and culture. Indeed, Dr. Hyder's speech conveyed a message of hope and charity to the whole of India and would help to rally waverers in support of the Bill.

Tracing the history of similar legislation in India, Mr. Roy pointed out that the opposition which now came from Bengal came also from the same province of culture and social reform movement which led to previous legislation. Mr. Neogy had evidently been misled by the orthodox tyranny of East Bengal. But the Bengal Government faithfully and correctly represented entire Bengal when they stated that "Hindu opinion is wholly in favour of this legislation." The bold pronouncement of Sir James Crerar would also greatly help to see the Bill placed on the Statute Book. Of course, Mr. Amarnath Dutt never trusted any Committee appointed by an alien Government but it could not be denied that the Age of Consent Committee, presided over by Sir Moropant Joshi, could not have been better composed and no better report could have been produced. The present Bill was not a Government Bill and it was for this House to decide the question raised by it. Let this Assembly prove to the world that India was prepared to go forward in every field.

Mr. Gangananda SINHA declared, amidst applause, that he did not wish to move his dilatory amendment but desired the House to consider amendments to make necessary improvements. If Mr. Acharya wanted to oppose the measure he should face it now

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instead of carrying on a guerilla warfare by dilatory motions. Bihar and Orissa was in favour of the Bill. Dealing with orthodox opinion Mr. Gangananda Sinha quoted from the Age of Consent Committee's report to show the diversity of opinion which existed in regard to the verdict of the Shastras.

Mr. D. V. BELVI was opposed to the consideration of the Bill. He said it was of no use taking the opinion of District Judges and other highly-placed persons. Villagers' opinions counted more in this matter. Government was wrong in supposing that a large majority of the country was behind the measure. It was an attempt to defraud the people (Voices : " No ") to pass legislation of a social nature without consulting them. Mr. Price had said that the Bill was a matter of national necessity. The speaker hoped that when Mr. Haji's Bill came up Mr. Price would think similarly.

Moulvi Mohamed SHAFI declared that while he believed in social reform he considered the evil of early marriage was not as great as other evils. The greatest evil was illiteracy and the speaker desired to know what had been done to eradicate it. The huge powers of legislation vested in the House should be utilised at the proper time and the House should not seek to make a law such as the one under consideration, universal for the whole of India. The speaker was unable to understand as to how Moslems were now covered by the Bill although they were not originally covered. There had been no complaints of child marriage among Moslems.

Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani : "There are."

Proceeding the speaker considered that it would be a cruel encroachment on the rights of Moslems if the House imposed this Bill on them. Dr. Hyder's support was not the support of Moslems generally.

Mr. J. C. CHATTERJEE strongly opposed Mr. Acharya's dilatory motion and supported the Bill. Alluding to Moslem opinion he quoted the views of Mr. Hasan Nizami and others in support of it. If the Bill was not passed India would lose her national self-respect.

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA was applauded on his rising to speak. He agreed that circumstances existed in the country owing to which India needed legislation by which the marriage should be restrained. He did not desire that the Bill should be dropped. Mr. Acharya's proposal was not that the Bill should be dropped but that it should be postponed so as to make available the evidence collected by the Age of Consent Committee, one express purpose for the appointment of which had been that its evidence be placed before the House for the purpose of this Legislation.

Proceeding Pandit Malaviya declared that no man living was more painfully alive to the evils of early marriage than the speaker ; but the House should bear in mind the history of a system which was not new. Hindus had lived under it for thousands of years. The speaker was as tenderly anxious as others to eradicate the evils involved but he did not wish to use the knife carelessly. The advantages and purpose of the system had been overlooked and they had been painted as though they had lived in a rotten state of society. Early marriage did not mean early consummation. There was a psychological reason in ancient times for marrying always girls at an early age in order that at the time when they began to think amorously they must realise that they should be directed to one individual. That system might not have been perfect but had the advantage of a high idea of purity and sanctity. Matters had grown from bad to worse under foreign rule, not only because of early marriage but because the greatest curse of this foreign rule was that it sapped the nations' vitality and ignored its religion. If Government had done its duty in the spread of education, there would have been no need of their discussing such a Bill here.

Pandit Malaviya repeated that he wanted this Bill to be passed as early as possible but only pleaded for three months' more time. Was it unreasonable to ask this when it was a penal legislation and where some Hindus were honestly convinced that post-puberty marriage was against the Vedas ? It was not right nor fair for Government at this stage to have not only announced its own support to the Bill but to have asked members of the Assembly to vote with the Government. The greatest advantage lay in postponing the matter till January by which time the country would have studied the evidence tendered on many complicated matters connected with the Bill and be able to come to a right decision.

Mian Shah NAWAZ strongly urged that the whole Bill be taken into consideration. As a member of the Consent Committee, he had heard evidence of a state of affairs which it was impossible to believe existed in the country. In Bengal, conditions were worst of all. (Cries of protest from some Bengal members). Proceeding Mian

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Shah Niwaz considered it wrong to say that the entire orthodox opinion was opposed to the Bill. . Pandit Malaviya was wrong in saying that the evil was not so great. In the speaker's opinion, the evil could not be worse. Dealing with the Moslem opposition, the speaker quoted chapter and verse from Egyptian and Turkish law showing that marriage between a boy under 18 and a girl under 15 was unlawful.

Mr. M. R. JAYAKAR urged immediate consideration of the Bill. He confessed that his task had been rendered difficult by the fact of his having to go against what his leader Pandit Malaviya had suggested. He was practically in entire agreement with the sentiments of Pandit Malaviya on the merits of the question, for he himself had learned his lessons at the feet of learned pandits and "mimamsas."

Pandit Malaviya had pleaded for a little more time for reconciling the views of the supporters of the Bill with those of the orthodox party. He (the speaker) had a certain amount of "dog sense" in political matters and he could predict, without fear, that at the end of three months, or even three years, the orthodox party would never be reconciled. Indeed, even then, there would be nothing but a repetition of the scenes that occurred when Mian Shah Nawaz was speaking, namely, a challenge by the orthodox party that the Committee was not representative and that the evidence tendered before the Consent Committee was one-sided and that, therefore, there should be another Committee which would sift the whole body of evidence even as Mr. Acharya had hinted in one of his tabled amendments. So, therefore, even at the end of three years, the same cry would be raised as was now being raised. It was too late for Pandit Malaviya to have raised the cry that too deeply cherished religious sentiments were in the measure and that, therefore, Government should have nothing to do with it. Deeply religious sentiments were involv d in a greater measure when a law was passed by the old Imperial Council that a member of a Hindu joint family could become a Christian and that Hindu widows could remarry. It was no use being guided by the Shastras in regard to this Bill. Text books had been quoted to show that the Bill was against the Hindu religion. Those texts belonged to an age and scheme of life, the spirit of which had long departed.

Mr. Jayakar quoted from the most authoritative exposition of the Vedanta saying that it was only that text of the Vedas, which accorded with people's notions of logic and ratlonality, which must be followed—and not the entire text. So let this Assembly follow what Hinduism had done in the past and follow Baroda State where there was a law like the one under consideration.

At this stage the House adjourned till Monday the 9th September.

The Hunger Strike Bill*

On the 9TH SEPTEMBER, which was a official day, Sir James Crerar introduced the Bill amending the Criminal Procedure Code, more commonly known as the Hunger-Strike Bill. In doing so he drew attention to what was contained in the statement of objects and reasons. The Government had hoped that the circumstances which had arisen would change so as to avoid the Government introducing a Bill. In this hope the Government were disappointed and they felt it their duty to bring the Bill as one of very definite urgency.

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* The following is the text of the Bill :—Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Code of Criminal procedure of 1898 for the purpose hereinafter appearing, it is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. This act may be called the Code of Criminal Procedure (amendment) Act of 1929.

11. After Section 540A, of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1898 (hereinafter referred to as the said code) the following section shall be inserted namely :—

540B (1). At any stage of an inquiry or trial, under this code if the Judge or Magistrate is satisfied for reasons to be recorded that any accused in consequence of a single act or a series of acts done or a course of conduct pursued by him after his arrest has voluntarily rendered himself incapable of remaining before the Court, such Judge or Magistrate may, whether such accused is represented by a pleader or not, dispense with his attendance and proceed with the inquiry or trial in his absence.

(2) In any such inquiry or trial, where a plea is required in answer to a charge from an absent accused whose attendance has been dispensed with under sub-section (1) each accused shall be seemed not to plead guilty.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in this code no finding, sentence or order passed in such inquiry or trial shall be held to be illegal by any court by reason of any omission or irregularity whatsoever arising from the absence of any or all of the accused whose attendance has been dispensed with under sub-section. (1)

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Mr. Nilkanta DAS, on a point of order, thought it to be difficult to discuss the Bill at subsequent stages without entering into the cases of the hunger-strike prisoners. Under Standing Order 29, Clause two (1) he regarded this motion as an abuse of the procedure of the House. He could have raised it at a subsequent stage but under the new rules, when once the House was seized of a Bill, it was difficult to raise such an issue as the Bill was out of order. He requested the President to rule the present motion out of order, although he fully knew the convention under which there should be no objection to a Bill at the first stage.

President Patel, disallowing the objection, said that he had already considered the point and come to the conclusion that the matter which Pundit Nilkanta Das proposed to discuss could be discussed at a subsequent stage of the Bill without going into the merits of the pending cases.

Without discussion the Assembly next passed Sir George Rainy's *Bengal Pilot Service Bill* and Sir Bhupendranath Mitra's *Boilers Amendment Bill.*

The House next agreed to circulate Sir George Schuster's Bill amending the *Negotiable Instruments Act,* providing for the insertion of a new Section 85-A.

Provident Fund Relief Bill.

Sir George Schuster next moved that a Select Committee, consisting of Messrs. G. L. Winterbotham, Phillip, H. P. Mody, G. D. Birla, N. C. Kelker, S. C. Mitra, B. P. Naidu, S. N. Haji, V. S. Pandiya, Fazal and A. H. Ghuznavi, be formed to report on the Provident Funds Relief Bill by the 16th September.

Sir George Schuster mentioned that the Bill is the result of an undertaking given to the Associated Chambers, by the Assembly, to encourage thrift by enabling subscriptions to private provident funds to be treated in the same way as the annual premium on insurance policies, though certain privileges applying to Government Provident Fund cannot be applied. This Bill went considerably further than the original undertaking so that not only subscriptions to a fund but also income on investments held by the fund will be free from income tax. The Bill was accordingly referred to a Select Committee.

Bill to Amend Income Tax Act.

On Sir George Schuster's motion the House next referred to a Select Committee the Bill further to amend the Income Tax Act on the point regarding the machinery and administration and the grant of relief in cases of hardship. The Committee will consist of Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Mody, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Birla, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, Mr. Mulla, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mf. Gayaprasad Sinha, Mr. Panday, Mr. Fazal Rahimtulla, Mr. Ghuznavi and the mover.

The Census Bill.

The Home Member then moved for a consideration of the Bill to provide for a census in 1930. He considered that the Bill was non-controversial as it was the duty of every civilised Government to take a census.

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(4) No order under sub-section (1) dispensing with the attendance of an accused shall affect his right to attend or to be represented by a pleader at any subsequent stage of the proceedings.

III. Where an enquiry or trial has begun before the commencement of this act section 540B of the said code as hereby enacted shall have effect.

Provided that where the accused's incapability of remaining before the Court arises from a series of acts or course of conduct begun before the commencement of this act, the said section shall have effect only where such series of acts or course of conduct is continued after the commencement of this act.

The following is the Statement of Objects and Reasons :—

"The Code of the Criminal Procedure of 1898 contains no provision by which an inquiry or trial can continue in the absence of an accused person if he is not represented by a Counsel. The High Court of Judicature, Lahore, have recently held that there is no provision in law by which a Counsel can be appointed to represent an accused person without the latter's consent. It is, therefore, possible for an accused person to bring the administration of justice to a standstill by voluntary action by which he renders himself incapable of attending the Court.

"The provisions of this Bill are intended to prevent delay and the defeat of justice by empowering the Judges or Magistrates to proceed in the absence of an accused even if he is not represented by a counsel if the Judge or the Magistrate is satisfied that his incapacity to attend the Court is due to a voluntary act done or a course of conduct pursued by him after his arrest".

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Bill to Amend Railway Act.

Sir George Rainy next moved for a Select Committee on the Bill amending the Railway Act. He said that the Bill was of a very great importance and affirmed that the time had come when by Legislation a competent authority could specify the branches of railway work to which the principle of weekly rest and sixty hours week cou'd be applied but he was not in a hurry and he proposed that a Select Committee should be summoned in January. In the meantime the draft rules under the Bill which were ready should be referred to the Agents of Railways for opinion which should be considered by the Select Committee.

Cess on Soft Coke.

Sir George Rainy's Bill providing the levy of cess on soft coke despatched by rail from collieries in Bengal, Behar and Orissa was passed without discussion.

Other Bills.

Mr. Tottenham's *Cantonment House Accommodation Act* Amendment Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

The House next agreed to the Law Member's motion to refer to Select Committees the Bills to define and amend the *law relating to sale of goods* and to amend Section 178 of the *Contract Act of 1872* after adding to the committees two names as suggested by Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya.

The Bill further to amend Section 2 and 23 etc., of the *Income-Tax Act* as reported by the Select Committee was recommitted to a new Select Committee on the Finance Member's motion.

To Amend Negotiable Instruments Act.

The next was Sir George Schuster's motion which was debated at length and resulted in a loss to the Government. It was to refer the Negotiable Instruments Bill to a Select Committee. Sir George Schuster explained the salient features of the Bill and pointed out his desire to have the provisions examined in the Select Committee fully and not to make any hasty step without fully satisfying himself that the Indian Commercial Community would be satisfied with it.

The motion was pressed to a division and lost by forty two against forty-seven votes. This being the first division in the session resulting in a loss to the Government.

Lastly the *Dangerous Drugs Bill* was referred to a Select Committee. The Assembly then adjourned.

Transfer of Property Act.

On the 10TH SEPTEMBER, on the motion of Sir Brojendra Mitter, the Transfer of Property Act Amendment Bill was taken into consideration.

Mr. ANEY moved that Clause 3 be deleted as it aimed at omitting from the Act mention of the words "Hindu and Buddhist." In urging that these words be retained, Mr. Aney raised an interesting debate in which many leading lawyers participated. Mr. Aney contended that these words were deliberately inserted in the 1882 Act with full knowledge of the fact that there was nothing in Chapter II which was inconsistent or in conflict with any rules of Hindu or Mahomedan law. The reason, evidently, was to affirm the policy to which the British Government stood pledged to the two communities of this country ever since they assumed the reins of administration. If to-day they removed those words, it would evidently imply that they did not feel with the same keenness the necessity of affirming their pledge.

As one who struck a discordant note in the Select Committee, Mr. Aney said that the question was whether the House wanted to absolve the British Government of all obligations arising out of their pledge to respect the personal law or whether the people desired to be regulated hereafter only by statute law passed in this House. Moreover, omission of the words "Hindu and Buddhist" and the retention of "Mahomedan" would mean the introduction of an unwholesome policy of making discrimination in the application of the laws of the land by the Government, whose aim should be to give a uniform system of law. He also feared that the omission of the words "Hindu and Buddhist" would create certain difficulties in the future administration of the law. It was not true, he said, that the proposed omission had been generally approved, for the Bombay and Central Provinces Governments had expressed themselves against

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it as also certain Bar Associations. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Law Research Association had entered a protest against the omission of the words "Hindu and Buddhist." Retention of the words had not caused any inconvenience. As regards the Buddhists, the Government of India should not rely on the opinions of the Rangoon High Court and the Burma Government, both of whom had no intimate knowledge of the Transfer of Property Act and its bearing on the customary laws of the Buddhists.

Sir B. L. MITTER, replying, contended that those words were inserted in the 1882 Act because they were necessary then. The argument that since that year no inconvenience had been felt was not a valid argument for retention of the words. The Mahomedan law was totally different from the Hindu or the Buddhist law regarding the Transfer of Property Act.

Mr. Nirmal Chandra said that it made no difference in the effect of this law whether these "superfluous words" were there or not,

Mr. D. F. Mulla, amidst cheers, argued for deletion of the words and was further supported in this by Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Mulla's main point was that property law entirely superseded personal law and therefore the question of personal law being affected did not arise.

Pandit Motilal Nehru pleaded in favour of the amendment. He said that the words proposed by Mr. Aney were not superfluous. On the other hand, they were essential as otherwise a loophole would be left and interrupt the development of Hindu Law.

Mr. Jayakar opposed the amendment and contested the view of Pandit Motilal Nehru. He said that 65 per cent of the litigation was due to the uncertainty of Hindu Law. The omission of the words had removed that uncertainty. The change should, therefore, be welcomed. Forty-five years' experience of the working of the Act had disclosed no difference between the fundamentals of Hindu Law and English Law. Transfer of property, therefore, ran no risk by omitting the said words.

The House divided and rejected Mr. Aney's amendment by 26 against 46 votes.

Considerable discussion then ensued on Clause 4, in which it is stated that a Person is said to have notice of (transfer of property) a fact, when he actually knows that fact or when, but for wilful abstention from inquiry, or search, which he ought to have made or gross negligence, he would have known it.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai speaking against this, detailed the difficulties of registration especially in the mofussil and during the discussion, Sir B. L. Mitter, the Law Member assured the House that the Government of India would draw the attention of the Provincial Governments to revise their registration laws so as to make registration more easy than now. At present registration was compulsory only in cases of over Rs. 100 value. Mr. Jinnah welcomed the assurance of the Law Member. The Assembly then adjourned.

On the 11TH SEPTEMBER discussion was resumed on the Transfer of Property Bill when the Law Member agreed to the amendment of Mr. Jayakar, providing in clause four that an instrument should be registered in the manner prescribed by the Act of 1908, and duly entered or filed in the registers.

Mr. M. S. Sehsa Iyengar's amendment for the deletion of Sub-Clause (e) of Clause 17 was accepted.

Three amendments of a minor character moved by Mr. Mulla were also adopted.

Mr. Belvi lost a division by a majority of 28 votes on his amendment that a mortgager could redeem a mortgage from the mortgagee at 6 per cent interest.

After a few more amendments moved by Mr. Mulla had been accepted by the Law Member and the House, the Law Member intimated that he would make a motion for the passage of the Bill as amended on Monday.

The Transfer of Property Act Supplementary Bill was next passed with the amendments moved by Mr. Mulla.

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The Child Marriage Bill.

Discussion was then resumed on Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Bill.

Mr. MODY (Bombay) was applauded when he rose to make his maiden speech. He supported the Sarda Bill describing those who wanted its postponement as wreckers. He dismissed religious practices as mere excrescenses. He did not think orthodoxy could keep back social reform or political progress. He suspected the genuineness of the documents exhibited by Mr. Neogy in support of his opposition to the measure, and demanded the immediate passage of the Bill in the interests of the nation.

Mr. STUART SMITH (Calcutta, European) assured the mover and the House that the Bill evoked the keenest interest amongst the rank and file of the Calcutta European community, which cordially approved of it. The speaker said that he intervened in the debate in order to show that, where national interests were involved, the European community would not be indifferent or aloof. The Bill was indeed a measure of far-sighted patriotism. He begged the Assembly not to be discouraged by the argument that it would remain a dead letter in some cases. A similar argument was advanced when 'Sati' was abolished. As education spread, people were bound to recognise the necessity for an enactment of that kind. Legislation was the only remedy to prevent the evil of child marriage. The European community of Calcutta and India wished Mr. Sarda well and offered him support.

Mr. GHAZNAVI vehemently opposed the Bill, and was frequently heckled. He opposed it as a pernicious measure. He did not believe in social reform being effected by legislation. The Bill affected the personal law of the Moslems, and encroached upon Moslem religion. The original Bill did not affect the Moslems, whereas the present one did. His constituency had asked him to vote against the Bill, and the Muslims as a whole did not want the Bill. (Mahomedan members: Question). The Bill was a menace to the peace of society, and would inevitably lead to needless prosecutions and police zoolum.

Mr. SHERWANI, strongly supporting the Bill, said that he wanted to disabuse their minds of the impression that the majority of Mussalmans were opposed to the Bill. He repudiated the suggestion that the Bill was against Islam, and challenged any Mahomedan to quote a single Haji in support of child marriage.

Mr. JINNAH, supporting the Bill, declared that he had no mandate of any kind from his constituency. He hoped that everyone was convinced that the evil of child-marriage existed. He was not aware of the fact that it existed among the Mussalmans until Mian Shah Nawaz told him so. Now that the existence of the evil was an established fact the question was how to tackle it. He did not pretend to be an Ulema or an authority in Theology, but as a practising lawyer, he always understood that marriage under the Mahomedan Law was a contract, pure and simple.

Mr. Mahomed Shafee and two or three others challenged Mr. Jinnah's statement when Mr. Jinnah retorted: "If you deny that, then you have to learn it."

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah asked his co-religionists if there was any text which stated that Moslems should get married before 14. He was not convinced that the Bill militated against the Civil Law applicable to marriages among the Moslems. Then, how could there be divine sanction to the horrible, disgraceful and inhuman practice that now prevailed? There was, at any rate, nothing in Islam which prevented them from destroying the evil. If any member found his constituency so backward as to ask him to vote against such a bill then he should ask that constituency to choose someone else. He was anxious that there should be no postponement, for who knew that the Government might not be frightened by orthodox opinion? It was after a great deal of trouble that the Government, which was a foreign one, had now in regard to the Bill proved to be national in spirit. He was therefore keen that the Government should not be allowed to change their present attitude. He asked the Assembly to reject the dilatory motion.

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Mr. Yamin KHAN mentioned that at a Conference of Mussalman members held to consider the Bill, unanimous opinion was expressed that further consideration be postponed. They were anxious to hear the Ulemas more fully before making up their minds. Hence he urged postponement.

Sir Purushottamdas THAKURDAS regretted the disclosure made by Mr. Ghuznavi that Sir James Simpson had promised to support the postponement, and hoped that Sir D'Arcy Lindsay would disown any such understanding. Sir Purushottamdas wished to leave Mr. Ghuznavi's eloquence alone, because it was entirely vitiated by Mr. Ghuznavi's statement. Mr Ghuznavi was a Moslem first and an Indian next, and therefore deserved no notice. The speaker greatly admired Mian Shah Nawaz's courage in changing his opinion after gathering full facts as a member of the Joshi Committee, and paid a compliment to the lady members and especially to Mrs Brijlal Nehru who was the first Indian lady member of any Committee to tour India and who took great pains to get into touch with orthodox opinion and showed great capacity. The speaker did not believe that the "shastras" enjoined early marriage. There was nothing in the "shastras" which was not supported by common sense. "Are we, for the sake of reserving Heaven for us to condemn our womanhood which is going down steadily? It is for this Assembly, representing the people, to say to the Government: "Bravo, come, help us, carry this legislation which will make the coming generations remember with gratitude the courage shewn by this Assembly. It is exactly 100 years since Lord Bentink abolished "Sati". Who can say to-day that he hit the Hindu religion?"

Col. GIDNEY said that the cold facts about child mortality given in the Age of Consent Committee Report were a clear proof that the Bill was needed. If Indian women were members of the House, he wondered what would be the fate of men like Messrs. Acharya and Shafi Daudi. Speaking from 30 years' medical experience in India, he said that the death-rate, owing to child birth in India, was more appalling than in any other part of the world. He wondered how educated members representing culture and civilization could forget their high mission which the Bill called upon them to fulfil.

Pundit Motilal NEHRU said that he had thrown into the wastepaper basket the opinions that he had received both for and against the bill, for he relied on his observations of a life-time and he knew that the wicked diabolical custom of child marriage prevailed. There was no difference of opinion that the custom must be stopped. Indeed, Pandit Motilal was surprised to see many members making eloquent speeches on a bill like this, for the question admited of no argument. If the "shastras" had any injunctions in the matter, then the "shastras" had no use for him. In his community of Kashmiri Pundits, who numbered at the most 3,000 in India, no girls were married before the age of 20. He believed that social reform would come quicker and with better effect of it came from within and was not imposed from without. But the Assembly had a clear duty in the matter and they all owed a duty to the children and the country. The eyes of the entire world were now on the Assembly and he urged the Assembly to cast its vote in such a manner that India might rank among the civilised nations of the world. He personally preferred the laying down of 18 years as the minimum age for marriage of girls and 24 for boys, but the Bill of Mr. Sarda was there, and he hoped that it would be passed with the least delay.

Closure was applied and Mr. M K. Acharya's dilatory motion was rejected without a division. The motion for consideration of the bill was passed amidst loud cheers.

Discussion on Clauses.

The Bill was then taken up clause by clause.

Mr. M. K. Acharya moved an amendment defining "child" as a male under 20 years and female under 15. As he proceeded to array psychological, physiological and biological arguments in favour of his amendment, the President asked him to confine himself to the amendment. As this warning did not have any effect, the President said that he could not allow the member to waste public time. Mr. Acharya said that if the Chair did not wish to hear him, he would sit down.

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Sir James Crerar, intervening, pointed out to Mr. Acharya the rule on the subject and hoped that the Chair's admonition would have effect.

Mr. Acharya said that he would move the amendment under protest.

The President : The Honble Member should withdraw those words.

Mr. Acharya : If you want me to do it I would do so.

The Chair : You should withdraw them unconditionally.

Mr. Acharya : I withdraw them.

Mr. Acharya then left the House as Mr. Sarda rose to oppose his amendment which was rejected after Mr. Sarda and Sir James Crerar had opposed it.

Mr. Yamin Khan's Amendment.

Mr. Mahomed Yamin Khan next moved an amendment in order to remove the restriction of age regarding boys. He saw no justification why boys' parents' should be punished since no case had been made out why a boy under 18 should not marry. There might be cruelty to a girl under 14, but a boy needed no protection. On the contrary, the fixation of the age at 18 for a boy would encourage him to sinful acts. Islam has given freedom for marriage to a boy on reaching adolescence.

Mr. Sarda, opposing the amendment, considered it necessary to fix boys' age also and explained why 18 had been fixed.

Sir James Crerar drew attention to the consensus of opinion that the marriage of a boy at the time when he should be pursuing his study or learning a trade, meant a very great handicap to him The restriction might cause temporary individual hardship, but he was of opinion that those who desired the restriction acted on sound lines.

Many voices being against the amendment and only a few in favour, the amendment was declared lost by the chair.

Certain members demanded a division, but the President said he disallowed a division, as he considered that it was called merely to cause obstruction. At this stage the House adjourned till next day.

The Hunger Strike Bill.

On the 12TH SEPTEMBER SIR JAMES CRERAR (Home Member), moved the consideration of the "Hunger Strike Bill." In doing so he said that Government could not but place it before the House consistently with their responsibility for the administration of the country. The situation which had necessitated this bill was examined day after day and week after week with the greatest care and anxiety both by the Punjab Government and the Government of India. At one time there were some grounds for the hope that the particular contingencies which arose might cease to exist but they were disappointed. Sir James emphasised that the bill had no reference to or bearing whatsoever upon the merits of any case or trial now pending or that might hereafter arise. It was based on a general principle and related to a point of criminal procedure, and had nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of any accused person.

Sir James Crerar, tracing the history of the present deadlock, said that two accused were on hunger-strike before the magisterial inquiry started in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and others followed suit. Thus the trial was held up and the High Court ruled that the Government had no power to appoint counsel for the accused.

Before Government proceeded with the amendment of the present law, they had tried every possible remedy. The Punjab Government made a very sincere and genuine effort, to end this state of affairs, but the demands of the accused could not be met in full. Government could never accept a political motive as being present in the minds of those convicted in the Gadhar and Kakori cases. The Government of India took every step to reassure public opinion in the matter, issued communiques and addressed a circular letter to the local Governments. The Home Member was sure that none in the House was prepared to say that Government had not been reasonable, and said : "From this statement it will be clear that the result is a complete deadlock and paralysis of the legal machinery, with the further probability of other accused in future being affected

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in the same manner. I place before the House another of those who have resorted to the consideration: While in the case particular expedient of a strike the trial will be held up, there are other accused who have not done so and who may perhaps have a reasonable hope that they may be acquitted or that the punishment that they may receive may not be very severe. It is unjus for them that a judicial pronouncement in their case should be indefiniteit delayed."

Sir James Crerar continued: "The point which I specially like to emphasise, because there is some misapprehension regarding it, is that this bill does not seek in any way to enlarge executive powers. The powers which the bill confers will lie entirely within the discretion of the courts over whose discretion the executive Government have no control. (A voice: "Question"). I understand the feeling in some part of the House to provide for a reference to the High Court in such cases. If that feeling is genuinely held, I myself shall be prepared to accept a provision of that character.

"I imagine it will be contended that the bill traverses some principles of criminal jurisprudence. (Hear, hear.) I venture to submit that the most fundamental rule of criminal jurisprudence is that the law shall prevail, that every man is entitled to the protection of the law, that every man who is accused in a case shall be called upon effectively to answer the charges against him. I submit, there is nothing in this bill which is anything but an affirmation of that principle. It is a salutary rule of criminal law that every man is innocent until he is proved guilty. That principle obviously presupposes effectual means by which guilt or innocence is established. It may be said that the bill is unprecedented. I submit the circumstances which have necessitated it are also unprecedented. A lacuna has been found in the law and if accused persons were allowed to exploit that defect, there would be very little doubt that the example will be followed in many cases in future, leading to paralysis of justice. I submit to the House that I do not contemplate that without the gravest apprehension.

A Dilatory Amendment.

Mr. N. C. KELKAR moved an amendment for circulation of the bill to elicit public and legal opinion.

In moving the amendment, he said that the bill raised a very great principle of jurisprudence and therefore he wanted to consult legal and judicial opinion. Secondly, his object was to get the bill out of its association with the Lahore Conspiracy Case. No doubt the Home Member had emphasised that the bill had no relation whatsoever with the Lahore case, but could the Government give a guarantee that the bill, if passed, would not apply to the accused in the Lahore case?

Mr. Kelkar concluded that it would be scandalous to support the bill before the House, and the best thing they could do was to circulate it for public and legal opinion.

Mr. K. C. ROY moved for Select Committee consisting of Sir James Crerar, Sir B. L. Mitter, Mr. Mulla, Messrs Yakub, Shah Nawaz, Fazl, Smith and Col Gidney to examine the bill.

Mr. ABDUL HAYE supported Mr. Kelkar. He said that his party had held grave deliberations on this subject and concluded that the Government case required further time for consideration.

Mr Haye asked why Government dld not split the case. (A voice: "For practical reasons.")

Mr. Haye: If that's so Government are exhibiting a hopeless ignorance of the law—(laughter)—which makes it obligatory on the part of Government, where an accused either by a voluntary act or by divine will, is incapable of attending a court case, to split it and have the accused tried separately.

Dewan CHAMANLAL, opposing the Bill, remarked that there was no "lacuna" in the law. It was in the system of Government itself, for the situation that led the Government to come forward with a measure, which every decent

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lawyer condemned, was of the Government's own creation, and not of Bhagat Singh's or Dutt's or of any other accused in the Lahore case.

Dewan Chamanlal read out a petition submitted by Baghat Singh two months ago for better diet and equal treatment with English prisoners. Why did not the Government have imagination enough to concede all their just demands? And now when purely as a protest against the Government's attitude in persisting in racial discrimination, the accused resorted to hunger-strike, the Government came forward with a Bill which did no credit either to the Punjab Government for intelligence or to the Government of India. Five members of the Punjab Jails Committee interviewed the accused in the Lahore case, and gave an undertaking that they would recommend the immediate release of Jatindranath Das. That undertaking had not been carried out.

Sir James Crerar, interrupting, informed the House that release was promised on ball if an application was made.

Dewan Chamanlal: That is a matter for the court to decide, and not for the Executive Government (Hear, hear). The situation which led to the Bill being thought of was the creation of the Punjab Government, and the Bill cound not save them.

Mr. Jamnadas MEHTA, speaking on behalf of the Congress Party, opposed the Bill lock, stock and barrel, but did not not oppose the circulation motion, although there was no need for it. Circulation only meant waste of time, but he was sure that public opinion would resist the Bill. He regretted that Mr. Sarma, the latest recruit to the Government benches, had wasted his eloquence in supporting the Government, which was oblivious to all sense of liberty and justice. Mr. K. C. Roy had said that the situation was unparalleled and required the remedy proposed. Why should the Government insist on trial of all accused at one and the same time? When 20 years ago, there was the Suffragist movement and several ladies were sent to jail and they resorted to hunger-strike, there was no Sir James Crerar there to rush through Parliament a Bill of this description.

Sir James Crerar interposed: Hunger-strike was resorted to by them after conviction.

Mr. Jamnadas, proceeding, referred to the cases of Sacco and Venzetti, the two Italians, who were tried in America, and whose trial lasted seven years and who resorted to hunger-strike during the trial for 33 days. Did the American Government bring a bill like this? After all, the Lahore hunger-strikers had a mission to fulfil, namely, abolition of racial distinctions in the prisoners. Why should a European prisoner be treated like a State-guest and Indians treated inhumanly? It was sheer cussedness which prevented the Government from accepting the reasonable demands of the under-trial prisoners in the Lahore case.

Mr. EMERSON, Home Secretary, spoke for an hour explaining in detail the Government case. He first dealt with Mr. Abdul Haye's argument that the Lahore case could be split up. That was not practicable, as the accused who were unable to attend always varied and the fact that about 650 witnesses were to be called made splitting difficult.

Pandit Malaviya:—Are they all to be produced in each case?

Mr. Emerson:—I believe the case against all is practically the same. Even though at present some of the accused are not hunger-striking, the Government of India have been given to understand by the Punjab Government that, under certain circumstances they might join the strike. Splitting the case therefore is no remedy at all.

Touching on the demands made by Bhagat Singh and Dutt in their petition, Mr. Emerson said that while the demand in respect of the giving of the same treatment as afforded to European prisoners might not be considered totally unreasonable, they could not possibly concede the privileges to the Ghadar and Kakori accused. Mr. Emerson read from the Oudh Chief Court judgement, depicting the atrocities committed by the Kakori accused.

Mr. Emerson asked: Is it the members' demand that, no matter what atrocities were committed, what loss of life or property, the moment you prove a political motive, then the prisoner is to be given the privileges denied to the ordinary criminal?

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta:—What about Europeans?

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Mr. Emerson continued that the Punjab Government could not surrender on such a vital principle by a stroke of the pen. There was however the general question of political prisoners. The Government were conscious of the fact that this matter was one of genuine concern to the members of the House and the public The Government could not admit that there was a class of political prisoners, but they made provision for a "special class of prisoners," which was a much wider term. Such prisoners if they had not committed certain excluded offences, were entitled to special privileges according to status, education and mode of living.

Mr. Emerson referred next to the ch rge that the jail rules in India were illiberal, and examined the position in England, France and America and opined : "The liberality of our rules is without parallel in the history of this country, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Sikh rule, and it has no parallel in the present history of neighbouring countries. We have been unable to ascertain any western country where the rules are more generous than it is in ours (applause). That is not all. We are examining the rules to improve them. We have suggested to the Local Governments the important question of fixing one or more scales of diet to prisoners and also whether our excluded offences were not too wide in scope I would invite the leaders of public opinion to assist the Local Governments in their enquiry. I have no doubt that, as a result of the examination of the rules, our final rules would be far more liberal than the rules in any other country in the world (applause).

Touching on the differentiation of European and Indian prisoners, Mr. Emerson asked the House not to let the racial issue warp their judgment. He had ascertained from the Punjab Government that out of 21,000 average daily prisoners only 13 were European. That question of small numbers was very important (A voice : What about Parsees ?) Sir Louis Stuart had stated that when a European committed an offence, the offence was aggravated, and not lessened by the fact that he was a European. But, differentiation of treatment was based purely on consideration of health. Prisoners must have sufficient food to keep them in a reasonable standard of health. If differentiation was to be done away with, they must either level down the European to the Indian standard which would kill the European, or level the Indian up, which would cost Rs. 40 lakhs more in the Punjab annually. The Punjab Council would resent taxing the people to that extent to provide comforts for prisoners. Mr. Emerson said that the real problem was lost sight of, namely, provision of varying scales of diet.

Mr. Emerson next stated that the Punjab Jail Committee did not recommend unconditional release of the Lahore hunger-strikers. He assured them that the Government, which was ever so anxious to get out of the present situation, would not have turned down the idea of unconditional release, without grave deliberation. They feared that such a course would be direct incentive to the accused to follow the same course in future to secure withdrawal of the case against them. Mr. Emerson continued : "Let me state frankly, if the Punjab Government failed, it was largely due to outside influences which were too strong. I don't suggest a deliberate movement on the part of any one to encourage hunger-strike, but representation of them as heroes and martyrs by the Press and platform propaganda could only have one effect. Whether the Hon. Members wish to end the strike or not they will prove to-day by their vote" (applause). He could appreciate the feeling of admiration and sympathy for suffering youth. He also was anxious that the strike should end before any unfortunate youth died.

Mr. JINNAH said that there was sympathy and admiration for the accused in the Lahore Case only to the extent that they were victims of the present system of Government (Applause). That Bhagatsingh and Dutt were seen in hats and shorts meant that they adopted the European mode of life. Why then should they be refused better treatment than that accorded to ordinary criminals, even when they pointed out that in Delhi they had received good treatment, which was denied in the Punjab ? If the Punjab Government were not wanting in statesmanship and if they had brains, they would have found a solution of the hunger-strike problem long ago. And, against whom were the Punjab Government in a state of war ? A band of youths. The Bill offended the first principle of criminal jurisprudence and hence it was unprecedented.

Explaining the procedure under the Bill, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that when an accused adopted hunger-strike, the prosecution counsel would make an application, and the Magistrate would dispense with the presence of the accused. In the absence of the accused evidence, oral and documentary, would be led, which the accused would not see or hear. Under Section 209 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Magistrate must ask the accused whether he had any explanation to offer with regard to the evidence that was being led and recorded against him. The Privy Council had laid down that omission in this regard would vitiate the whole trial. But, the accused under the Bill

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would not be there and the evidence recorded would be "ex parte." Then, in the sessions court, evidence would be recorded "ex parte," and the verdict or opinion of the jury or assessors, as the case might be, would be recorded and the Judge would pass sentence, all in the absence of the accused. Mr Jinnah asked the Law Member: Is it a trial or a farce?

Sir B. L. Mitter: The accused can always come to court if he chooses to.

Mr. Jinnah retorted: I am glad about that answer. It means that the Bill is intended to stop hunger-strike. It is not everybody who can go on striving to death. Have you heard anywhere in the world except in the American case mentioned by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta where an accused resorted to hunger-strike? A man who resorts to hunger-strike is moved by his soul. He is not an ordinary criminal. You cannot prevent such crimes as Bhagatsingh and Dutt were responsible for in a country of 300 millions, however much we may all deplore those deeds. It is the damned system of Government which is resented (cheers). Remember, the accused in the Lahore case are young men. Grey-bearded men like Mr. Cosgrave were sentenced to death, and Mr Cosgrave himself was invited by His Majesty's Government to go and settle terms. What about Michael Collins? Surely, there is no need for a bill of this description offending the principle of criminal jurisprudence.

At this stage, the President adjourned the House till the 14th.

On the 14TH SEPTEMBER, Pt. Motilal Nehru resuming debate on the bill said that even as regards contempt of court, the procedure mentioned by the Law Member did not apply to any cases except those tried in the High Court.

The Law Member: What I submitted was that the principle of such trial was not unknown.

Pandit Motilal: But you are passing a law for general application. We must rule out special cases and special application. It is a misnomer to call it a trial, and in the words of the late C. R. Das it would be a lawless law. There is another aspect of the case which excites more pity than anger. The Government say: "We blundered, and to save ourselves from this mess we have no other course." Our answer is: You brought this yourself. You will have to face it yourself."

Continuing, Pandit Motilal specified the personal demands of Bhagat Singh and Dutt, which had no bearing on the Kakori and Ghadar Prisoners. Pandit Motilal next read to the House the text of the letter received from the Lahore Conspiracy accused. It had passed through the Jail Superintendent and therefore was a genuine document. The prisoners gave a version of what transpired between them and the Punjab Jail Sub-Committee. The statement declared that they agreed to suspend, not abandon, the strike on the assurance of the Committee that they would make an unanimous report, practically meeting all the demands. The Committee assured them that they had previously consulted the Local Government before coming down, and therefore assured them that the Government would accept their proposals. Similarly, they said that Bhagat Singh and Dutt would not be kept separate from the other accused and agreed to the unconditional release of J. N. Das. The statement declared that they found that the Government did not listen to the Committee's recommendation even on these preliminary matters. The prisoners, therefore, resumed the strike. J. N Das's condition, it was stated, was absolutely hopeless. The letter was written before Das's death. The prisoners were prepared to divide themselves into two groups, one for hunger-strike and one not to strike, with the proviso that as one died from the former group, one from the latter (second) group would join the strike. The statement ended: "We regard our cause as just and honourable and feel that nothing can be more glorious and honourable than the fight to death for a just and noble cause". (applause from the Opposition benches). What was the Government's answer to these demands?

Proceeding, Pandit Motilal asked the Government to remember that the hunger-strikers did not suffer for their own sake, but for what they believed to be the cause of the country. Conviction or no conviction, they were determined on suffering for that cause. Mr. Emerson had said that there was no distinction between under-trials on the grounds of offence: yet they were denied even the ordinary comforts. No wonder, they resorted to hunger-strike. The same was the urge behind the hunger-strike resorted to in the Irish struggle. But, the Irish prisoners were not proceeded with in the courts in their absence. In India the Government wanted to proceed with the Lahore case in the absence of the accused. The Government did not deserve sympathy, for they had stubbornly refused to listen to the reasonable demands of the under-trials. The Congress Party opposed the Bill wholesale, but would not object to its circulation.

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Mr JAYAKAR, urging the Government to withdraw the Bill, made an impressive speech. He asked the Government not to destroy the first principle of Criminal Jurisprudence in the name of remedying a lacuna. He regretted that the new member of the European Group (Mr E. L. Price) had made himself responsible for the remark that the hunger-strikers were adopting a new feminine trick. India might be politically subject, but had not lost her self-respect yet and certainly resented the remark. The Home Member had frankly told the Assembly in effect that the Bill was a lawless law, but that extraordinary circumstances required an extraordinary remedy. Not so the Law Member who tried to to justify the Bill on legal grounds. Section 512 of the Criminal Procedure Code covered all cases of absconding, whether before or after arrest. There was no mention in the operative clause of the Bill, that it was intended to defeat the intentions of those who obstructed the ends of justice. Even in the most summary of trials, court martial, no accused person was brought before a court-martial if in the opinion of the Medical Officer, he was unfit to undergo his trial. The fact was that the Bill was not legally justifiable, but was purely a political one and based on the experience of the court trying the Lahore, Conspiracy case. Mr. Jayakar was sorry for the Punjab Government, whose spokesman Mr. Emerson sought to make the Assembly believe that the hunger-strikers wanted some comforts for themselves. Whatever the offence of the hunger-strikers, the speaker was bound to pay homage at their feet for they were making the supreme sacrifices for the abolition of racial distinctions which existed in the treatment of under-trials.

Mr. Jayakar read out from the Jail Rules as well as from the recent report of the U. P. Jails Committee to prove that racial distinction existed in every detail, and yet the Government of India in their last circular to the Provincial Governments did not even suggest the possibility of abolishing them, quite "apart from not expressing abhorrence at them" Lord Irwin was trying in England to ease the political situation in India. Was the Government of India going to supplement his efforts, or create a contrary atmosphere by doing one unwise act after another?

It was now four, and the debate on the Bill had to be postponed as the hour for the discussion of the adjournment motion struck.

Pt. Motilal's Censure Motion.

After 4 p.m. Pandit Motilal NEHRU moved for the adjournment of the House to censure the Government policy regarding the treatment of accused which resulted in the death of Mr. Jatin Das and endangered the life of others.

Pandit Motilal accused the Government of inhumanity, and said he was reminded of the case of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. The Government issued communiques and wrote circular letters, while the high-souled men were lingering between life and death. On the contrary the Irish Government were prepared to save the lives of the accused even by letting convicts go. They did not know at that hour what demands the Government had granted and what they had not. While the Government was thus dilly-dallying and shilly-shallying, besides the life already lost, other lives were on the verge of extinction. Pandit Motilal asked: Is not this a case for severe censure of the Government?

Sir James CRERAR assured that whatever the circumstances which resulted in Mr Jatin Das's death, the Government sincerely deplored it. He hoped the House would accept that assurance from him, as whatever their criticism they would acknowledge his honesty and candour. Whatever the merits of the case, Mr. Jatin Das was now removed from earthly tribunals. Sir James Crerar denied that the Government showed disregard to the human aspect of the case. He knew personally that the Punjab Government and its officers watched the progress of the accused with the deepest concern. Non-official visitors of the jail were allowed free access, and they had paid the highest compliment to the sympathy and consideration with which the medical and other officers of the jail carried on their duties. He did not know what was the specific charge of Pandit Motilal.

Pandit Motilal said that the Government's plain duty was to meet all the demands.

Sir James Crerar: I have already shown the Government's position in the matter.

Proceeding, Sir James Crerar stated that the Government's policy and conduct had been fully explained in the recent communique, and any close examination thereof would convince the House that there was no supineness or failure to take action on the part of either the Punjab Government or the Government of India. The demand had been made that an undertrial prisoner charged with a grave offence should either be discharged or the prosecution against him be withdrawn. The Punjab Government went as far as was possible, having regard to their responsibility, in making it known that they would not oppose any application for bail. The next accusation was that undertrial prisoners

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had been segregated from convict prisoners. The Home Member affirmed that it was a well-established principle of jail administration and a salutary principle that undertrials should be separated from convict prisoners. If the accused stood on principle the Government also were standing on principle, namely, that of vindicating the authority of the law. Everyman should have protection and remedy from the law to which he was entitled, and further there was an obligation resting upon everyone infringing the law, that he must answer for it effectively. That was the principle followed in the whole history of the case and which any Government, either the present one or the Swarajist one, must adopt.

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA expected the Government to show remorse but they had been guilty of exhibiting want of sympathy for the hunger-strikers. The Government should remember that the accused were not men with sordid motives, but were inspired by high patriotism. He had read the letters of Bhagat Singh, Dutt and Gopal Singh to the Inspector-General of Prisons detailing their demands. He asked whether it was anywhere suggested that the hunger-strikers wished to delay justice, which motive the previous speaker had degraded himself by ascribing to them. They did not ask for Mr. Das's release till the Government ignominously failed to respond to their appeal and Mr. Das was brought near to death by Government's callousness.

Sir PURUSHOTHAMDAS felt that the House should see that it did not by any action egg young men to an experiment similar to Mr. Das's. But while he did not put a premium on crime, he would not stand any vindictiveness which the Government might show towards political prisoners. The Government should see that they did not provoke young men to extreme action. One lesson of the motion was that while the Government had all powers to deal with misguided youths, it should not go beyond what was absolutely necessary.

The censure motion was pressed to a division and carried by 55 against 47 votes before the House adjourned till the 16th.

Circulation of Hunger Strike Bill.

On the 16TH SEPTEMBER the Home Member said that the Government had very closely reviewed the debate in the light of the depth and sincerity of feelings expressed on the subject while they maintained that deficiency in law should be remedied, that the principles of the Bill did not come into conflict with the principles of justice and fair play, and while they were determined not to allow indefinite impediment in the course of justice, they admitted that a great principle was involved and further consultation of public opinion was desirable.

There was also the consideration that the emergency that arose was not so grave as before and that if in the interval, when the Assembly was not in session, any contingency arose the Government had emergency power and would meet it. The Government always had the consideration before it that if it could do anything to substitute trust and good-will for suspicion and distrust, it should do so, and with that end in view also he had agreed to the motion for circulation of the Bill.

The Home Member further announced that the Government would specifically address the Local Governments to go into the question of treatment of Europeans and Indians in Jails, that the Local Governments would be asked to submit their reports early and that thereafter the Central Government would summon a conference of the provincial representation. He invited the Party leaders in the Assembly to help him with suggestions. When the latter's replies were received he would again consult the Party leaders in the House.

Finally, Mr. Kelkar's circulation motion was agreed to by the House.

The *Transfer of Property Act Amendment Bill* was postponed and the Sarda Bill was taken up.

The Child Marriage Bill.

Mr. Sesha Iyengar moved an amendment that the age of marriage for girls be fixed at 11 and Kumar Ganganand Singh moved an amendment that the age be fixed at 12. He submitted that 12 years was the utmost limit to which orthodox opinion could be persuaded to agree. In any legislation of this kind it was essential that public opinion should be carried with it.

Mr. Belvi moved an amendment to fix the age of marriage for girls at 13 while Mr. Mukhtar Singh wanted to fix the age at 16.

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Pundit Thakurdas Bhargava supported 14 years as was recommended in Mr. Sarda's Bill. Pandit Bhargava in course of his speech twitted Mr. Amarnath Dutt for not holding fast to his opinion before the Age of Consent Committee where he advocated 16 years as the age of marriage for girls while in course of debate in this House he supported 14 years. There was an uproar in the House when Mr. Dutt rose excitedly to protest, but Pundit Bhargava refused to give in.

Rev. Chatterjee, nominated non-official, supported the age as contained in the Bill of Mr. Sarda.

Dr. Moonje, as president of the Hindu Mahasabha, said that he found India divided into two parts, one South of the Narbada, South India and the North of the Narbada, North India. North India was in for the Bill, while South India in which he included Bengal was against it. His Medical conscienc prompted him to say that the age for the marriage for girls ought to be 18, while for boys 25. That was the age at which girls and boys ought to be mothers and fathers. The Hindus were so weak, docile and submissive that he would very much like a social reform which would purge them of evil customs. But according to practical conscience he would vote for 12 years which was the legal age of marriage for girls in England. If English people under that law could grow into manhood, he could not understand why the Indian could not under a similar law.

At this stage the House adjourned.

Establishment of Village Panchayats.

On the 17TH SEPTEMBER the Assembly resumed the consideration of the resolution moved by Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyenger (p. 127) for a committee of enquiry into the possibilities of the organisation of village panchayets.

Mr. Acharya who had already spoken on the resolution supporting it sought to move an amendment.

The President ruled it out of order in conformity with the Parliamentary procedure which debarred a member who had spoken once on the motion from moving subsequently any amendment.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh moved the following amendment to the main resolution :—"This Assembly recommends to the Governor:General-in-Council (a) to immediately rehabilitate in villages within the territories under its direct control "panchayats" on an elective system based on a sufficiently broad franchise and equip them with legal powers and funds sufficient for the administration of village concerns, viz, village sanitation, disease of livestock, minor irrigation, forests, cottage industries, primary education, co-operation, petty civil and criminal cases, registration of births, deaths and marriages and the like and (b) to formulate in consultation with local government and lay down a uniform policy for Provincial Governments to build up such autonomous panchayats on an elective basis based upon a sufficiently wide franchise in all the provinces of India (specially where such institutions do not exist), directing local Governments to appropriate sufficient funds for the purpose from Imperial revenues.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai supported the resolution as amended.

Pandit Nilkantadas also supported the resolution.

Sir Frank Noyce, speaking on behalf of the Government, expressed sympathy with the resolution but felt unable to accept either the resolution or the amendment. The amendment was negatived.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta then on behalf of the mover, who was absent, asked to withdraw the resolution in view of the assurance given by Government.

The President ruled that the mover could not authorise someone else to withdraw the resolution. The resolution was then put to vote and the house dividing, was carried by 35 to 33 votes.

Military Schools.

Mr. Jayakar moved that military schools that have been started in India for the sons and wards of Indian soldiers and officers of the Army be thrown open to all Indian boys irrespective of caste, creed or family connections and that they be allowed admission into such schools subject to their passing a prescribed examination for ascertaining their fitness to be trained for recruitment as non-commissioned officers and for the Viceroy's commission. Mr. Jayakar said he was supported by the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee. The Government had done nothing to meet public opinion so far, though pointed attention has been drawn to it time and again and he wanted to press it once again to the attention of the Government in the hope that the Government would agree to it.

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Mr. Dwaraka Prasad Misra wanted to add to the main resolution that arrangements be made to open similar schools in other provinces with a view to offer opportunities to every Indian race to play its part in the national defence.

Col. Porter could not see how schools which were meant for the children of a particular class could be thrown open for all but he supported the idea of starting more schools.

Sardar Kartar Singh could not agree to the resolution as it would deprive the sons of soldiers for whom the schools were exclusively meant of their rightful dues.

Mr. Tottenham, Army Secretary, said that Government were entirely sympathetic to the desire for military training as has been asked in the resolution but they could not accept the resolution as it stood. The Government has in contemplation opening of more similar schools but the difficulty was with regard to funds as the schools were very costly. Besides the fact should not be lost sight of that the Army Department could not undertake training of boys of whom they could not find place in the army.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya supporting the resolution said that it was pernicious principle that the military school should be confined to a particular class. He did not want to deprive the sons of soldiers opportunities of military education but those schools should be thrown open to all and more such schools should be started.

Mr. Jayakar, in replying, said that he was very much disappointed by the statement of the Army Secretary who without disclosing the plans of the Government, indulged in platitudes. Proceeding Mr. Jayakar said that it was the military spirit which for want of scope drove youngmen into being revolutionaries.

The resolution was carried without division. The House then adjourned.

Transfer of Property Act Amendment.

On the 18TH SEPTEMBER the Transfer of Property Bills were passed as amended.

The Sarda Bill was then taken up for further consideration.

The Child Marraige Bill.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya pleaded for 12 being fixed as the marriageable age, while he was prepared to support 15 as the age for consummation.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who spoke for 45 minutes, based his plea on the difference in the stages of progress in the different provinces and counselled great caution in the first penal legislation dealing with an age-long custom when nothing had been done previously to remove the colossal ignorance of the people. The marriage age was 12 in most other countries and in several Indian States. The depressed classes and the orthodox people would be greatly affected, and the large measure of public co-operation which was needed for effecting the working of the law could only be secured by fixing the age at 12.

Sir James Crerar, explaining why the Government supported 14 as the age, said that very great caution had been exercised in fixing that age which has been recommended after the most careful consideration by the Age of Consent Committee. There had been sufficient public awakening during the last five years for justifying the fixation of the age at 14.

After Sir James Crerar's definite attitude on behalf of the Government for fixing the age at 14, all amendments fixing the age of marriage for girls at any other figure were defeated.

Mr. M. K. Acharya's Amendment.

Mr. M. K. Acharya moved an amendment that child marriage meant lawful living together under some recognised ceremony or declaration as man and wife of the parties of whom either was "child" but did not include the marriage sacrament as distinct from consummation of girls not under 10 years of age. He said that the Government had no right to interfere in the sacramental position of the marriage law of any sect or community, and warned the Government against the consequences, if it so interfered.

The amendment was lost by 7 against 69 votes.

The House next rejected in quick succession all amendments to clauses 2 to 6. By one of these, Mr. Sesha Iyengar wanted to make the relations' affidavits prima facie evidence of a child's age. Other amendments desired to reduce the penalty, while Mr. Belvi and Mr. Kelkar sought to throw the burden of proving the knowledge of a marriage being a child marriage on the prosecution.

Mr. Kelkar's amendment was, however, negatived by 21 against 58.

Considerable amusement was caused by an amendment for the addition of a sub-clause to clause 6 to penalise the marriage of a widower above 40 years of age with a

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virgin in order to prevent the cruelty involved. This amendment was pushed to a division, and was lost by 4 against 52.

Emphasis was laid by Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Thakurdas Bhargava, Member of the Age of Consent Committee, on the necessity for throwing the burden of proof of the knowledge of the age on the prosecution so far as it related to persons performing, conducting or directing a child marriage. Mr. Kelkar also desired to restrict the punishment for the parent or guardian concerned in solemnising it to active interest.

The House negatived by 16 against 59 Mr. Sesha Iyengar's amendment to clause 9 seeking to restrict the right of complaint under the bill to a resident of the locality or to a member of the sect or sub-sect of the parties.

Mr. Thakurdas Bhargava wanted to omit clause 11 requiring security to be taken from a complainant. Mr. Nilkantadas and Mr. B. Das also failed in their attempt to raise the amount of security.

Mr. Nilkantadas' Amendment.

Mr. Nilakantadas wished to save special cases where a girl was between 12 and 14 years and special prior permission had been taken from the principal civil court.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, though himself in favour of the reforms aimed at by the bill, supported Mr. Nilakantadas's exemption clause to save genuine cases of hardship. The Age of Consent Committee had nearly accepted such an exemption, he declared.

Mr. N. C. Chunder opposed the exemption, as it was not confined to the girl's interest.

The Law Member warned the House against the danger involved in accepting the amendment as special cases were easy to make out for men with a long purse. Moreover, the House would stultify itself because it had deliberately rejected the 12 years age.

Messrs. Thakurdas Bhargava, Kelkar and Ganganand Sinha supported the amendment to mitigate the rigour of the law in cases of genuine hardship.

The debate was not finished when the House rose for the day.

On the 19TH SEPTEMBER Mr. E. L. Price (Karachi) said that if the amendment was accepted it would only help in putting money in the hands of lawyers, and ride a coach and four through the salutary provisions of the Bill. The amendment was an indirect attempt to legalise marriages at 12.

At this stage the President announced the receipt of notice of a long amendment from Mr. Mukhtar Singh on the exemption clause, to which he took strong exception as it was unfair to the House to have to make up its mind at such a short notice. If, however, it was the general desire of the House to consider the amendment, he would have no objection if the President were to allow it.

This was followed by cries of "no. no." The President allowed the amendment.

Mr. Jayakar also opposed the amendment as being too wide, but asked the Government to consider the weighty argument of Pandit Motilal and bring in an amending bill if necessary later.

Mr. M. K. Acharya asked why only right men capable of engaging astute lawyers should be enabled to escape from the penalties of the law. He wanted the House to understand its responsibilities, he said, and vote on the proposition. The right way of taking the question was to vote against 14 being fixed as the age of marriage for girls.

Mr. Michael Keane wanted the Assembly to consider that only very few cases would be reported and no court would punish a person with severity without fully considering the circumstances in which a marriage was solemnised.

By 61 votes against 24 the amendment was negatived.

Question of Excluding Muslims.

Moulana Shafi Daudi moved for the exclusion of Muslims from the operation of the Bill on the ground that it affected the personal law of the Muslims. He quoted from the observations of Moulvi Mahomed Yakub, member of the Age of Consent Committee, to show that marriage law interfered with the law of Islam. He twitted Mian Shah Nawaz for having changed his views within a year and recommended encroachment by courts on the delicate relations of human life. He could understand a bill for those communities in which widow remarriages were not allowed, but not one which applied to Muslims.

Moulana Shafi Daudi emphasised that his objection to the Bill was that it was against the Shariat. They must not punish a person who wanted to follow what the Islamic Law had permitted him to do. The Hindus were not wholeheartedly for the Bill, while Moslems were opposed to it. Why then persist in placing the Bill on the statute book?

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Moulvi Mahomed Yakub, Member of the Age of Consent Committee, supported Mr. Shafi Daudi. He was in favour of the Bill so long as it did not affect any religion. But the theologians whom he had consulted, were all against such legislation, and Mr. Mahomed Ali was also opposed to it. He criticised the Government for departing from its recognised policy of religious neutrality.

After alluding to the upheaval in Afghanistan, Moulvi Mahomed Yakub warned the Government that there might be agitation amongst the Moslems in India if the Viceroy gave his consent to such a piece of legislation.

Mr. T. Sherwani gave his whole-hearted support to the Bill, and opposed Mr. Shafi Daudi's amendment. He affirmed that Islam never sanctioned the evil of early marriage. Proceeding, Mr. Sherwani quoted from the observations of Moulvi Mahomed Yakub contained in the Age of Consent Committee's report, when the latter interjected : " Mr. Sherwani is misquoting and misrepresenting me."

When Mr. Sherwani proceeded to quote some more extracts, the President asked Moulvi Mahomed Yakub to occupy the chair.

There was much laughter as Mr. Sherwani continued to quote Moulvi Mahomed Yakub, to which the latter, as he was in the chair, could not retort.

Mr. Sherwani referred to the laws obtaining in Egypt and Turkey which were also Moslem countries, but where no child marriage was allowed.

The President resumed the chair when Mr. Sherwani was concluding his speech.

Mr. Ghuznavi pleaded that no case was made out for the inclusion of Mussalmans in the Bill, and recalled that Mr. Shah Nawaz was a signatory to the Moslem member's protest. The Sarda Bill interfered with the personal law of the Muslims. He reminded the House that Shah Alam, while handing over the civil administration to the East India Company, reserved the personal law of the Mussalmans.

Mr. Sadiq opposed the amendment as the matter related to sociology and not to religion. If Mr. Daudi attached such importance to the Moulvis' Fatwas, why did he enter the Councils despite their Falwa ?

Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed, amidst applause, moved for closure of the debate, which was carried by 63 against 23.

Thereafter, the amendment for excluding Mussalmans was put to vote.

The House rejected the amendment by 16 against 71. The 16 included orthodox Moslem and Hindu votes. The House adjourned till 23.

On the 23RD SEPTEMBER the *Indian Income-Tax Amendment Bill* (Provident Fund Relief) as reported by the Select Committee was passed in the Assembly without discussion.

Further consideration of Sarda's Bill was then taken up. Mr. Shesa Iyengar moved an amendment that the Act should come into force in April 1933, while Mr. Belvi in January 1932 and Mr. Kelkar in January 1932. All these amendments were lost.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt then moved that the Act should come into force on such date as the local Governments with the approval of the majority of members in the local Councils may decide. When put to vote the President declared the amendment to be lost.

Mr. Dutt then wanted to move another amendment standing in his name that the Act should not apply to the Hindus. But the President did not allow him to move it as the House had already decided on the motion of Mr. Shesha Iyengar that it should not apply to Brahmins.

Then the second reading of Sarda's Bill was passed as amended by the Select Committee without a comma being changed.

The Child Marriage Bill Passed.

Mr. Harbilas Sarda then rose to move that the Bill be passed. He said that the Bill has raised tremendous enthusiasm in that country and it has the enthusiastic support even from Madras and Bengal where it was said there was great opposition against it He read wires received by the President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha according full support to the Bill and to a ladies' meeting in Bengal in favour of the Bill.

Syed Murtaza following registered his protest against the manner in which the Government had helped to push the Bill through the House and speaking on behalf of the group of elected members said that the Bill interfered with the injunctions of the Shariat and, therefore, against the religion of Mussalmans. He said that they would not take any further part in the discussion on the Bill, and walked out along with Maulvi Shafi Daudi, Maulvi Badiuzaman, Abdul Latif Farooqhi, Md. Ismail Khan, Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi and Muhammad Rafique. Among the Moslem members who remained in the House after the

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walkout of the members referred to above were Messrs. Abdul Matin Choudhury, Kabiruddin Ahmed, Shah Newaz, Siddique, Kidwai, Yusuf Imam, Anwar Azim, Fazal Rahimutullah, (elected members) Sir Abdul Quaym and Yamin Khan, (nominated members).

Messrs. Jinnah, Sherwani Abdul Haye and Dr. Hyder who had already accorded enthusiastic support to the bill were absent.

After the walkout Mr. Karter Sing supported the Bill.

Mr. Parimal Naidu (Madras) opposed the Bill while Lala Hansraj (Punjab) gave his whole-hearted support to the Bill. He said that the evils of child marriage should be eradicated by all possible means. India, he said, needed sons like Jatin Das, Bhagat Sing and Batukeshwar Dutt who were all unmarried.

Sir Abdul Qyaium was cheered when he gave his support to the Bill which he said was not against the tenets of Islam.

Mr. Gaya Prosad Singh also gave his support to the Bill which was in accordance with the ancient custom. But he said the evil has been painted too dark for in a Hindu family early marriage did not mean early consummation.

Moulvi Shah Nawaz also gave his whole-hearted support to the Bill. It was inhuman he said that women should be sacrified at the alter of custom. He hotly challenged the assertion of Mr. Ghuznavi that the evil did not exist in Bengal and reading from official records he showed that the evil very much existed in Bengal and the majority of Muslims in the province was for legislation of this kind. In the Punjab an overwhelming majority of Moslem opinion also supported the legislation. It was no use denying that the evil existed very much among the Mussalmans and the only effective way to eradicate this evil was a legislation and he, therefore, gave his whole-hearted support to the legislation.

Sir Darcy Lindsay supported the Bill wholeheartedly. He said, when the European group voted for the postponement of the consideration of Mr. Sarda's Bill in the last Simla session it was said that the Government and the European group and othere who voted for the postponement were responsible for creating 1,00,000 widows. If that argument was sound, it would be sound now and apply to those who sought to postpone the Bill.

Sj. Nirmal Chandra Chunder supported the Bill whole-heartedly. He read from the evidence given by Sj. Amar Nath Dutt before the Age of Consent Committee to show that Sj. Dutt personally supported a penal legislation to prevent child marriage. Sj. Chunder challenged Mr. Neogi's claims that Bengal opinion was against the Bill and referred to the verdict of a meeting sought to be held by the oppositionists to the Bill and captured by the protagonists of the Bill. Sj. Chunder also relied on the opinion of the All-India Medical Congress and Acharya P. C. Roy.

Mr. Neogy defended his opposition to the Bill and stated that he was only truly reflecting the opinion of his constituency. He cited the opinions of Justice J. R. Das and the Bar Library of Calcutta which were against any social legislation.

Mr. R. S. Sarma claiming to speak for both Bengal and Madras maintained that both provinces were really not opposed to the Bill.

Mr. Acharya reiterated his opposition to the Bill and said that the Bill would not have made progress it had made, except for the solid support of the official benches and the European group. The victory on the Bill was not a victory of logic, but of numbers.

Pandit Nilkanta Das also opposed the Bill.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas then supported the Bill. He deprecated the tendency on either side to attribute motives to the other side.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya opposed the Bill. He declared that the Assembly was abusing its authority of enacting legislations by placing the Bill on the Statute Book without agreeing to any of the amendments proposed in order to make the Bill more acceptable.

Messr. Jogiah, Sesha Iyengar and Amarnath Dutt opposed the Bill.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar opposed the Bill and maintained that those who conscientiously believed that it was bounden on them to betrothe their daughter before 14, were entitled to protection under the British Rule. He disputed the proposition that pre-puberty marriage was an evil.

Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda in a brief speech acknowledged the debt he owed to the supporters of the Bill and reiterated his conviction in the honesty of the opponents as well as the supporters of the Bill.

The House then divided and the Bill was carried by 67 to 14 votes. The result was received with vociferous cheers in which even some opposers of the Bill joined.

Withdrawal of Protection to Tinplate Industry.

On the 24TH SEPTEMBER Pandit Nilkanta Das moved a resolution to amend the Steel Protection Act of 1927 with a view to withdraw the protection granted thereunder to the Tinplate Industry in India.

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Pandit Nilkanta Das urged that the protection granted to the Tinplate Industry should be withdrawn as it has failed to carry out Indianisation adequately and for its treatment of labour in connection with the Golmuri Strike. He said that while labourers imported from abroad were given roughly about Rs. 1,300 per month Indians for doing the same work were given only Rs. 88 and the manner in which they had shamelessly treated the strikers at Golmuri forfeited their claim to protection at the cost of the Indian tax-payers.

Mr. Winterbotham (European from Msdras) failed to understand the attitude of the Bihar and Orissa Government in refusing to set up a court of inquiry under the Trades Dispute] Act to decide the matter. The Bihar Government in refusing to take advantage of the machinery that has been set up to deal with the matter had done the greatest disservice to the employers, employee and the general public in the country. He contested the assertion that Indianisation had not made proper progress, for in 1923 the number of covenanted men were 88 while it now stood at 42. He opposed the resolution which if carried, would close down a national industry which was saving crores of rupees from the Welsh Tinplate works.

Mr. H. P. Mody (Bombay Millowners) said that the resolution was unhappily worded, which, if carried, would commit the House to a dangerous principle, namely, whenever there was a quarrel between the employers and the employed protection would be withdrawn from the industry concerned. Mr. Mody said the House was not the proper forum for deciding this question which should be left to an impartial court of enquiry. The Bihar Government, he said, showed absolute inaptitude in dealing with the situation.

Dewan Chamanlal said the subsidy which a foreign country has succeeded in securing under fictitious pleas should be withdrawn if it is proved that the company is guilty of the grossest violation of decency and order. There should be no hesitation on the part of the House to refuse subsidy at the cost of the taxpayers' money. He referred to mismanagement which compelled the company to issue debenture bonds and to inhuman treatment to the strikers when the management resorted even to cutting off water connection to break the strike. The Company was practically owned by the Burma Oil Company who were utilising it in order to beat their rivals in the oil trade in other parts of the world. It was not a national concern and so no protection should be granted to it. He appealed to the House to do something for the strikers of Golmuri. If they carried this resolution, they would pass a vote of censure on the Government who would bring pressure on the company in order to treat the labourers well.

Sir B. N. Mitra dwelt on the attitude of Government towards labour question to study which they had appointed a Royal Commission of Labour. Government, he said, looked with favour on the growth of genuine trade union movement in the country but unfortunately labour in the country was often drawn in the whirlpool of politics. The position at Golmuri, Sir B. N. Mitra said, was complicated by the introduction of politics. Narrating the facts of the case as was under possession of Government, he said there was no strike at Tinplate factory as a full complement of labour were at work there.

Pandit Nilkanta Das interrupting asked if the new hands recruited were skilled labour.

Sir B. N. Mitra replied in the affirmative.

Proceeding Sir B. N. Mitra said that the difficulty in dealing with labour question in the country was due to the fact that it was difficult to know who is a leader to-day and who will be leader to-morrow. Referring to the reason why the British Government did not appoint a court of inquiry it was because there was no demand for it.

Mr. T. Y. Phillips, (European Bengal) read telegram from the management of Tinplate Workers that they did not cut off the water supply of the strikers. The break-down was due to the action of some unknown persons which were put in proper order at the earliest opportunity.

Pandit Motilal Nehru said that it was not a mere party resolution but the whole weight of the Indian National Congress was behind it. He did not want to go into the facts of the case as the House had already heard enough of it. He congratulated the non-official members on both sides upon their unequivocable and unqualified condemnation of the action of the Bihar Government for not appointing a court of enquiry. He emphasised that an absolute case had been made out for withdrawing the protection and appealed to all sections of the House of non-officials to support the resolution.

Sir George Rainy dwelt on the tariff side of the question. If protection was with drawn the tinplate industry, he said, would close down and the Tata Company would find it difficult to dispose of 40,000 tons of manufactured steel at present consumed by the Tin-Plate Factory. It was dangerous principle to withdraw protection after having once given it. It would have a very unsettling effect on an industry seeking to avail of protection.

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In conclusion, he asked that if the Bihar Government made a mistake why shou'd the Tinplate Industry be punished for it.

The motion was then put before the House and carried by 51 to 42 votes,

Burmese Hunger Striker's Death.

Mr. J. K. Munshi (Rangoon) next moved an adjournment of the House to consider the situation arising out of the action and policy of the Government regarding their refusal to allow the use of yellow robes by Budhist monks who were prisoners in the Rangoon jail, which resulted in the death of Phongyi Wizaya in consequence of prolonged hunger-strike and was likely to involve further loss of lives.

In moving the motion Mr. Munshi said that in Burma the political agitation was carried on by monks and priests. Their demand was narrowed to the simple issue that the Burmese monks among the political prisoners would be allowed to wear yellow robes in jails in consonance to the dictates of their religion.

Referring to the death of a particular prisoner who died on account of hunger-strike he said that he was sentenced to transportation for six years by a trial which was in reality a mockery of it. He was on hunger strike when the court sat in jail and when he was unable to sit and even to speak, evidence was entered against him and he was convicted. He referred to the constitutional aspect of the case that if the motion wss unheeded by the House it might give a fillip to the separation movement in Burma, that Burma's case had no chance in the Indian Assembly.

Mr. Munshi understood that the Inspector-General of Prisons, who was sympathetic, was willing to grant his request for the yellow robes but the Burmese Government turned a deaf ear and restored his robes only when the striker's body was a corpse.

The Inspector-General of Prisons, he understood, also protested against the inhuman method of forcible feeding which was given up only when further resort to it would have ended in his instantaneous death.

Sir James Crerar said that he did not anticipate that he would be called to meet the constitutional questions which did not really arise over the motion. Therefore, he would not touch them. The real issue was the causes leading to the hunger-strike. He informed the House that judgment was difficult without reference to the local circumstances and local conditions. The deceased person who had several convictions was shown exceptional consideration. Rigorous imprisonment was changed to simple and the sentence of six years referred to by Mr. Munshi was commuted by the Government to three years. The question of yellow robes was not the only cause of hunger-strike. The deceased first resorted to hunger-strike on the question of diet. When this request was met he raised the question of wearing his yellow robes and also of worship in a particular kind of shrine. The Burmese Government gave full consideration to the question of setting up some temporary shrines of this character, but found it impossible to comply with this request. Sir James Crerar asked the House whether it would not be practical impossibility if similar requests were made by 'Sadhus' and 'Faquirs' in Indian jails. There was no provision of this character in England. No conceivable system of jail administration permitted compliance with the terms of persons of the priestly order when in jail. The Burmese Kings deprived the priest of his robes.

Mr. Munshi :—What is the authority for that ?

Sir James Crerar :—My authority is the memorandum prepared from the records of the regime of Burmese Kings. (Applause).

The Home Member emphasised that while it might be possible in certain cases to allow the use of yellow robes the question of compliance with the requirements of the priestly order would be an impossibility. The reference to a constitutional question by Mr. Munshi was not relevant and therefore he would not reply.

Pandit Malaviya said that the Government's action in regard to the treatment of the Burmese prisoners deserved the severest condemnation of every Indian and Burman. Their demand was simple and the Government ought to have accepted it. The Government ought to treat with respect and sympathy every person convicted of Section 124 A.

Mr. Stuart Smith saw no utility of moving this motion, because the other day they carried a motion censuring the Government in regard to the treatment of political prisoners.

Mr. Fazal Rahimutulla on behalf of his party accorded whole-hearted support to the motion (cheers). He criticised the Home Member for avoiding straight answers whether they meant to pursue the policy of non-interference in religious matters.

Mr. Sherwani supporting the motion said that the Government were reasonable in reference to particular persons and communities. He recounted his experience in jail to demonstrate how different treatment was accorded to the European and the Indian prisoners even in regard to the question of dress.

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Mr. S. N. Roy in his maiden speech narrated the facts of the case as there was much misapprehension in regard to the case. The question, he said, involved a large principle. If they acceded to it the 'Fakirs.' 'Sadhus' and Mullahs might demand this privilege. In reference to the case before the House he said the Government of Burma should decide this case.

Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of the Congress Party denied that the Burmese case was one to get a close attention of the Indian members of the Assembly or any part of India. Referring to the case before the House, he said, it was worse than that of Jatindra Nath Das.

Mr. Jayakar said the issue was simple and should not be shrouded by raising the question of a large principle. A little more intelligent administration of jail rules would have averted this calamity in which a man gave his life to gain small things, namely to wear his religious robe.

The censure motion was then put to the vote and carried by 74 to 46 votes. The House then adjourned.

Commissioner for Medical Education.

On the 25TH SEPTEMBER official business was transacted in the House. After question hour Sir George Schuster moved for a grant of a supplementary token sum to defray charges in respect of salt which was granted.

A demand for the grant of a token sum to defray the expenses for the creation of a new post of the Commissioner of Medical Standards and Qualifications made by the Finance Member evoked heated discussion.

Sir George Schuster said that it was rather unusual to come before the House with a proposal which had been turned down by the Standing Finance Committee, but circumstances were exceptional in this case. Here the financial significance of the proposal was negligible but the question of policy involved was very important.

Dr. Moonje opposed the demand to register a protest against the manner in which the medical graduates of the Indian Universities had been treated in the matter of the recruitment of I. M. S. It was an insult to the national self-respect that an I. M. S. man should be made a sort of an All-India Dictator to supervise over all the Indian Universities.

Sir Fazli Hossain said that it was a temporary measure which has been arrived at in consultation with Provincial Ministers. When a final decision as regards permanent arrangement would be made the Assembly would certainly be given an opportunity to consider the case fully so that it might not affect the dignity of the House or the country.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar opposing the demand styled it as a "seductive" proposal. Though it was temporary, it was a vicious proposal which should be turned down unceremoniously.

The President at this stage suggested that in view of the discussion which the proposal had evoked the Government should consider whether they could postpone it till the next session when the House would be fuller and would be in a better position to discuss it.

Sir Fazli Hussain did not agree to the proposal and the discussion was resumed.

Mr. Jayakar referring to the mention of the names of Ministers by Sir Fazli Hossain said that the less one uttered the names of Ministers in this House the better, for they all knew what sort of men these Ministers were. He severely criticised the proposal which was opposed by the University of Bombay and asked the House to turn it down.

After Col. Gidney gave his support to the demand Mr. Amarnath Dutt opposed the demand. It was an affront, he said, to place an I M. S. Officer in the position of a dictator in regard to the Indian Universities.

Dewan Chamanlal following strongly criticised the Government for bringing a motion of such a controversial nature at the end of the session when many members had left. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas could not support the motion without further information.

Sir Fazli Hussain told that the measure was only a temporary one but the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee disclosed that the post would

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not be so temporary as it was given out in the House. Judging the proposal by its merit, it was one which it was difficult to support.

After Mr. K. C. Neogy and Mr. M. K. Acharya had opposed the motion Pandit Malaviya said that there was no proposal more insulting to Indian Universities than the one that a commissioner should be appointed to supervise medical education in the Universities, so that Indian degrees would be acceptable to the British Medical Council. Indian Universities should rather close down than submit to this insult.

The motion was being discussed when the House adjourned.

Adjournment Motion.

On the 26TH SEPTEMBER, after question hour, Dewan Chamanlal wanted to move the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss an urgent matter of public importance, namely, the failure of the Government to give a satisfactory answer to the South African Deputation.

Sir James Crerar opposed the motion on the ground that it would embarrass the Secretary of State and Sir Muhammad Habibullah who were engaged in delicate negotiations with the Colonial Office. He submitted that a proper opportunity for discussing the thing would arise when the Samuel Wilson Committee Report, which would come out shortly would be published.

Mr. K. C. Roy was not convinced by the argument of the Leader of the House and in order to facilitate tho discussion of the motion he withdrew the motion standing in his name which referred to the same subject. Mr. Roy emphasised that the matter was very urgent so far as the interest of India was concerned.

Dewan Chamanlal said that it was very urgent that the matter should be discussed here. The negotiation which was being conducted in England should be conducted in the spirit of suggestions dictated by the House. He, however, said that if the Government gave an assurance that it would stand by the views expressed by the South African Deputation he would not press his motion.

Dewan Chamanlal further represented that no standing order could stop the motion of adjournment on the ground of its discussion having embarrassed the Government.

The President :—The Home Member says that no decision will be made by the Parliament without giving an opportunity to the Assembly to discuss the matter.

Sir Darcy Lindsay following said that Dewan Chamanlal has made out no case of urgency.

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas said that the discussion of the matter would serve to clear up the atmosphere. There was no more urgent matter than the Kenya question as the country was in suspense.

The President :—Since when it has been in suspense ?

Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas :—They did not know what the Government have done.

The President :—When have you learnt it ?

Sir P. Thakurdas :—A fortnight ago.

The President :—Then why was not the motion brought earlier.

Sir Purushottamdas :—Because it was thought that the Government would be able to give some satisfactory answer in the meantime. Besides, it was also thought that the House could get an opportunity to discuss the matter in connection with Mr. Roy's motion for a cut in connection with the supplementary demand to defray the expenses of Mr. Sastri's mission to East Africa.

Sir George Schuster :—The Government had no intention to stifle the discussion on the matter but he assured the House that the Government of India had communicated every single item of the points urged by the Standing Emigration Committee.

Sir James Crerar pointed out that the Government could not publish the communications on account of some Standing Orders regarding the publication of the comunications.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta pointed out that the Standing Emigration Committee was purely a nominated body. Therefore, the Congress Party has nothing to do with it.

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Sir Purushottamdas:—But Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar attended it.

Mr. Mehta—They attended as interested spectators and not as members. So far as the Congress Party were concerned they were not committed by the recommendations of the Standing Emigration Committee.

Sir. B. N. Mitter—In that case the urgency of the matter arose much earlier.

The President: Are the Government of India prepared to say what they said?

Sir James Crerar: We precluded from doing that by the statutory rules relating to correspondence.

The President :—Then how can you prevent the members from expressing their views?

Mr. K. C. Roy: The Government of India have not stated their attitude on the representation by the East African Deputation.

Dewan Chamanlal: The Government gave this unsatisfactory reply only yesterday that they were unable to inform the House their views.

The President then gave his ruling. He was convinced that the matter was urgent but the Standing Orders said that a motion should not anticipate another motion of which notice had already been given. He found in the agenda paper Mr. Roy's motion for a cut which would raise the same issues. So he disallowed the adjournment motion.

A voice: Mr. Roy has withdrawn it.

The President: He cannot.

The President said that he was prepared to sit late and give the House an opportunity to discuss Mr. Roy's motion which was below in the list.

Coastal Bill Postponed Till Delhi Session.

Before the day's business was taken up in the Assembly to-day referring to Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill which was the first in the list, the President asked if the mover was agreeable to postpone its discussion till the next session in view of the fact that considerable doubt existed if the recommendation for republication meant re-circulation for opinion, and also in view of the statement by the Commerce Member that soon after the return of Lord Irwin from England a conference of the interests concerned would be held to explore some means of agreement. Unless the mover wanted to prejudice that conference the President suggested he shoul l agree to postpone the motion till the Delhi Session.

Mr. S. N. Haji, replying, said that he agreed to the suggestion of the President and consideration of the measure till the next session.

Non-Official Bills.

Pandit Bhargav next referred to the Select Committee his Bill to amend Section 552 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and Mr. K. C. Neogy his Bill to amend the Indian Merchandise Act Marks Act. After that nineteen non-official bills were introduced.

Rocommendations of Road Development Committee.

Sir B. N. Mitra then moved a resolution to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Indian Road Development Committee. It was to the effect that the increase in the import and excise duties on motor spirit from 4 to 6 annas per gallon, introduced by the Indian Finance Act for the current year, should be maintained for a period of five years in the first instance. Proceeds of the additional duty during the same period should be allotted as a block grant for expenditure on road development to be credited to a Separate Road Development Account, the unexpended balances of which should not lapse at the end of the financial year.

Six official Bills passed by the Council of State were then passed by the Assembly without discussion.

Kenya Problem.

Sir George Schuster then moved a motion for the grant of a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,000 to defray charges of the Rt. Hon'ble Shastri's mission to East Africa.

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Mr. K. C. Roy moved that the grant be reduced by rupee one to call attention of the House to the East African question. When Mr. Shastri went to Kenya it was believed that he went there as an Ambassador of India. But afterwards it was found out that his services were placed at the disposal of Sir Samuel Wilson. The "London Times'" Correspondent wrote regarding the mission that while Sir Wilson's was a success that of Mr. Sastri's was a dismal failure. He also criticised the action of the Government of India with regard to the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission. While the Parliaments of every country interested in the affair got an opportunity to discuss the Report, the Indian Legislature had been so long given no opportunity to discuss it.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas in a very able speech condemned the action of the Government for not rising to the height of the occasion in dealing with the question. He narrated how the East African Deputation had so long waited in Simla to know what attitude the Government of India took and in despair left the day before. The Government of India undertook a very serious responsibility in carrying negotiation in this matter without taking the public into confidence. If anything went wrong, he warned, a very serious situation would arise in the country for which the Government would be held entirely responsible.

Sir Fazli Hussain said that the Government of India's attitude towards the question affecting Indians in foreign lands since 1920 was a sufficient guarantee that India's case would not go by default. He said that the Government of India's duty in this respect was that of an Advocate and they had faithfully communicated to the Secretary of State the views of the Standing Emigration Committee with, of course, the change of a comma here and there as an Advocate would do when he felt that thereby he would best serve the interest of his client. He assured the House that utmost would be done to protect the Indian interest in East Africa.

Pandit Malaviya: There was no greater duty for Indians than to stand by the Kenya Indians unflinchingly and the Government should adopt thoroughly a firm attitude. The question of common roll was a vital question on which there should be no compromise.

Sir Darcy Lindsay said that the Indians' cause in East Africa had their utmost sympathy. He thought that the publication of the communication from the Government of India to the Secretary of State regarding the East African question at this stage might give a handle to the other side and spoil everything.

Dewan Chamanlal said that the demand of Indians, namely, of a common roll, was a simple one. He could not see why it should not be granted.

Sir George Schuster, after narrating the problem in East Africa said, that the day's debate was very hopeful and would considerably strengthen the hands of the Government of India.

Mr. K. C. Roy, in withdrawing his motion, remarked that Sir Fazli Hussain had pronounced a new constitutional doctrine, that the position of the Government of India in this matter was that of an Advocate. The Government of India's position was not that of an Advocate but that of a high contracting party.

The demand was then passed and the Assembly adjourned "Sine die".

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The Bombay Legislative Council.

POONA—22ND. JULY 1929.

The Governor's Address.

The July Session of the Bombay Legislative Council commenced at Poona on the 22nd July 1929 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Dahlavi. The Swarajists did not attend owing to the Congress Working Committee's resolution.

H. E. the GOVERNOR addressing the Council said that his investigations in the finances of the presidency impressed on him the fact that they were already dangerously near, if not already passed, the point where commitments could not be met unless either the expenditure was reduced or additional resources were found.

Referring to land revenue settlements, His Excellency reiterated that Government had no intention of proceeding further with pending settlements until these were reconsidered in the light of any fresh decisions which might be arrived at. The Government were making every effort to have a complete, sound and progressive measure but it was not possible to introduce it this session.

He referred to labour strikes in Bombay and rioting which followed. He paid a tribute to the police and said that they were much strained during the strike and that extra police had to be called in from districts. He thought it necessary hence that the police should be strengthened and told the Council that they will be asked to sanction grant for increasing the police force in Bombay.

His Excellency next dwelt on the labour situation in Bombay and said that intimidation and terrorisation of workers by strikers tended to upset the peace of the city and legislation was necessary to prevent this, and told the Council that they would be asked to consider such a legislation. He further said that his Government had decided not to proceed with legislation for anti-picketting pending the result of an examination of the English Act which was at present being gone into by the British Government. His Excellency further told the Council that they would be asked to consider legislation to deport bad characters in times of trouble, as their presence in Bombay during the last riots have considerably put Government to trouble in keeping the peace.

His Excellency concluded with an appeal to the Mill-owners to carry out recommendations of the Fawcett Committee.

Abakari Bill.

The house next proceeded with the Abakari Bill. The first reading was passed in the last session in Bombay with the warning to the Minister that the Bill was a step towards a policy of prohibition. Rao Bahadur Kale in order to commit Government to a definite policy of prohibition by embodying that policy in a statute moved an amendment to the preamble to that effect. The Minister in Charge, Mr. Jadhav, pleaded that the amendment was ineffective and unusual. Mr. Nathubhai Desai, Messrs. Deshpande, Naik, Dixit and Gunjal participated in the debate and supported the amendment and an interesting debate followed. Rao Bahadur Kale replying condemned Government for not giving effect to their declaration in a statute.

The Hon'ble Minister tried to convince the house that the amendment was out of place.

Several non-official members supporting the amendment observed : Why should the Government fight shy of the amending preamble when they had declared the policy of total prohibition as the ultimate goal ?

Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, leader of the House, said that the amendment was useless and ineffective as the Government had already declared their policy and the Government were bound by it. It was quite unusual to put in a declaration of the policy in the preamble. They should not encumber the preamble.

Mr. N. R. Gunjal charged Mr. Jadhav with inconsistency, contrasting the latter's reply to the Nasik address and his present opposition.

The amendment was put to vote and on a division the amendment was lost and the second reading of the bill was passed.

The Bombay University Bill.

The Education Minister then moved the Bombay University Bill for the first reading. Mr. Swaminarayan moved an amendment to delete the word " Burough " so as to enlarge the scope of the bill, so that all the municipalities would get the franchise.

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The Government objected on the grounds that the constituency would be unwieldy and that the question was gone into a few years back.

The mover pointed out that the argument was not sound as the time has changed.

The amendment was put to the vote and lost. The bill was read for the first time. The bill was read for the second and third time and was passed. The House then adjourned.

British Labour Congratulated.

On the 23RD JULY, after interpellations, Mr. R. G. Pradhan moved the following resolution :—

"The Council desires to offer its sincere greetings to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald upon the accession to power of the British Labour Party, and expresses its sincere hope that his Government will spare no efforts to bring political peace to India by a satisfactory solution of the constitutional problem such as wil win for it the general and hearty support of the people of India."

Mr. Pradhan observed that the assumption of office by Labour was an event of international significance. A great duty devolved upon the Ministry in showing that they were truly a people's party. The policy of the Labour Party was political peace, and that could not be achieved until India was given a due place in the Commonwealth. They had faith in the Labour Party and even Tilak's manifesto, on behalf of the Congress Democratic Party, stated that it was their aim to establish self-government in India with the help of the Labour Party. Indeed, much water had flown under the bridge since that time. India had some faith in the professions of the Labour Party. Mr. MacDonald had declared a few months back, that India would be given Dominion Status within a year. Though professions and actions were not the same, the people of India hoped that Labour would be able to bring about political peace by giving India its rightful place in the Commonwealth.

The motion was carried amid acclamation.

Encumbered Estates Amending Bill.

The Sind Encumbered Estates Amending Bill was then passed, enabling Jagirdars or Zemindars to pledge their property in case of Takavi Loans with the previous sanction of the officer granting such loans.

Mr. Pahaljani's amendment that a Jagirdar or Zemindar should be allowed to alienate or charge his estate beyond his natural life, with the previous sanction of the Collector instead of the Commissioner in Sind, was lost.

Gambling Act Amending Bill.

The Council also passed into law the Bombay Prevention of Gambling (Amending) Bill, with a view to make it clear that wagering, when such wagering or betting took place between any persons "inter se" in such a manner and by such contrivance as may be permitted by licence granted under the Bombay Race Courses Licencing Act of 1912, that is, under the existing totalisator system.

Disposal of Pilgrim Tax.

Discussion on the Local Bodies Amending Bill proposing that the proceeds of the pilgrim tax should be used solely for the health, convenience and safety of the pilgrims had not concluded when the Council rose for the day.

Land Revenue Code Amend. Bill.

On the 24TH JULY Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale's Bill further to amend the Bombay Land Revenue Code, having been read for the second and third time was passed.

Local Board Act Amend. Bill.

The House thed took into consideration the important Bill of Mr. Pataskar, further to amend the Local Boards Act.

The Bill sought to extend the franchise to educated men, such as, doctors, pleaders and others who are left out under the present system. Non-agriculturists also, the mover contended, must be represented on the boards. The maxim "no representation without taxation", was not wholly right.

The members who opposed the Bill took their stand on the ground that there should be no representation without taxation. As the non-agriculturists

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did not contribute anything to the local funds, they could have no representation, they declared.

The Honble Mr. Hidayatulla opposed the Bill, observing that it was of a far-reaching character. It gave franchise to those who lived outside the jurisdiction of the district local boards. All the city people, without having any interest in the district, would swamp the boards. He said that those who wanted franchise should buy a piece of ground or hire a house.

The mover, answering the criticisms, said that much of the opposition was the result of prejudice against a particular class, the class of pleaders and doctors. If it was so, he said he was prepared to drop the provision dealing with this class, and ask the House to accept the remaining portion.

The Bill was put to vote, and thrown out.

Bombay Police Act Amend. Bill.

After that a bill further to amend the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902, of Mr. Swaminarayan was taken up for discussion. The bill sought to give opportunities to public bodies, like the Humanatarian League to remove a diseased or a wounded animal before the veterinary practitioner would direct it to be destroyed by a police officer.

The leader of the house opposed the bill. The debate was continued on the next day, the 25TH JULY, when the mover withdrew the Bill.

Non-Official Bills.

Some interest was created by another Bill of Mr. Swaminarayana which wanted to repeal Section 88 of the Bombay Revenue Code. The section gives discretionary authority to confer powers on the superior landholders for the recovery of their rent from inferior landholders. The mover depicted a very pathetic picture of the sufferings inflicted upon poor peasants by their superior landholders. He also pointed out a few concrete cases and said that the superior landholders should go to the civil courts for their complaints.

The Bill was supported by Mr. Bole and others, but was strongly opposed by many. Sirdar Mujumdar pointed out that the power conferred by section 88 was restricted by the following sections. The power should be withdrawn from those inamdars who abused it.

The Bill was withdrawn.

Deccan Agriculturist Relief Amend. Bill.

The Bill to amend the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act was then taken up. Mr. Pataskar moved that it be read for the first time.

The leader of the house remarked that the Government of India was thinking of repealing the Act and bringing in a fresh Bill, though he could not give the exact time. Hence the Bill should be withdrawn.

But the Bill was proceeded with and the discussion had not finished when the Council adjourned.

Next day, the 26TH JULY Rao Bahadur Patil,, opposing, said that by the new definition in the Bill, the rights of teaants working in the fields were curtailed, on the ground that the land did not belong to them.

Flood Havoc in Sind.

After Mr. Ghosal, the Commissioner had opposed the Bill, Mr. Miran Mahomed Shah moved an adjournment motion to consider the situation caused by the Sind floods. He said that Press reports estimated the loss of property at one crore of rupees and loss of human life at 30. The speaker observed that so far as his knowledge went, the Government were still trying to collect land revenue and auctioning cattle.

The Revenue Secretary, replying, characterised the estimated loss of one crore as exaggerated. After reading the summary of the telegraphic reports from the Commissioner in Sind, the speaker observed that the general conclusion might be drawn that while rain did considerable damage in some parts, it had in others had an extremely beneficial effect and in the case of "lift" lands, enabled cultivation to be undertaken in places where, owing to the low level of the river, it would not otherwise have been possible. Nothing in the nature

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of a very serious calamity had befallen the country. With the possible exception of Nawabshah District, there appeared to be no necessity for extraordinary measures anywhere to meet the situation. The Government were prepared to place at the disposal of the Collectors as much Takavi as they might require, and they were being so informed. Concluding, he said that in the affected areas, the Government had no doubt that any difficulties Zamindars might have experienced in paying final payments of land revenue, had been sympathetically considered by the Collector.

Mr. Miranshah, replying, said that Collectors had under-estimated the losses and he could not understand the attitude of the Government.

The adjournment motion was then unanimously carried.

Resuming the debate on the the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act Amending Bill, Mr. Miran Mahomed shah opposing said that it would affect seriously the Sind Zamindars, whose income was above one thousand, but who were labouring under heavy indebtedness.

Mr. Pahaljani and the Thakore of Kerwada opposed the Bill.

Sir G. Hidayatullah opposing the Bill said that the remedy was worse than the disease. The House then adjourned.

On the 27TH JULY, resuming the debate, the Hon Mr. Hotson, Leader of the House, opposed the Bill observing that when comprehensive legislation was undertaken, piecemeal legislation was a mistake. The Government proposed to repeal the present Act and replace it by another measure which would give relief to genuine agriculturists. Legislation in the matter would be expedited when the very urgent business engaging the attention of the Government was off their hands.

After further debate Mr. Pataskar's Bill was rejected without a division.

Labour Representation on Port Turst.

Mr. Bole moved the Port Trust Act Amending Bill to bring the Trust in line with the Improvment Trust and the Bombay Municipality in respect of Labour representation.

Mr. Bole accepted the amendment of the Chief Secretary to give Labour one seat in the Port Trust, and the Bill as amended was passed into law.

Resolutions were then taken up after some bills were either dropped or not moved.

Medical Inspection of Schoolboys.

Mr. Chikodi's resolution for reintroducing a scheme of medical inspection of school-going students abolished in 1921 as a measure of retrenchment, was pressed to a division and carried by 29 to 23 votes.

Bardoli Revision Settlement.

A full dress debate then took place on Mr. Shivdasani's resolution recommending to the Government that a committee of inquiry be appointed to consider and report which Government officers were responsible for the injustice done to the cultivators of Bardoli Taluka by the last revision settlement and for driving them to have recourse to non-payment of land revenue and in what manner such Government officers should be dealt with.

Rao Bahadur Naik supporting the motion, remarked that the whole report of Mr. Jayakar was overhauled by Mr. Anderson, who was regarded as an expert in revenue and the latter (Mr. Anderson) was mostly responsible for the tragedy that followed.

Discussion had not concluded when the Council adjourned.

On the 29TH JULY the Council was in an unusually pleasaut mood with the entry into the Council Chamber of Swarajists including Mr. K. F. Nariman, who was greeted with smiles from the treasury benches

The LOCAL BODIES AMENDING BILL, making obligatory the appointment of a Pilgrim-tax Committee, was referred to a Select Committee.

Medical Act Amending Bill.

The Bombay Medical Act Amending Bill to give effect to the reciprocal arrangements agreed to by all local Governments for free registration in all provinces of practitioners who had been registered in one province, was passed into law.

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BOMBAY BORSTAL BILL

Mr. Hotson, Home Member, then introduced and moved the first reading of the Amending Bill to provide for the establishment of Borstal Schools in the Presidency. The Bill was intended for youths with criminal habits, tendencies and associations, whose reformation had not been attempted by other means. It was based upon English Acts, namely, the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1908, and the subsequent amended Act, the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914, the former of which rendered possible the establishment of a Borstal Institution in England.

The Bill stated : "A Borstal School means a place in which young offenders, whilst detained in pursuance of this Act, are given such industrial training and other instructions and are subjucted to such disciplinary and moral influences as will conduce to their reformation and to prevention of crime.'

The Hon'ble Mr. Hotson, in a lengthy speech, listened to with rapt attention, traced the history of the attempts at local legislation for the last 21½ years. Mr. Alexander, Inspector-General of Prisons, who made the first attempt in 1909, suggested that Col. Jackson should visit Borstal schools and report. The speaker, with great modesty, then referred to his long note on the subject, written when he was Under Secretary of the Judicial Department and said that cold water was thrown on it. The Government then revived the question in 1912, and later the conference of Inspector-General of Prisons at Delhi in 1924 made important suggestions.

Continuing, the Home Member said that the maximum period of detention in a Borstal school, as fixed in the Bill, was 5 years. The Borstal school would take boys of age from 16 to 21 years and keep them to a maximum of 23 years. Juvenile jails which took boys from 18 to 23 would be absorbed into the Borstal schools. The speaker remarked that the solution of the problem of girls had not been yet found, though attempts on a small scale had been made in other respects,n amely, rescue homes.

Mr. Hotson was greeted with cheers on the conclusion of his speech. All sections of the Council supporting the Bill congratulated him for introducing a "benevolent" legislation. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

INCREASE OF BOMBAY POLICE FORCE

On the *30th. JULY* the Home member moved for a supplementary grant for increasing the Bombay City Police Force which would involve an ultimate annual recurring expenditure of Rs, 2,55,215. It was pointed out that the existing Police Force in Bombay and the transport at their disposal was not sufficient, which fact was clearly demonstrated during the riots in February.

Mr. Nariman observed that the demand could have been brought after the Riots Enquiry Committee had made its recommendations, as it was considering and taking evidence on the question of increasing the Police Force. Increase in the Police Force was no remedy to stop the disturbances. But the remedy lay in giving adequate opportunities to the citizens to defend themselves. The speaker said that the solution of the problem was in allowing respectable citizens to arm themselves. Concluding, he said it was ridiculous that Honorary Magistrates, who had powers to order firing, should not be allowed the privilege of carrying arms.

Mr. Asvale and Mr. Bole supported the demand.

Mr. Naik suggested that the Bombay City should bear half the expenditure. It was not proper that it should be charged to the general revenues.

The Home Member, in reply, observed that the suggestion of having a body of Civic Guards and volunteers as a substitute for the police force was an important one, which the Government had in their minds. They had read a report as to how special constables in Delhi worked. That apart, increase in the police force was necessary in normal times and not during communal disturbances and strikes only. What they wanted was a permanent police force as no volunteers could take their place all the time. Concluding, the Home Member pointed out that if licences were given to the wealthy, they would use it for themselves, and not for the poor. Increased police was wanted for the safety of the north of the Island of Bombay.

The grant was then made and the house adjourned.

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ADMINISTRATION OF SUKKUR BARRAGE AREA

On the *31st. JULY*, after interpellations, Mr. Pahaljani moved a resolution that in the readjustment and redistribution of districts due to the construction of the Barrage, the head-quarters of one of the proposed districts should be fixed at Sehwan (Sind).

Moslem Members from Sind opposed the motion on the ground that the resolution entailed an extra expenditure of Rs. 20 lakhs. Dadu, they declared, was a better place climatically, besides being a centre of growing trade.

The Revenue Secretary said that what the Government wished to see was whether the Collector of the Larkana District could effectively control the enormous rich tract in the District. A division of the district was a necessary measure of administrative convenience and the first choice of the Government would fall on Dadu as the headquarters of the new district. The speaker however assured the House that the public opinion concerned would be consulted before hand, and requested the mover to withdraw his resolution.

Mr. Pahaljani then withdrew his resolution.

REVISED ASSESSMENT IN RATNAGIRI

Mr. Pataskar moved a resolution that a Committee should be set up, on the lines of the Bardoli Inquiry Committee, to inquire whether revision settlements introduced in the Talukas of Deogad, Rajapur, Khed Peta and Maudangad in the Ratnagiri District were fair, legal and justified by the financial condition of the Taluks, and to report on the steps to meet the complaints of the landholders concerned. Mr. Pataskar pointed out that through an unaccountable mistake "Khajan" (salty) lands were over-assessed, as well as uncultivated lands. It took nine years for the Government to find out the mistake through the labours of a Committee, during whch period the Talukas continued payment of enhanced assessment. But the difference due to over-assessment had not been refunded.

Rao Bahadur Kale moved an amendment to add to the resolution "unless the Government promises to examine the various revision settlements since 1920 in the light of the sound principles to be embodied in the new (land) legislation promised."

Mr. Gunjal's amendment, that collection of enhanced assessment be suspended till the Committee reported was disallowed.

Mr. Nanal (Ratnagiri) said that his District was the poorest in the Presidency. Out of a total land of 25 lakhs of acres in the District, one-tenth was cultivable. The rest was either hilly or rocky, on which even grass could not grow. The speaker, concluding, pointed out that the Government could save annually Rs. 1 lakh, as out of 1300 villages, 900 were Khoti ones which paid revenue punctually, and for which the Government were not required to spend a single pie for the collection of revenue.

On the *1st AUGUST* the Revenue Member, replying, said that the resolution wanted a committee, while Mr. Kale's amendment suggested, as an alternative, an undertaking that the Government should examine the revised assessments since 1920 in the light of sound principles and the promised legislation. The speaker distinguished Ratnagiri Taluka from Bardoli, because, in the Bardoli report, it was definitely asserted that the revised assessment was not according to law, and the Settlement Officer had based his conclusions on wrong data. No allegations had been made that the Settlement Officer of Ratnagiri did not make personal investigations. If the resolution were accepted, there would be incessant demands from other Talukas. As regards Mr. Kale's amendment, the speaker said that it was much more reasonable, but the Government could not accept it because of the difficulty of the principle that the Government had not yet defined the basis of the assessment in the promised legislation. The Revenue Member, however, pointed out that, as regards the collection of statistics, they had learnt a lesson from Bardoli, and appreciated its importance, and promised that, in the new legislation, provision would be made that the proposals of the Settlement Officer would be publicly discussed.

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The resolution, as amended, was then carried.

Mr. Shivdasani's resolution for a committee to consider and report which Government officers were responsible for the injustice done to the Bardoli people and to suggest steps to deal with such officers, was ultimately withdrawn.

Fuleli Canal Improvement.

On the *2nd. AUGUST*, after interpellations, Sir G. Hidayatullah moved for a supplementary grant of Rs. 7,42,000 for improvements to the Fuleli Canal system. A statement in the "demand" showed that a provision of Rs. 10,00,000 for improvements to the Fuleli Canal system was made in the current year's budget, but as some members required further information on certain points, the provisions were temporarily withdrawn by the Government at the last session, with the intention of bringing it again before the Council. The Government adhered to the opinion, expressed previously, that the scheme was absolutely necessary for safeguarding the interests of Zemindars in Fuleli tract after the barrage canals would begin to operate.

Mr. Nariman, rising on a point of order, observed that the demand had been once withdrawn from the Budget and it could not be again brought in as a supplementary grant according to Rule 32.

Sir. G. Hidayatullah, General Member, replied that he had postponed it in response to the wishes of the House. He referred to the speech of Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram agreeing to the postponement.

Mr. Nariman intervening said that Mr. Jairamdas was not the President of the Council. Mr. Nariman, continuing, pointed out that two things were essential for a supplementary grant, first that it should be for a new service and secondly it should not have been contemplated in the Budget. In this particular case, both the essentials were absent.

Mr. Pahaljani then quoted Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's ruling in 1925, in similar circumstances, that an item once withdrawn could not be brought in as a supplementary grant.

Mr. Pradhan, Finance Member, contended that the whole grant was composed of several items. The present item was one of them, and it was omitted at the last session, and therefore it could be asked for again whether it had been postponed or withdrawn.

The President : So far as the technical side is concerned, I want to read carefully all the speeches.

The business of the Council was then practically suspended for an hour, after which the *President gave his ruling.*

The President observed that as regards Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's ruling, the circumstances were practically the same, but the members made a special recommendation to the General Member to come to a compromise with the permission of the House and to bring the demand after some months. None of the sections quoted by Mr. Nariman or the Leader of the House helped him. The burden was thrown on the Speaker. He did not think that he was laying aside his predecessor's ruling. Concluding, he said, that in view of the wishes expressed by various members at the last Budget session that it should be brought within 6 months, he would allow the supplementary grant demand as being in order.

Mr. Nariman then raised a second point of order. He said that it arose out of the replies to Mr. Swaminarayan's questions. One of the principal rules observed in public bodies was that an interested party should not be allowed to play a double role in public service. The party interested in the subject matter, Sir G. Hidayatullah, held in partnership 640 acres in the Fuleli Canal area. Concluding Mr. Nariman observed that the result of the scheme accelerated the value of the land and directly benefited the General Member.

The President in giving his ruling observed that the point of order was cleverly brought. If the speaker accepted it as a principle, many practical difficulties would arise. The General Member could not have anticipated the effect of the scheme when he bought the lands.

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Sir G. Hidayatullah intervening at this stage informed the House that his lands did not come under the scheme.

The President continuing said that if he laid down such a ruling no Zemindar could come to the Council and be a Government official. Moreover the transaction was made before the General Member assumed the present office. The President ruled the objection out of order.

Two other points of order of Mr. Nariman were also ruled out.

Sir G. Hidayatullah, next said that he wanted to disabuse the minds of the members regarding certain mis-statements. Attempts had been made to throw mud at him. The present scheme had nothing to do with his lands.

Mr. Miran Mahomed Shah, opposing the grant said that the scheme affected adversely the agriculturists who grew rice.

Mr. Shivdasani, opposing the grant, pointed out that the scheme transferred water from the head to the tail canal, entailing greater percolation.

A note by Mr. Noor Mahomed was circulated among the members, strongly opposing the scheme and stating that the Government irrigation advisers were not sure of the extent of loss the barrage would cause to Lower Sind, nor did they appear to be certain about the remedy and that the Zemindars had no faith in the scheme. Discussion was not concluded when the Council rose.

REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN SATARA.

On the *3rd. AUGUST*, after interpellations, Mr. Deshpande moved a resolution for the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to investigate whether the enhanced assessment in Satara District was warranted in terms of the Land Revenue Code.

Mr. Ghosal, Commissioner, opposing the motion, said that the inquiry in Satara district was done thoroughly and was ably scrutinised and checked by two able settlement officers.

Mr. Laljee Naranjee's motion for postponement of the resolution in view of the Government's promise of new legislation was carried, the Government not objecting.

INAMDARI ESTATE TENANTS GRIEVANCES

Mr. Swaminarayan moved a resolution for a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the grievances of the cultivators of Inamdari estates and for measures, legislative or otherwise, for their removal.

The Thakor Saheb of Kervada, Mr. Desai and Sardar Mazumdar, representatives of Gujerat Talukdars and Deccan Inamdars respectively opposed the motion. The Revenue Member, also opposing the motion, quoted the opinion of Mr. Chatfield, late Commissioner of Gujerat, that such Committees would exasperate the feelings between the tenants and talukdars. The speaker declared that the Government had in contemplation tenancy legislation, which would be taken up after land revenue legislation. He gave an undertaking that Government officers would, in future, wherever possible, intervene to bring about conciliation between the tenants and the landlords. In view of the assurance, Mr. Swaminarayan withdrew his resolution. The house then adjourned.

Fuleli Canal Improvement.

On the *5th. AUGUST*, a heated debate ensued on the supplementary grant for Fuleli Canal improvements. Mr. Swaminarayan opposing feared that it would be a replica of the Back Bay folly.

Sir Hudson of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce supporting the resolution regretted that the Government had not placed the facts and figures before the Council earlier. The project ensured equitable distribution of water to the people in the middle and tail of the canal. The speaker supported the grant on principle of legislation for the greatest good of the greatest number. The Finance Member observed that in such matters Government had to be guided by the experts. The speaker was told that if the project was not undertaken a loss of three lakhs of revenue per year would result. Having sanctioned the Barrage scheme they could not refuse the money for the present project.

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Mr. Noor Mahomed, who had circulated a note on the scheme, entered a strong protest against it. He said that he had consulted an eminent engineer who advised them not to spend the money until they actually saw the operation of the Barrage. He wanted correct figures to be placed before the House as the figures quoted by the Government referred to 1924-25. The speaker added that the Government's proposal for reclassification of lands after the remodelling of the canal was a dangerous thing.

Mr. Pahaljani supported Mr. Harrison, the chief engineer of the Lloyd Barrage and canal construction. He said that the main points before the Government were to take time by the forelock and safeguard against the falling of the level of water due to the barrage and to guarantee an equitable distribution of water.

Mr. Nariman opposing complained that the request of the members of the Council to visit the canal had been refused as also the request to refer the question to the Visveswaraya Committee.

The General member replying said that he was of opinion that delay was dangerous as they had to finish the scheme by 1932 and moreover they intended to begin the work this year. Rs. 7 lakhs would be spent this year and ten lakhs next year on the remodelling of the canal. He characterised the opposition as self-interested, and held that it was not necessary to submit such a small scheme to the Visveswaraya Committee as they had their own experts. The scheme was productive on its own merits and would put many lakhs of rupees into the pockets of the people of the area and relieve them of their distress.

The motion was pressed to a division and carried by 72 to 14 votes.

DEBATE ON AGRICULTURAL GRANTS.

On the *6h AUGUST* the Council devoted the main part of the discussion to a supplementary (token) grant of Rs. 10 for the estabiishment of an officer to the combined posts of the Director, Sakrand Agricultural Research Station, and Deputy Director of Agriculture, Sind.

The proposed appointment carried a monthly salary of Rs. 1,500 plus Rs. 500 for the latter duties, with headquarters at Karachi and local allowances and was intended for an officer of the Imperial Agricultural Service. The Advisory Committee in 1923 suggested two more experimental agricutural stations and a separate Director of Agriculture for Sind. Large developments were, in the opinion of the Government, necessary in every direction if the agricultural part of the scheme was to keep pace with the irrigation and revenue parts. A start was made with one experimental station at Sakrand with was put in charge of Dr. Mann who held the post till retirement. The Agricultural Commission also advised that Sind required an independent Director of Agriculture with a Deputy in charge of Sakrand and other sub-station. An expenditure of Rs. 1,500 for current year had been made available by reappropriation from the non-voted provision of Rs. 18,000 under agricultural development (Lloyd Barrage). The sum was non-votable but, however, a token grant of Rs. 10 was moved to give the Council an opportunity to express its opinion on the Government's policy.

Non-official opposition was mainly directed to the proposed name of Mr. Henderson for the post and it was suggested that the post should be publicly advertised before the appointment was made.

Mr. Pradhan, Finance Member (formerly Agricultural Minister), referring to the controversy, stated that Dr. Mann was offered the post of Director of Sakrand, but the latter put certain conditions which could not be complied with on financial grounds. The speaker was not aware of the qualifications of Mr. Henderson. The motion for the grant was pressed to a division and carried by 54 votes to 31.

The Criminal Intimidation Bill.

On the *7th AUGUST* the Hon. Mr. Hotson, Home Member, introduced and moved the first reading of the Bill to make the offence of criminal intimidation cognisable in times of emergency. The objects and reasons of the Bill stated that it had been found that intimidation was very commonly practised in times of

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excitement in the Bombay City and its neighbourhood and that the Police could not deal effectively with it under the existing law, since the offence of criminal intimidation was not cognisable. It was necessary that the powers of the Police should be increased in times of emergency in those areas. The Bill therefore provided that the offence of intimidation would at such times be made cognisable by notification which could be cancelled when the emergency had passed away.

Mr. Hotson assured the House that the measure was not being introduced in the interest of capitalism or any particular class or least of all to assist the Mill-owners against their workmen. Government were assured that the principles whereon the Bill was based was entirely in accord with the policy of fair-play and no favour and, if it became law, it would tend to protect the true interests of the public, including workmen themselves. It was not proposed that the Bill should be continuously in force. In ordinary times, it would be inoperative and criminal intimidation would remain a non-cognisable offence. Only in times of emergency would it be made operative by a Gazette notification stating the reasons for declaring that an emergency existed. The measure would apply to Bombay and suburbs. Government would not resort to it unless they were convinced that public peace and freedom of the people were gravely endangered by a violent and persistent campaign of intimidation.

The Home Member proceeded to cite figures to show that intimidation was becoming more and more frequent in the last few weeks. He said that two-third of the mill-hands of Bombay were actually at work and many of the remaining one-third left for homes so that only a comparatively small proportion of workers now in Bombay were still on strike. Is it not clearly necessary, he asked, that a determined few should not be allowed to deprive the remainder of freedom of action ?

Mr. NARIMAN, who led the opposition, said that he agreed with the mover on the democratic principle that the individual right of freedom of the workers should not be molested and the speaker would like to exchange seats with the mover so that the latter may become the leader of the Swaraj Party (Laughter). It was perhaps the first time that emergency measures had been introduced and the necessity for it reflected discredit on the administration. In financial matters Government had bungled and even in their pet subjects like law and order, the necessity for the Bill proved that the sooner they gave place to better administration the better. The speaker observed that industry and unrest were not peculiar to Bombay but was a world phase and even in Britain there were cases of violence and derailment of trains. He could not understand the necessity for the measure in Bombay alone because the authorities could not cope with the situation while there were strikes in Calcutta and Jamshedpur. Granting that terrorism existed, legislation would not gain the object but would worsen the situation. The provisions under the existing law, the Police Act, Criminal Procedure and Penal Codes, were, in the speaker's opinion, sufficient to effectively deal with the situation and even offences of assault, criminal force and the worst types of extortion were non-cognizable. When the Bill was passed into law, it could not be said that it would affect a particular area. The speaker pleaded for uniformity of law in the land to be observed.

Concluding, Mr. Nariman said that there was a lurking suspicion already in the minds of Labour that there was an alliance between the Government and Capitalists and they (Labour) were not getting protection. The speaker did not believe in patch-work legislation but agreed with the Governor of Bombay that the solution lay in good-will between Capital and Labour.

Mr. Huesinbhoy Laljee, supporting, said that the Mill-owners were losing fifty lakhs per month and mill-hands were starving because of intimidation not to join work.

Khan Saheb Mansury congratulated the mover and said that mofussil cotton did not fetch prices due to the continuance of strikes.

Mr. Ginwalla, opposing, agreed in principle with the right for freedom of work. The Bill was intended to strengthen the hands of capitalists and any amount

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of measures would not ease the situation. It was a wiser policy to allow Labour and Capital to settle the disputes themselves.

Mr. J. B. Petit, supporting, said that intimidation which existed had not been denied by the speaker against the Bill. Intimidation prevented loyal workers to go to the mills and damage of crores of rupees had been done to the country. If the powers of the Police at present were sufficient there was no use of the Bill, but there were classes of people who would not go to the Courts and lodge complaints. Hence the necessity for giving such people police help.

Rao Bahadur Kale remarked that as power rested with a constable of the lowest rank, the risk was greater as always powers to arrest without warrant had been abused.

Sir Vasant Rao Dabholker, supporting, observed that the Bill reminded him of the proverb "better late than never." In Ahmedabad there were strikes, but through the interference of Mr. Gandhi they were amicably settled. If the same example had been followed by Mr. Nariman and Mr. Ginwalla, followers of Mr. Gandhi, there was no need for the Bill (Laughter.) The speaker charged the Government with being in league with Labour.

Mr. Laljee Naranjee, supporting, said that regarding legal aspects they had approached the Police Commissioner who consulted the Advocate-General who in turn was of opinion that the present power of the Police were not sufficient. The whole trouble was an economic one which was of joint interest to Capital, Labour and the Industry. After giving all kinds of latitude to Labour, the Government brought the Bill and the speaker, concluding, appealed to the Council to pass it for the welfare of the industry.

The discussion had not concluded when the Council rose for the day.

On the *8th AUGUST*, resuming the debate, Mr. Nanavati, Legal Rembrancer, said that under the existing law, the police could not investigate a non-cognisable case without the orders of a Magistrate. He quoted rulings of the Bombay High Court in support of his contention. Other High Courts had held that a Magistrate could take cognisance of a non-cognisable case reported by the police, but those rulings were not binding in Bombay. The Bill was not an absolute panacea, but helped them to a certain extent.

Mr. Addyman, supporting the Bill, observed that the mill-owners were not above blame, as they had commited serious mistakes.

Mr. Joshi, opposing the Bill, quoted Mr. Justice Patkar's ruling, that the Magistrate had powers. The speaker asked the Government whether they had received a representation from any workers' union for this legislation.

Mr. Jog observed that his experience was that persons were more afraid of the police, than of the magistrates. In many cases, statements made before the police had been denied before the Magistrates.

Mr. Angadi questioned whether intimidation was practised on a large scale so as to justify the present legislation.

Mr. Shivdasani referred to the evidence of Mr. Kelly, Police Commissioner of Bombay, before the Riots Enquiry Committee, that the present Bill would not prevent intimidation. The Hon'ble Mr. Hotson, intervening, observed that the press reports might be inaccurate. Mr. Shivadasani said that he believed in a policy of goodwill between Capital and Labour, as declared by His Excellency instead of the present Bill.

Mr. Bechar, opposing the Bill, said that it would make police agents of Capitalists who would go and lodge complaints in courts. The Social Service League and the Bombay Corporation had not supported such a measure and there was something wrong with the Millowners themselves.

Mr. J. C. Swaminarayan, opposing the Bill, observed that such powers should not be given to the Police unless under Swaraj.

The Hon. Mr. HOTSON, Home Member, replying to the debate said that the Bill had been attacked on mutually destructive grounds. If the members could not make up their minds, he asked what was there wrong with the Bill. The speaker replying to Mr. Nariman's contention that such a legislation should be a central one, humorously asked : What about Provincial Autonomy ? (Laughter).

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Regarding the argument whether powers under the existing law were not sufficient for this purpose, the Home Member stated that Government had examined them, and had been distinctly told by their legal adviser, that they could not do more than what they had been able to do so far. If they had already sufficient powers, they would not have wasted the time of the Council in tomfoolery. They were bound by the decisions of the Bombay High Court. The speaker was surprised to see members who quoted Mr. Justice Patkar's ruling. Did not Justice Fawcett's ruling in the same case and on the same page differ from the former? From a practical point of view, there was nothing in the law which empowered the Police to go to a Magistrate and lodge complaints of intimidation. There were 145 non-cognizable offences (intimidation) reported to four Police stations during a period of 20 days, which required the services of 14 Police officers exclusively to deal with those offences. That was impracticable.

Continuing, Mr. Hotson referred to the evidence of Mr. Kelly, Police Commissioner of Bombay, before the Riots Enquiry Committee and stated that what Mr. Kelly wanted was Regulation III, which they did not want. The speaker remarked that they wanted the Bill because intimidation was going on for months together. Damage was being done to property, and the whole city of Bombay was not involved. Regarding the abuse of powers by the police Mr. Hotson said that they knew that the Bombay City Police were an extraordinarily fine body of men. He pointed out that there were similar legislative enactments outside Bombay, namely, the Bengal Emergency Legislation of 1925 and the English Emergency Power Act of 1920.

Concluding, the Home Member said what they wanted was quick procedure. The Government honestly believed that the Bill was for the good of the whole community and the Government had acted in the most impartial manner.

The *first reading of the Bill* was then pressed to division, and passed by 56 to 26 votes.

The Council rejected the motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. Mr. Hotson opposing it on the ground that an emergency did exist, and the Bill should become law as soon as possible. A motion for publication of the Bill for two months to elicit public opinion was also lost.

After Mr. Hotson had moved the *second reading of the Bill*, amendments for extending the life of the Bill for one year and three years were considered.

Mr. Hotson said that it was clear that the present strike had nothing to do with the Bill. There was growing lawlessness and unrest, and they should have to look for a number of years. Every one knew that the Statutory Commission was sitting, and they could not say when the new constitution would be coming. To ask the new Government to deal with such things, would be unfair.

Mr. Nariman complained that Mr. Hotson in his speech at the last sitting stated that the Bill was due to the industrial dispute, and now, he (the Home Member) had, after the passage of the first reading of the Bill, changed his front, and was stating that the measure had a purely political design behind it.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hotson, replying, said that he never referred to political agitation and that it was not in his mind at all. What he referred to was the fact that the new Government, when constituted, would have its hands full and it would be unfair to ask them to deal with the situation. The Council then adjourned.

On the *9th AUGUST*, the Council discussed about thirty amendments to the Intimidation Bill, most of which were thrown out. The Bill *passed the second reading*.

Discussion on Mr. Joshi's amendment, that the life of the Bill should be three years, was then continued.

The Legal Remembrancer moved an amendment that the Bill should be in force for five years.

Mr. Bechar, opposing the five years' period, observed that the first thing the incoming Government would do was to wipe off all repressive legislation. The moment the present autocratic Government went away, all repression would disappear.

Mr. Jadhav, Minister, supporting the five years period, said that there was

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nothing to be afraid of in the emergency Bill, and it would be for the new Government to decide whether it was wanted or not.

Mr. Hotson observed that the new Government would not be compelled to use the legislation if it was not wanted. The only possible difficulty might be that the existence of such a legislation would tempt the new Government to use it.

The amendment extending the life of the Bill for five years was carried by 43 to 39.

Mr. Bechar then moved an amendment that the local Government should declare only with the concurrence of the Bombay Corporation that a state of emergency existed. Mr. Petit, opposing the amendment, characterised it as impracticable, as the Bombay Corporation was the most heterogenous body imaginable. The amendment was lost.

Mr. Joshi moved an amendment that the Government ought not to declare a state of emergency on the sole ground that a strike of workmen, or a lock-out of workmen by employers was in contemplation.

The Legal Remembrancer, opposing the amendment, said that the Bill stated that its provisions could be brought into force when public tranquility was endengered as the consequence of a strike. Mr. Asvale, supporting the amendment, said that there was some fear in their minds. Therefore, the amendment should be passed. The Home Member, opposing the amendment, said that is was unnecessary and superfluous. Mr. Joshi replying said that there was great apprehension in the minds of labourers regarding that.

Mr. Joshi's amendment was rejected.

Mr. R. G. Pradhan moved an amendment that the notification declaring an emergency should be laid before the Legislative Council at the very next session for its approval, and that if the Council disapproved of it, the notification should be cancelled by the Government.

The Home Member, opposing, asked whether it was right that the Executive authority of the Government should be limited. They did no see much sign of confidence in the Government on the part of the House. In England they had to go before Parliament, but conditions in India differed. In England, the Government was kept in power on the majority support, but in India that was not the case. Concluding, the speaker said that it was a mournful confession, but it was true. He would be glad to accept any suggestion for keeping papers on the matter on the council table.

Mr. Pradhan's amendment was lost.

The Council then adopted an amendment preventing the penalty provisions from being made applicable to the whole Presidency area, when an emergency was localised in only a part of the area.

Mr. Nariman's amendment to that of the Home Member, confining emergency to trade disputes and industrial disputes alone, was rejected.

Mr. Chandrachud's amendment to add a clause after the words "Criminal Intimidation" "if the threat be to cause any offence or act mentioned in Para 2, Section 506, Criminal Procedure" was negatived.

The Council also rejected Mr. R. G. Pradhan's amendment, giving the High Court power to decide the legality of the notification, the Government opposing on the ground that it was *ultra vires*. The House then adjourned.

On the *10th AUGUST*, after interpellations, the Intimidation Bill *passed its third reading and became law.*

The Presidency Area Safeguarding Bill.

Mr. Hotson, the Home Member, then introduced the Presidency Area Safeguarding Life and Property (in times of emergency) Bill empowering the police to remove bad characters from the city in cases of emergency.

Mr. K. F. Nariman raised a point of order, declaring the Bill 'ultra vires' as it affected the powers of the High Court and came under the purview of the Central Government.

Mr. Hotson replied that as the Bill had received the Governor General's previous sanction, the question of jurisdiction did not arise.

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The Hon. the President observed that the Governor-General's sanction presupposed that all objections had been considered and met.

The HOME MEMBER then moved for the *first reading of the Bill* and made a brief statement. He said that the Government had stated that they would proceed through all stages of the Bill in this session. But, under the changed circumstances, they did not propose to do so. There were a number of amendments. Some of them raised questions of great importance. The Government were besides very glad to observe that the situation in Bombay was not such as would make it necessary for the Government to exercise powers which the Bill sought. The speaker sincerely hoped that events would not prove that their anticipations had not been unduly optimistic. He therefore proposed to refer the Bill to a select committee if it passed the first reading.

Mr. NARIMAN agreed with the remarks of the Home Member regarding hooligans and bad characters in Bombay, and said that they should be rounded in times of emergency, for which the Commissioner of Police, should be given some power. Referring to the wide powers of the Commissioner of Police under the Bombay City Police Act, the speaker remarked that the Commissioner seemed to be the Mussolini of Bombay. A man of the type of Baron Lloyd would have paralysed the whole civic life of the city. Section 27 of the Bombay City Police Act gave wider powers to the Commissioner for dealing with such a situation than the present Bill. He also could not understand the difference between Mavalis born outside and in the city of Bombay.

Continuing, Mr. Nariman said that the Calcutta Police Act had not a section corresponding to Section 27 of the Bombay Police Act, and therefore they had passed the Goonda Bill. H. E. the Governor of Bengal in his speech had quoted the absence of such a provision in the Calcutta City Police Act as an excuse for introducing the Goonda Bill.

The Home Member intervening said that the present measure was not a Goonda Bill.

Concluding, Mr. Nariman characterised the Bill as one of the blackest of Bills introduced, and asked whether they wanted to blacken the fair name of the Presidency. It was a Bill for the destruction of public safety.

Mr. GINWALLA pointed out that the subject-matter of the Bill was under the consideration of the Bombay Riots Inquiry Committee, and it was not proper for them to anticipate its recommendations. What harm was there if they waited till its recommendations were out ? Then again, the removal of bad characters out of a particular place was not going to make them good characters. Continuing, the speaker made a reference to Soviet Russia, whereupon the Home Member raised a point of order, saying it was not relevant.

Concluding, Mr. Ginwalla drew the attention of the Government to the reform of jails, which, he said, was long overdue.

Rao Bahadur Kale observed that precautions ought to have been taken in the Bill to see that the High Court had jurisdication to decide the merits or demerits of an order of the Police Commissioner for the removal of any person from the Presidency area.

Mr. Swaminarayan, opposing the measure, said that the Bill was specially nt ended to deal with leaders of the trade unions.

Mr. Hotson, intervening, said that they already came under Section 27 of the Police Act, as being members of a gang. (Laughter).

Mr. Swaminarayan, in concluding, said that the Government had already powers under the City Police Act, and there was no necessity for the Bill.

Mr. Laljee Naranji (Indian Merchants' Chamber), supporting the Bill, said that Bombay was formerly regarded as one of the best places for peace and communal harmony. It was their misfortune that the Bill had been necessitated.

The Home Member, replying, assured that he would not have brought the Bill if the Police Commissioner had sufficient powers. They had examined the Bombay City Police Act, but it was applicable only to gangs.

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Then the second reading of the Bill was passed and the Bill was referred to a select committee to report by the 10th September. The House then adjourned.

SUKKUR BARRAGE

On the *12th AUGUST* the Council rejected Mr. Noor Mahomed's resolution for the appointment of a committee of official and non-official members of the Council, with a non-official majority and one expert engineer, to investigate and report to the Council on the effects of the Sukkur Barrage and Canal Construction scheme upon the irrigation lands outsids the Barrage zone in Sind and to suggest remedies to meet any adverse effects anticipated by the committee to be inflicted by the barrage upon non-barrage lands.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN AGRICULTURE

The Thakore Saheb of Kerwada moved a resolution for a committee of non-officials and officials, with power to co-opt experts in Agriculture, to be appointed to make, after a proper inquiry, recommendations to introduce modern scientific methods in agriculture. The Thakore Saheb said that the Government had committed a colossal blunder by not recognising the fact that agriculture was the most important industry in India. The resolution was thrown out.

ADMINISTRATION OF WAQF ESTATES

Mr. Syed Munawar moved a resolution for a committee to inquire into and report on the administration of Mussalman Waqfs (Charitable Endowments) in the city of Bombay.

Mr. Munawar said that many trusts had not submitted accounts to the Small Cause Courts as required under the Waqf Act, and one trust had spent an income of Rs. 1,000 on Mojlis and dinner. He suggested to the Government to tap these sources for the education of Moslems in these days of financial stringency.

The resolution was carried.

KARNATAKA UNIFICATION

Mr. Jog moved a resolution recommending that the Government of India and the Secretary of State be moved to constitute all Kanarese-speaking districts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and Coorg into a separate and independent autonomous province.

Mr. Jog pointed out that the Madras Council had recently passed a similar resolution. The Kanarese speaking people were at present scattered under six administrations of which two were Indian States. There were four Kanarese districts in Bombay and four in Madras. Continuing, the speaker said that the question was first mooted in 1913 and since then the National Congress had adopted Karnatak as a separate province, which was also the recommendation of the Nehru Report. Concluding, the speaker observed that it was unimaginable that people of one culture, one language and one geographical province, having common interests and ambitions, should be scattered in different provinces.

On the *13th AUGUST*, Rao Bahadur Angadi supporting Mr. Jog's motion, observed that Karnataka was treated by the Bombay Government as a step-child in point of irrigation, education and economic uplift. In the matter of university nominations, it was completely neglected. Sind and Gujerat had double the number of seats in the local legislature, while Karnataka had only six non-Mahomeden seats, though it had the same population as that of the former provinces. There was also a statutory obligation on the part of the Government to make an attempt at such a redistribution of provinces as laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford report. Concluding, the speaker said that the fortune of Karnataka was not a whit better than that of the people at the tail end of the Fuleli Canal. (Laughter).

Rao Saheb Desai supporting the motion said that it was also open for him to demand a separate province for Gujerat, if one of the co-partners was separated from the others. He asserted that in the Government of Bombay Gujerat had been completely neglected.

Sir F. Rieu, Leader of the House, said that he could not congratulate the

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representatives of Karnatak on the procedure they had adopted in the matter. Did they think that the Government would work out the case for losing one of its partners? The speaker admitted that there had been a demand for a Karnataka province but doubted very much whether the people of Karnatak themselves joined in it. It was easy to raise a cry of "unification." There was no practical suggestion as to how to bring about the unification. It was fantastic to unite parts scattered hundreds of miles away from the main body. Continuing, the speaker said that the principle of a linguistic basis was a specious argument. Language was one of the main factors ; but there were others to be considered, namely, communications, economic interests, social customs and long continued traditional associations. The fact remained that it was very dangerous to break away from the long historic tradition on the theoretic basis of language. Karnatak would be in the worst position financially, socially and economically if it were separated. Concluding Sir F. Rieu said that the analogy of Assam was not applicable as its separation was necessitated by Bengal becoming administratively unwieldy He was unable to accept the resolution.

The resolution was rejected without a division. The Council was then *prorogued*

Autumn Session—30th September. 1929.

The autumn session of the Bombay Legislative Council opened at Poona on the *30th SEPTEMBER*, most of the members attending.

The President postponed consideration of the second reading of the Bill further to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act of 1901, the Bombay Local Boards Act and the Bombay City Municipalities Act for want of sufficient notice.

The Bill for the establishment of *Borstal Shools* in the Presidency passed the *second and third readings.*

The Presidency Area Safeguarding Bill.

Mr. Hotson, Home Member, then moved the second reading of the Bill for safeguarding life and property in the Presidency area in times of emergency after a motion to commit the Bill to a Select Committee was lost.

A point of order was raised whether the Bill could be proceeded with before translations of the Select Committee's report were published in the vernaculars.

Before the point could be decided, the House adjourned.

On the *1st OCTOBER*, the President, after the question hour, gave his ruling on the point of order raised yesterday, in favour of the Home Member presenting the Goonda Bill for the second reading.

The motion to adjourn consideration of the Bill till the next session, on the ground that several members not knowing English had not understood the text of the Bill, having been lost discussion on the measure was resumed.

Mr. Nariman, opposing the Bill, said that it gave the widest possible powers to the Executive, and was probably the first attempt in the country to delegate such powers. In his opinion the Bill was blacker than the Rowlatt Act, and he appealed to non-official members to vote down the Bill.

The Home Member, replying, hoped that there would never arise an occasion for making use of the Bill. The conditions in Bombay were not yet normal. Orders prohibiting workers' meetings had been extended. The situation was not likely to be normal till the Girni Kamgar Union called off the strike. He appealed to the House to look to the interests of the people at large.

The Bill passed the second reading without a division.

Amendments Lost

The Bill was next discussed clause by clause.

Dr. Dixit's (Surat) two amendments reducing the period of the Bill from five to one and three years respectively were lost.

Rao Bahadur Kale's amendment empowering the Chief Presidency Magistrate instead of the Commissioner of Police, to direct the removal of a person from the Presidency area, was lost.

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Four amendments seeking to make the Bill less "repressive" were lost, when the House adjourned.

On the *3rd. OCTOBER*, Dr. D. Dixit (Surat) moved an amendment to clause 8, requiring the inclusion of a High Court Judge on the Committee to be appointed by the Local Government to review the Commissioner of Police's orders.

Mr. Lalji Naranji (Bombay Merchants' Chamber) suggested a judicial officer of 10 years' experience instead of a High Court Judge.

The Home Member assured the House that in case the need for the appointment of a Committee arose, the Government would include a gentleman with sufficient legal experience. The amendment was put to vote and negatived.

The Home Member later assured the House that the Government wanted to arrive at some sort of compromise on the subject, and requested the chair to hold over the clause till an amendment agreeable to both sides of the House was moved later. This was agreed to.

Clause 9 was then taken up for discussion.

Rao Bahadur Kale moved an amendment seeking to give the accused the right to petition the High Court instead of the Local Government.

The President asked him to make it clear whether the local Legislatures had power to saddle the High Court with such jurisdiction. This proved to be a highly technical question and it was discussed for nearly an hour.

The President declared that he was not satisfied with the explanation given by Rao Bahadur Kale and others and ruled the amendment out of order, stating that clause five of the bill made the measure an executive and not a judicial one. Hence he said that orders passed under this Act would not be subject to the jurisdiction of the High Court.

Clause nine was passed without being amended.

Mr. Swaminarayan wanted to reduce the punishment to be inflicted upon accused to a period of three months' simple imprisonment. Messrs. Ginwalla and Chandrachud supported him. The amendment was rejected.

The Home Member however agreed to make the period of imprisonment six months instead of one year. An amendment fixing the fine at Rs. 100 instead of Rs. 500 was lost. The House then adjourned.

On the *4th. OCTOBER*, Mr. Lalji Naranji moved an amendment to Clause 8, held over yesterday to the effect, that at least one member on the enquiry committee be one who had held a judicial office or had been a legal practitioner for not less than 10 years.

The Government having accepted the amendment, it was carried.

Clauses 10 and 11 of the Bill were next carried.

The Home Member then moved the *third reading of the Bill.*

Mr. Narandas Bechar (Karachi) opposing the Bill considered it the blackest piece of legislation. It was, he said, being enacted entirely at the risk of the Government who should have to account for their action one day.

Put to vote, the Bill was carried by a large majority. The House then adjourned.

BOMBAY CITY MUNICIPAL ACT AMENDING BILL

On the *5th. OCTOBER*, non-offical business was taken up in the Council.

After question time, Mr. Sitaram Bole (Nominated Labour, Bombay), moved the first reading of the Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act. The Bill proposed to lower the fanchise from Rs. 10 to Rs. 5 rental.

Mr Bole, moving the Bill, stated that, as at present, nine-tenths of the population of the Bombay City, which was poor, had no franchise, he wanted to enfranchise those poor people who could not afford to pay more rent. The Corporation would by his measure be made really representative of its population.

Sir Vasant Rao Dabholker and Mr. Jehangir Petit opposed the Bill. Mr. Petit said that since the franchise was brought down to Rs. 10 rental, the tone of the Bombay Corporation had gone down considerably and further lowering would prove disastrous to the City and the Corporation.

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The Minister for Local Self-Government expressed the views of the Bombay Corporation and the Municipal Commissioner on the principle of the Bill, which were against it. He declared that the Government would remain neural on the question.

After several other members had spoken, the Bill was put to vote and passed the first reading, 27 voting for and 26 against.

The second reading of the Bill was immediately moved. Mr. Petit opposed it predicting that if the Bill was passed, it would mean ruin to the Corporation which was degenerating since the ten-rupees franchise was introduced.

When put to vote, the Bill passed the second reading by a majority of one. vote. The House then adjourned.

On the *7th. OCTOBER*, Mr. Bole's Bill was discussed clause by clause.

Mr. Bole then moved the third reading of the Bill, which was vehemently opposed by Sir Vasant Rao Dabholker.

Mr. K. F. Nariman, supporting the Bill, made a vigorous attack on the capitalists, and warned the Government against any unholy alliance with capital.

Put to vote, the Bill was *lost in the third reading* by 30 against 36 votes.

WATAN ACT AMENDING BILL

Rao Sahib Patil's Bill further to amend the Watan Act was read for the first time and referred to a select committee.

BILL TO AMEND LOCAL BOARDS ACT

Mr. Swaminarayan moved the first reading of the Bill further to amend the Bombay Local Boards Act with a view to lowering the qualification of a voter in the district and local boards to Rs. 16 assessment or rent. The Bill passed the first reading, futher consideration being postponed to give the public an opportunity to express their views thereon.

CITY POLICE ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. P. J. Marzban (Bombay) then moved a Bill further to amend Section 112 of the City of Bombay Police Act. The mover made out a strong case in favour of the amendment. He declared that men with previous convictions might be found without any fixed residence of their own loitering or lying in public places after sunset.

Several honorary magistrates including Mr. Asaval and Sir Vasant Rao Dabholker opposed the amendment.

The Home Secretary, opposing the first reading, pointed out that the section intended to be amended was very important as by its operation crime in Bombay had gone down 33 per cent.

Mr. Narandas Bechar, supporting the amendment, believed that so long as the "steel-frame" was there, there was no chance of making any improvement. He wanted the mover to join with him in establishing a truly Indian Government.

The motion for the first reading of the Bill was rejected. The House then adjourned.

CHILDREN'S ACT AMENDMENT.

On the *8th. OCTOBER*, Rao Saheb Vandekar was informed by the Government that they were considering the Bombay Corporation's representation for amending the Children's Act.

DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. Narandas Bechar's Bill to amend the District Municipal Act, as amended by the Government, was then presented, and the first and second readings of the Bill were passed.

The House then granted leave for the introduction of several Bills.

AMENDMENT TO STANDING ORDERS.

Leave to amend the Standing Orders to the effect that every question called should be answered even in the absence of the member asking, applied for by Mr. Narandas Bechar, was refused.

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THE NEXT ELECTION.

The Thakore of Kerwada moved that an address be presented to H. E. the Governor to hold the ensuing elections next autumn in view of the excessive heat in summer. Though vehemently opposed by the Nationalist members, the motion was carried, the Government remaining neutral.

RETRENCHMENT IN CIVIL ESTIMATES.

A resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to consider and report on the question of effecting retrenchment in the civil estimates moved by Mr. Narandas Bechar (Karachi) was adjourned to the next session.

LOCATION OF CENTRAL MEDICAL INSTITUTE

Dr. M. K. Dixit's (Surat) resolution recommending to the Government to represent to the Government of India not to locate the Central Medical Research Institute at Dehra Dun, but in a more central place like Bombay, was carried.

REVENUE JURISDICTION ACT AMENDING BILL.

On the *9th OCTOBER*, the House carried the Bill further to amend the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act, Section 16, making it legal for the Secretary to the Government to transfer suits against the Government or a revenue officer to the court of a district judge.

CHILDREN'S ACT AMENDMENT.

The Bill to amend Section 4 of the Bombay Children's Act raising the age of youthful offenders moved by the Home Member, was also passed.

BOMBAY CITY MUNICIPAL ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. Harilal Desai, Minister for Local Self-Government, moved the first reading of the Bill to amend Section 34 of the Bombay City Municipalities Act giving the Government discretion to veto the appointment or continuance in office of the Chief Officer, the Health Officer or the Engineer of the City Municipality. As several amendments were proposed the Bill, at the instance of the Minister, was referred to a Select Committee.

SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

Demands for supplementary grants were then made. A grant of Rs. 15,000 and odd for the construction of a second tube-well at Sakrand was voted. Demands for Rs. 4,32000 for expenditure due to the damage caused by heavy rains and floods to the irrigation works in Sind and Rs. 11,000 and odd for expenditure in connection with the Bombay Textile Court of Inquiry were granted.

The Revenue Member made demands of Rs. 4 lakhs and Rs. 20 lakhs for expenditure and advances respectively for flood relief in Sind. In doing so, Mr. Hudson narrated the plight of the Sind people. He paid glowing tributes to the officials in Sind for their sincere and immediate action.

The demands were granted. A grant of Rs. 65,000, for the destruction of locusts in Sind and Gujarat, was also made.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG EDUCATED CLASSES.

On the *10th. OCTOBER*, Mr. B. R. Nanal moved a resolution recommending to the Government to adopt necessary measures for remedying the evil of the increasing unemployment of the educated middle classes in the light of the reports and recommendations of the various committees and commissions.

Mr. Lalji Naranji, supporting the resolution, pointed out how the Government had failed in giving adequate education to the people in the country and declared his belief that so long as an alien Government was ruling over India, there could possibly be no hopes of improvement.

The official spokesman admitted that there was great scope for improvement and expansion in the present situation, and said that Government was trying its level best to remove unemployment. The resolution was carried by a majority.

The President then prorogued the Council.

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The Madras Legislative Council

The autumn session of the Madras Legislative Council commenced in Madras on the *6th. AUGUST* 1929 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. C. V. Narasimharaju. After interpellations Mr. Anjaneyalu wanted leave to move an adjournment of the House to discuss the sanction given by the Government to prosecute Mr. Annapurniah under Section 124-A. The Law Member opposed the motion on the ground that discussion on this subject is sub-judice.

The President observed that the motion referred only to the sanction given by the Government. The Law Member submitted that the question of sanction and everything connected with it was a matter for adjudication in the court of law.

Mr. P. C. Venkatapathi Raju, leader, Congress Party, observed that they could, without going into the merits of individual speeches, discuss the present policy of the Government.

The President observed that the question of policy could not be the subject matter of discussion. After Mr. Satyamurti had spoken the President held that the motion was in order and fixed 2-30 P.M. the next day for discussing the adjournment motion.

MALABAR TENANCY BILL.

Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, Revenue Member, then introduced the Malabar Tenancy Bill and it was referred to a Select Committee. Then the Revenue Member presented the report of the Select Committee on the *Madras Services Commission Bill* and moved that it may be taken into consideration.

Mr. Satyamurti moved an amendment that the consideration of this business be adjourned for a year. He contended that the House had no power to enact a bill of the kind. Referring to the various clauses of the bill he said that the Commission to be appointed by the bill would be an Advisory Body and could not regulate public service. Section 12 of the Bill, which required the Commission to observe statutory rules made by the Local Government regarding recruitment reduced the Commission into a ridiculous force. He asked when the whole constitution was in the melting pot what was the necessity for the bill and said that it would be better to enact a bill of the kind in a more democratic and representative house which he hoped would come into operation within a year.

Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar and others supported the amendment. After the Revenue Member had replied the amendment was put to vote and lost by 59 votes against 15.

On the *7th AUGUST*, the Council rejected the Swarajist motion of adjournment to discuss the action of the Government in sanctioning the prosecution of Mr. Annapurniah, editor of the *Congress*, under section 124-A, I. P. C.

The mover characterized the Government's action as ill-advised and ill-timed opining that if the Government really wanted co-operation they ought not to stifle freedom of expression, particularly at the present juncture when the country was on the threshold of a new era of increased responsibilty and power.

Mr. Venkatapathi Raju, leader of the Congress party, observed that the Government did not act in their best interests in ordering this prosecution. Suppression of views, he declared, was an utter impossibility. What they wanted was a change in the system of government.

The Law Member said that the Government were not out to stifle frank expression of political views and were not at all panicky in sanctioning prosecution in the present case. The highest legal adviser of the Government held the article to be highly seditious. The President, interrupting, said that this view might prejudice the trial. Both the Opposition and the Government should not refer to the merits of the case.

Mr. Satyamurti asked the Law Member why he did not divulge the reasons of the Government's action. The national struggle, he said, aimed at a change of the system of government and he asked why the Government should not play the

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game like sportsmen. Sir Thomas Moir Finance Member, repudiated the suggestion that the Government had ordered prosecution actuated by any desire to punish their political opponents or attempted to hamper true political work.

Sir A. P. Patro regretted that the motion was brought by the Opposition when the matter was under adjudication.

The motion was pressed to a division and rejected by 47 votes against 38.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO LOCAL BODIES' ACTS.

Mr. Saldanha, Indian Christian, then presented the select committee's report on the Bill to Amend the District, Municipal and Local Boards Acts and the Madras General Clauses Act Bill which sought to establish the rights of all classes, irrespective of caste and creed, to have access to and make use of all public streets, markets, tanks and other public places maintained from public funds and render obstruction thereto an offence, punishable under section 341, I.P.C.

On the *8th AUGUST* the President disallowed the adjournment motion of Mr. Kaleswara Rao on the question of supersession of Anakapalle Municipality on the ground of insufficient notice.

The House adopted a resolution extending time of the Economic Enquiry Committee for submission of its report.

Resolutions recommending to the Government the trifurcation of Rajahmundry Taluk Board, appointment of qualified Indian medical women on the public health staff, to organise and develop maternity and child welfare work and to attend to medical inspection of school girls, the appointment of a committee to examine the reports on the survey of cottage industries and take urgent steps for the formation of Karnataka province comprising the Kanarese speaking parts of Madras and Bombay presidencies and of Coorg were passed.

The Nehru Report was oft quoted when the resolution regarding the formation of Karnataka province was discussed by the speakers in support of their contention that a *prima facie* case had been made out for a separate province comprising the Kanarese speaking people.

Another resolution recommended to the Government that the Finance Committee should, apart from the exofficio members, consist of eight members to be elected by the Council.

REPORTS ON PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION.

On the *9th AUGUST* Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell presented the report of the Select Committee on the Public Services Commission Bill and moved that the Bill, as amended, be considered.

Mr. Satyamurthi (Swarajist) moved that consideration of the measure be adjourned by one year. He argued that it would be unfair to rush through such an important measure at the fag end of the term of the legislature. Further, the position of the Secretary of State *vis a vis* the India Government was bound to change in view of the impending constitutional revision and it would be better to wait a year.

Mr. Campbell, replying, said that he did not propose to speculate as to the nature of the time of the next constitution, but it was their duty to carry on the Government till it was replaced by another form of Government. The last nine years were years of experiment and the Government felt the necessity to have the proposed machinery based on rules and regulations affecting the Public Services Commission under the Government of India.

Mr. Satyamurthi's motion was negatived by 59 votes against 85. The Bill was then considered clause by clause after which the house adjourned.

On the *10th AUGUST* by 62 votes against 32 the adjournmentmotion regarding the supersession of the Anakapalle municipality was rejected by the Council.

Dr. Subbaroyan, Chief Minister, stated that since 1920 there had been supersession of five municipalities. In the present case the step was taken after

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mature consideration and consultation with several members and rate-payers of the municipality concerned.

Simon Committee Report Presented.

On the *12th AUGUST* after making a statement the Swarajist and the Nationalist Party Members walked out of the chamber when the Madras Simon Committee report was presented by Sir A. P. Patro, Chairman of the Committee.

After the report was presented Sir Mohammad Usman, Home Member, moved that the report be taken into consideration.

Mr. P. C. Venkatapathi Razu, leader, Congress Party, opposing it made a statement explaining the position of the Congress Party in respect of the motion.

After his speech was over, Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliar, ex-Minister, leader of the Nationalist Party associated himself with the leader of the Opposition. He said, "the highest and best interests of the country will be served by boycotting the Commission. We believe that responsible Government is our birth-right and consider that it can be achieved only by boycotting the Commission."

After his speech was over the Swarajists and the Nationalists walked out of the Council Chamber. Before they walked out of the House Mr. P. C. Venkatapathi Razu, leader of the Congress Party in Council said :—

"The Country stands to gain nothing by this co-operation, but will lose a great deal in its prestige and honour. So far as the authorities either here or in Great Britain are concerned, our position is, or ought to be well-known. The National Demand has been put before the country and the Government by the Indian National Congress. We stand by it. We cannot stultify ourselves by taking any part in the discussion. We therefore propose to abstain from this discussion altogether."

After the Swarajists and the Nationalists had walked out, Sir A. P. Patro moved an amendment to Sir Mahomed Usman's motion to the effect that the report may be forwarded to the Indian Statutory Commission. He began his speech by tracing the history of the Govt. of India Act.

The President however pointed out that his speech was not relevant to the motion before the House.

Sir A. P. Patro said that it was regrettable that the mover of the amendment was deprived of the right of speaking on it.

The President remarked that if he spoke, he would not be allowed to move the amendment.

The Law Member then moved an amendment to omit the words 'may' and "Statutory" in Sir Patro's amendment which was accepted. The amended amendment was then carried.

Mr. F. E. James, non-official European, speaking on the motion voiced forth the feeling of his community on the report. He said that with the recommendations of the Committee so far as they related to the Provincial Govt. the European group was in entire sympathy. His community was opposed to the extension of franchise. He was entirely in favour of the transfer of the police and law departments to a ministry which was responsible to the House. The European group differed in considerable extent with the proposals of the Committee. Regarding the Central Govt. he emphasised that the proposed constitution should in itself have its own seeds of development. Concluding Mr. James said that his community wanted adequate protection against discriminatory legislations and it did definitely ask for national treatment. British commerce in India wanted the same treatment that was accorded to Indian commerce in Britain.

Mr. Muniswamy Pillay who spoke on behalf of the depressed classes congratulated the committee on the far-reaching recommendations of the report.

The Home Member's motion as amended was put to vote and carried.

PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION BILL.

The House then took into consideration the Public Services Commission

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Bill. More than fifteen important amendments given notice of by the Swarajists were deemed to have been withdrawn as they were not in their places.

Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Iyengar moved an amendment to the effect that clause six of the Bill which dealt with the appointment salary of a secretary to the Commission be omitted. The amendment was negatived by 56 to 28 votes.

On the *13th AUGUST* after question time Mr. Adinarayna Chettiar wanted to move an adjournment of the House, but was ruled out by the President who pointed out that the mover had not obtained the previous consent of the President for moving the motion.

The Council then resumed further discussion on the Public Services Commission Bill.

The President at the outset said that the admission of the amendment to omit clause VII which was put to vote and lost yesterday was a mistake and hereafter was not going to allow any amendment which sought to omit any clause of the Bill altogether. He said that according to Standing Order 32 (2) when a motion that a Bill be taken into consideration was passed, no amendments which sought to omit the whole clauses of the Bill altogether should be allowed which would necessitate the House to put the same question to vote twice, once in the negative side and then on the positive side.

Then Clause 7 dealing with the commission, establishment etc. was put to vote and carried. When clause 8 was taken into consideration which dealt with recruitment by the Commission generally, the amendment moved by Mr. Ramasomayajulu that the Local Government should consult the Commission on every question in connection with recruitment was negatived. Clause 8 then stood as part of the Bill.

The Council then took into consideration the next clause dealing with recruitment by competitive examination.

The Council reassembling after lunch passed clauses 9, 10 and 11 of the Bill which dealt with recruitment by competitive examination, recruitment by selection, and recruitment by promotion. All amendments moved on these clauses were lost.

The Council then took up for consideration clause 12 of the Bill and discussion was not over, when the Council rose for the day.

On the *14th AUGUST* the Council resumed further discussion on the Public Services Commission Bill and passed clauses from 12 to 18. Clause 12 made it obligatory upon the Commission to observe statutory rules, if any, made by the local government. Other clauses dealt with the functions of the Commission in regard to the holding of examinations for persons already in services and disciplinary cases.

The Revenue member then moved a new clause to be inserted after clause 18 which stated that salaries of the Chairman, members and the Secretary of the Commission and the cost of its establishment should be defrayed from the provincial revenues of the Local Government.

Mr. Satyamurthi raised a point of order saying that the expenditure proposed in the amendment involved an expenditure for which no provision has been made in the budget and submitted that no proposal of the kind could be submitted for consideration before the House without the sanction of the Finance Department.

The President, however, ruled that the new clause was in order saying that the House was legislating for creating a charge from provincial revenues and in this case no sanction from the Finance Department was required. The new clause was then passed.

Another new clause to the effect that the Commission at the end of each year should present to the local Government a report on its proceedings which would be brought up by the Local Government for consideration of the council was passed. The House then took the last clause of the Bill for consideration.

The Council reassembling after lunch passed into law the Madras Public Services Commission Bill.

The Council then adjourned till September 24.

(*For further proceedings See next issue*)

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The Bengal Legislative Council

The new Bengal Legislative Council after the general election formally met in Calcutta on the *2nd JULY 1929* for the members to take the oath of allegiance with Mr. W L. Travers in the chair. The first to register his name was the Chairman, followed by the Government members in the order of their seniority. On one side were arrayed the Congress members headed by their leader, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, with Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, and Dr. B. C. Roy, Deputy Leader, at his side. They were cheered as they took their oath. On the other side was the European group with the co-operating Muslim group behind. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, with the newly formed Tenants' party occupied the right wing.

On the *3rd JULY* the Raja of Santosh was re-elected President of the Council for the second term. His election was uncontested, the two other candidates Kumar Sahib Shekhareswar Roy and Maulvi Abdul Karim having withdrawn.

SIR STANLEY JACKSON'S ADDRESS.

His Excellency the Governor Sir Stanley Jackson then addressed the newly elected Council.

His Execellency said that the Council which met for the fist time to-day was the fourth which had been elected in Bengal under the Reforms Act of 1919. One could not say whether there would be a fifth Council elected under similar conditions, but in view of the fact that the future constitution of India was to be considered by Parliament in the immediate future, in the light of the recommendations of the Simon Commission which had lately visited this country, and provided this Council ran its normal course, it was possible that the next Council might be elected under new conditions. His Excellency earnestly hoped that the new conditions which might arise as a result of the decision of Parliament would be such as to establish a feeling of good-will, and that all the parties in Bengal would be ready and eager to shoulder Ministerial responsibility.

Explaning the circumstances in which he had dissolved the former Council and in which the Government might again be forced to carry on the administration of the Transferred subjects, His Excellency said that the course of ministries in Bengal had never run very smoothly. When he (the Governor) arrived in Bengal in March 1927, Ministers were functioning, but in March 1929 a Ministry, which lasted for nearly 18 months fell. After the defeat of the Ministry provision of salaries of Ministers was voted by a majority. After a continuous attempt to find Ministers, he was forced to the conclusion that any person he could select to carry responsibility would not command sufficient support to assure stability, and it seemed clear to him that his only alternative, under these conditions, was to dissolve the Council, and order an appeal to the constituencies. It was open to him to continue to administer the Transferred Departments under the provisions of the Government of India Act and cease to endeavour to find Ministers from amongst the elected members of this Council. But he was convinced that, in the general interest of the administration of the province, the Transferred departments should be administered through Ministers directly responsible to this Council and that every effort should be made to that end before resorting to that alternative. The Governor said that he was forced to the conclusion that further efforts to attain this object in the late Council, composed as it was, were useless. But the possibility of a new Council being more favourably disposed towards a ministry could not be disregarded. Considering all the circumstances, it appeared to him that a situation arose which justified his exercising his prerogative to dissolve the Council and pursue his endeavours in a new one.

The Governor continuing declared that he had no doubt that the new Council, like its predecessor, would favour the appointment of Ministers, although he felt, it would be unwise to make any appointment until he had some definite

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indication that the persons appointed might feel sure of adequate support. In accordance with the constitutional practice he approached the leader of that party which, as a result of the election, possessed the largest and most united number of elected members of this Council. His Excellency feared that this party was in opposition generally to the appointment of Ministers, and if it was successful in preventing such an appointment the Government must be carried on and all departments would have to be administered by the Government with his Executive Council, a proceeding which he did not desire. On the other hand, he was not without hope that an indication would be forthcoming in the near future that a majority of this Council favoured the course of the appointment of Ministers responsible to the Council for the Transferred departments, and that the required support would be assured.

His Excellency concluded : "I trust this Council will take full advantage of its opportunities and by promoting useful, practical and well considered legislation, with a single eye to the general interest of all communities, will be able to improve the general welfare of the Presidency."

After the Governor's speech Mr. Reazur Rahman was elected Deputy President. The Council was then *prorogued.*

SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

The next meeting of the Council commenced on the *5th AUGUST* when Sir P. C. Mitter moved for the grant of Rs. 50,000 to the Calcutta Nurses Institute. In moving for the grant Sir Provash said that the institution was in great financial difficulty, and unless provision was made, the Calcutta Medical College would suffer. He observed that already some nurses who were on probation had left. The motion was carried.

The Council also granted Rs. 30,498 on the motion of Sir A. K. Ghaznavi for the appointment of additional auditors of co-operative societies and Rs. 84,366 for the Barisal Medical School. Tne Council granted Rs. 50,000 to the Jatiya Ayurbijnan Parishad, Calcutta.

CHILDREN'S ACT AMENDMENT

The Hon'ble Mr. A. N. Moberly, Home Member, introduced the Bill to amend the Bengal Children's Act of 1922 with a view to establish Central Courts for trial of offences thereunder. The Bill was considered and passed without opposition.

THE RURAL PRIMARY EDUCATION BILL

Mr. M. C. Mc Alpin, Finance Member, introduced the Primary Education Bill, which was being considered, when the Council adjourned.

On the *6th AUGUST*, after three hours' discussion, the Bengal Rural Primary Education Bill was referred to a Select Committee consisting of about 47 members with instruction to the Committee to submit its report in November.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, leader of the Swaraj Party, criticising the Primary Education Bill, appealed to Mr. Mc-Alpin to withdraw the measure in view of the fact that it would not get the support of the House. He requested him to reintroduce the Bill after its scope has expanded so that the Bill would be applicable both to rural and urban areas. He urged that the power of controlling the policy of education should be entrusted to the representatives of the people.

The Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Stapleton, said that the masses were desirous of having primary education in the province and ready to pay taxes on that account. Mr. Jenkins, Special Education Officer, asked the House either to reject or accept the Bill as its reference back to the Select Committee meant the shirking of the fundamental principle of the Bill. The amendment of Mr. N. R. Sarkar for reference to a Select Committee was carried by 74 votes to 38. The Council then adjourned.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS.

On the *7th AUGUST* two non-official bills, one amending the *law relating*

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to the Calcutta University and the other the *Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill* of 1929, were introduced by Dr. P. N. Bannerjee and Maulvi Samsuddin Ahmed respectively. Dr. Bannerjee's Bill was introduced in the last Council but owing to dissolution it lapsed. The latter wanted to separate Cossipore Chitpore area and Garden Reach area from the Calcutta Corporation and reconstitute two municipalities as they existed before amalgammation.

The Government did not oppose either of the bills at the introduction. The bills were allowed to be circulated for eliciting public opinion.

MILITARY TRAINING TO COLLEGE STUDENTS.

Mr. B. K. Bose then moved a resolution recommending to Government to urge the necessity for promulgating rules and regulations making it compulsory in all schools for boys to take lessons of physical training and military drill and in all colleges for students to receive military training. The resolution was under discussion when the Council adjourned.

On the *8th AUGUST* the Government sustained a heavy defeat on the question of giving military training to college students. The resolution, which was sponsored by the Congress Party, was carried by a very large majority of 35 votes. The Government could gather only 33 votes on its side against the 68 votes cast in favour of the proposal. There was an attempt to cloud the issue by raising the cry that to talk of military training was futile while disarmament was in the air. Mr. Ormond, a European non-official, tried to water down the resolution by moving an amendment seeking to make military training voluntary. But the Council refused to be persuaded out of its determination and rejected the amendment by a significant majority of 44 votes. The Finance Member made a very unconvincing speech declaring that the Government would accept the motion, "if somebody could evolve a scheme committing the Government to no expense."

Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, quoting Mr. Stapleton, Director of Public Instruction, that Bengal would not lose anything if the Calcutta University was shut down for a number of years and they had military training in the meantime, demanded a declaration of the Government's policy. He asked the Government to be frank and say, if they thought so, that they did not want to satisfy the aspirations of the youths of Bengal.

BANKURA DISTRICT BOARD.

On the *9th AUGUST*, a Swarajist resolution, recommending to the Government immediately to remove the appointed Chairman of the District Board, Bankura, and restore to the people the right of electing their own Chairman, was lost by 51 votes against 61.

Sir P. C. Mitter, replying to the debate, asked whether the District Board was not bound to perform its statutory duty, and whether a Chairman was or was not equally bound to perform his statutory duties.

Mr. Gurner, Secretary, Local Self-Government Department, said that the ex-Chairman of the Board actually and personally led a campaign against the Union Board Movement, and so Government found that it was not compatible with its statutory function to sanction his election as Chairman of the District Board.

CALCUTTA JUTE MILL STRIKE.

Dr. B. C. Roy (Swarajist Deputy Leader) then moved an adjournment motion to discuss the strike situation in the Calcutta Jute Mill areas. He said that the strike presented a magnitude indicated by the clash between employers and employees. He thought that the Council should intervene, and secure peace between the two because more than two lakhs of people were involved in the strike. The Government should insist on the demands of these people being properly considered. He alleged that Government officers had taken a personal interest in the matter, siding with the capitalists. Such undue interference on the part of Government officers would only add to the strength of the Labour Union, which was becoming a power in the country.

Mr. McAlpin, explaining the position of the Government, said that the

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situation was complicated. He gave an account of the salient features of the development of the trouble. The Government were informed that the mill authorities were willing to take all the men back, provided they were willing to work at the ordinary standard. The mill-owners were prepared to discuss the grievances if these were forwarded to them by the workers. The Government were anxiously watching the situation, and they hoped that nothing would be said in the debate which would prejudice the prospect of peace, the object and aim of all the members.

Mr. Subash Ch. Bose said that the demand of the workers was very modest. If that was not conceded, a time would come when they would not be satisfied with the present demand. What they demanded was a decent living wages. In a strike like the present one, the Government could easily intervene and take action under the Trades Dispute Act.

After several other members had spoken the adjournment motion was carried without a division. The Council was then *prorogued.*

Revival of Bengal Ministry

On the *15th DECEMBER 1929* an official announcement proclaimed the revival (for the fifth time after it had been suspended four times) of dyarchy in Bengal. The Ministers appointed were :—(1.) Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Roy, (2.) Khan Bahadur G. M. Faroqui and (3.) Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin.

On their assumption of charge on the next day His Excellency the Governor allotted the business of the Transferred Departments as follows :—

The Hon'ble Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Roy—Local Self-Government and Excise.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Kazi Golam Mohiuddin Faroqui—Agriculture and Industries (excluding Excise) and Public Works.

The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin, C. I. E—Education (excluding European education) and Registration.

In this connection it would be interesting to read a review of the hazardous course that the Ministry was forced to follow by circumstances in Bengal since the first Council after the introduction of the Reforms.

The first batch of Ministers appointed under the Reforms in 1921 after the general election, were Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Sir P. C. Mitter (then Mr.) and Nawab Ali Chowdhury. The first Ministers were able to command support of the Bengal Legislative Council and the result of this uninterruped working of dyarchy was the enactment of the Calcutta Municipal Bill By Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea.

At the end of 1923, there was again a general election and the late Mr. C. R. Das broke away from the orthodox school of Non-co-operation and formed a party the avowed object of which was to wreck the Council from inside. The appeal to the country was in favour of Mr. Das, who was able to return members of his party in large numbers from the general non-Mahomedan constituencies. The Ministerial party fared very badly at the poll. Sir Surendranath himself was defeated in his own constituency. Mr. Das was able to enter into a pact with a number of Muslim members of the Council and so was able to command the largest single group of members whose only object in entering the Council was to wreck dyarchy.

The three Ministers of the first Council resigned in January 1923, and Lord Lytton summoned Mr. Das to form a Ministry following the Parliamentary procedure. Mr. Das, with the consent of his party, informed His Excellency that he was unable to form a Ministry, whereupon Lord Lytton appointed Mr. S. N. Mallick, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, and Mr. (now Sir) A. K. Ghuznavi as Ministers. They all took office on January 4, 1924. Just after his appointment an election petition was filed against the election of Mr. S. N. Mallick, with the result that his election was set aside, and at the bye-election that followed Mr. Mallick was defeated

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by a member of Mr. Das's party. Mr. Mallick resigned in February 20, 1924, The other two Mahomedan Ministers however were there. At the budget session of 1924, when the grant of salaries for Ministers came before the Council for sanction, the house rejected the amount. As there appeared to be some confusion of issue, the Governor retained the services of the Ministers for sometime. The grant of salary again came up before the Council in the month of August 1924, but was again rejected. The Ministers resigned, and the transferred subjects, for the first time, were taken by the Governor from September 1, 1924 to June 13, 1925, with an interval of a fortnight in March.

Ministers were again appointed in March 1925 after the adoption of a resolution that provision for Ministers be made in the ensuing year. Nawab Nawab Ali Chowdhury and Raja Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury of Santosh were appointed Ministers. But after a fortnight, the Council reversed its previous decision, and rejected the demand for the Ministers' salaries. After this, for the first time, the Secretary of State revoked Diarchy, and suspended the transferred subjects from June 13, 1925 to January 21, 1927.

The third Council met in January 1927. Suspension expired on 22nd, and from that date Sir Abdur Rahim was appointed a Minister on the condition that he would have to find out a Hindu colleague to work with him. As Sir Abdur was unable to find out a Hindu colleague, he resigned on January 26. The late Mr B. Chakravarti and Sir A. K. Ghuznavi were then appointed Ministers. A motion of 'no-confidence" in them was adopted by the house and they resigned. The administration was taken over temporarily by the Governor.

Again in the month of October, 1927, Sir P. C. Mitter and Nawab Musharaff Hussain were appointed Ministers. After the elevation of Sir P. C. Mitter to the Executive Membership, the Raja of Nashipur was appointed Minister in the place of Sir. P. C. Mitter. There was an onslaught again, and the ministers could not stand the opposition and resigned.

Though it is a fact that since 1925 no Minister has held office for longer than seven months, at no time has the Council been dissolved to get the verdict of the country on the issue of Ministry, except on the last occasion.

The U. P. Legislative Council

The Nainital session of the U. P. Legislative Council commenced at Nainital on the *24th JUNE 1929*, under the presidency of Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram. Swarajists were absent, otherwise the attendance was good.

FORMATION OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

After some formal business had been transacted, Syed Tufail Ahmad moved a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee with the Education Minister as Chairman, consisting of twelve members representing various interests to draw a practical progress for bringing literacy in these provinces to the All-India level within ten years. The mover quoted the following literacy figures : Burmah 22 per cent ; Coorg 12.6 ; Delhi 10. 7 ; Ajmer 10 ; Bengal 9. 1 ; Madras 8.6 ; Bombay 8.3 ; Assam 6.2 ; N. W. F. P. 4.7 ; Behar 4.5 ; C. P. 4.1 ; Punjab 3.8 ; U. P. 3.7. The All-India average in 1921 was 7.3 percent of the population. The debate on the resolution was proceeding when the Council adjourned for the day.

Oo the *25th JUNE* Pandit Iqbalnarain Gurtu moved an amendment to the effect that the proposed committee should draw up a programme to take all boys and girls literate in these provinces within a fixed period.

Mr. V. N. Mehta, Education Secretary, did not approve of the appointment of a new committee on the ground that it would not serve any purpose but Raja

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Bahadur Kushalpal Singh, Education Minister, speaking agreed to the appointment of a committee. The resolution as amended by Pt. Gurtu was adopted.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS.

Rao Krishnapal Singh moved a resolution urging the formation of a *Central Agriculture Association* with branches in every district to popularise modern methods of cultivation and improve cattle breeding to consolidate small holdings.

Maharaj Kumar Mahijit Singh, Agriculture Minister, opposed the resolution pointing out that the Association was unnecessary because the departments of Agriculture and Co-operative credit were doing work embodied in the resolution. The resolution was pressed and adopted.

Babu Jiaram Saxena, next moved a resolution recommending to the Government to set apart rupees ten thousand annually for *temperace propaganda* and to appoint a non-official committee to draw a scheme for such propaganda.

The resolution was yet under discussion when the Council adjourned.

On the *26th JUNE* Maharaj Kumar Mahijit Singh, replying to the motion, undertook to spend Rs 1000 annually in the distribution of printed pamphlets on evils of drink but he was no prepared to appoint a Committee.

Another important resolution moved by Mr. Ahmad Shah recommended that there should be at least one Anglo-vernacular *middle school for girls* at each district headquarter. As usual the subject of girls' education received a sympathetic and hearty support from all sections of the House including the Government. It was pointed out that only Anglo-vernacular middle schools existed in 48 districts of the United Provinces out of which 27 were run by Christian Missions. Only a little more than a lakh out of 28 lakhs girls of school-going age were now attending the schools. The resolution was opposed by the solitary Nationalist member Babu Bhagwati Sahai Bedar, who created a good deal of mirth by saying that English education would turn Indian girls into 'Mem Sahibs.'

The Minister assured the Council that as funds became available Government would be ready to open English middle schools for girls in every district.

Sir George Lambert, Finance Member, opposed another resolution moved by Mr. Bedar to appoint a Committee with a non-official majority to investigate into the *grievances of low-paid* Government servants on the ground that funds were not available. Government, he said, had already sustained a loss of 60 lakhs in irrigation revenue and the revenue under other heads was also likely to go down in sympathy. The resolution was, however, carried.

The next resolution about the suspension of land revenue rates was regarded by the landlord members of the Council as of vital importance but unfortunately Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain in whose name it stood was absent when the President called on him.

After a short time Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hussain came back and apologised to the President and the Council for his absence and prayed that he be allowed to move his resolution, after the disposal of other non-official business. With the concurrence of the house the President agreed to grant his request.

The Council then adjourned.

APPOINTMENT OF SUB-REGISTRARS.

On the *27th JUNE*, by a majority of 55 against 17 votes, the Council rejected the resolution of Pandit Nanak Chand urging the abolition of the system of direct nomination of sub-registers by the Hon'ble Nawab Mahomed Yusuf, Minister-in Charge of the Registration portfolio.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, supporting the resolution, said that it was most undesirable that a Minister should retain in his hands power of patronage. Every witness who appeared before the Reforms Enquiry Committee in 1924 was positively against it.

Three Muslim members who spoke opposed the resolution, holding thar selection by means of competitive examinations would not be suitable fo subordinate services, and particularly to the Registration Department, where high educational qualifications were not required.

The Hon'ble Nawab Yusuf, the Minister-in-Charge of Registration, also

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opposed the resolution, and maintained that he had never abused his power of patronage, and that the total number of Muslims in the Registration Department was not more than one-third.

EXEMPTION FROM PROPERTY TAX

Another resolution, which the Council rejected without a division, was the one that recommended that towns and notified areas be exempted from tax on circumstances and property levied by District Boards.

On the *28th JUNE* both *official and non-official business* were transacted. Two resolutions vitally concerning the landed arristocracy in the province were carried without a division. The first one moved by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fashiuddin wanted the Government to bring up a bill deleting the section in the Land Revenue Act, 1901 regarding the arrest of revenue defaulters by means of a warrant. Sir George Lambert, Finance Member, said that the oposition to this section was based on mere sentiment. As a matter of fact, seven out of every ten thousand Zemindars had been arrested and retained for being defaulters. This showed that Government used this powerful weapon in their hands very sparingly and he was afraid its withdrawal would greatly weaken the Government machinery for revenue collection. The Finance Member, however, agreed to issue execution order for direction of attachment eschewing arrest as far as possible.

Zamindar members expressed the view that the section was humiliating, embarrassing and often brought them into disgrace. This resolution had been carried for a second time in the reformed legislature.

The second resolution as amended wanted that the Government should remit or suspend local cesses in proportion to the remission or suspension of land revenue in times of agricultural distress, provided the District Board concerned agreed to it.

The Council next passed into law the Pargana of Kashwar Raja (Amendment) Bill and the Alienation of Land (amendment) Bill in Bundelkhand.

Nawab Mohd. Yusuf, Minister, Local Self-Government, then introduced two Bills to amend the District Boards Act and the Municipalities Act and they were referred to a Select Committee. These two bills sought to amend certain sections whose interpretation had so far been a matter of doubt. The Minister also introduced the Vaccination Bill whose object was to make vaccination compulsory in all parts of the province and to modernise the procedure. The bill was referred to a select committee.

On the motion of Nawab of Chattari, Home Member, the Council also agreed to refer to a select committee the bill amending the Agra Pre-emption Act

GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

On the *29th JUNE* H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor addressed the Council after which it was *prorogued.* After referring to the political and religious history of the provinces, Sir Malcolm observed that the country had entered definitely and irrevocably on the path of the development of Responsible Government through representative institutions. It was hardly open to doubt that there should be, on all sides, a genuine and sincere desire to widen the authority of the legislatures. If there were those who, in the past, felt a hesitation about this process, their doubts, once based somewhat wide on general grounds, had now narrowed down to a desire for assurance on two points, namely, the protection of the interests of the minorities and the safegurding of order. The genuine desire for assurance on such points might not necessarily be an exhibition of unreason or a proof of blind prejudice against the extension of the authority of the legislatures.

Many were apt to judge over much of the legislature in its relation to the Government and administration, and neglect its function as the focus and guide of public opinion. The existence of the legislature had led to the spread of political consciousness which, if by no means universal, was nevertheless expanding. One felt that the position occupied by the legislature would correctly be enhanced if there was a general effort on the parts of the members to keep their constituencies in close touch with the problems with which the legislature had to deal.

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Proceeding His Excellency referred, in detail, to the work of the various transferred departments in the United Provinces and highly commended their activities. Primary education had a great leeway to make to achieve material success. The problem was one in which all the parties in the legislature were keenly interested. It might be that the council would find difficulties, but it could only be solved if the people at large were prepared to make sacrifice in the direction of fresh taxation. Such a sacrifice would be worth making and would assuredly meet with its reward.

Concluding, the Governor referred to the Department of Local Self-Government. The activities controlled by the local bodies which had increased widely in scope, absorbed a large share of the general expenditure. Previously, local bodies were regarded mainly as useful training ground for self-government, but now almost every addition which was now made to the general services affecting the welfare and health of the people involved the enlargement of the scope of the work of the local bodies. It was therefore to everyone's interest to see that these bodies were business-like in their working, prompt and consistent in executive action, and above all, free from partisan or personal considerations in their administration.

AUTUMN SESSION—21st OCTOBER 1929

TREATMENT OF MEERUT PRISONERS

The autumn session of the Council commenced at Lucknow on the *21st OCTOBER 1929* with Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram in the chair.

The Home Member was heckled for several minutes on the question of hand-cuffing of some of the Meerut under-trials at the time of their transfer from Dehra Dun to Meerut in May last.

Chowdhury VIJAIPAL SINGH, against whose name the first series of questions stood, alleged, among other things that Colonel Cook, Superintendent, Dehra Dun Jail, spoke insultingly to Saukat Usmani, that Chowdhury Dharamvir Singh. M. L. C., although ill with fever and was fasting for three days, was made to undergo the long journey from Dehra Dun to Meerut on the 17th May, 1929, and that although he protested against it he was hand-cuffed before being sent out on the journey.

Chowdhury Vijaipal Singh also asked if it was a fact that Jhabwalla, another under-trial, had not even been discharged from the hospital on the 17th May when he was removed in hand-cuffs, from Dehra Dun to Meerut ; that Muzaffar Ahmed, a tuberculosis patient, and S. V. Ghate, who were under medical treatment on the 17th May, were similarly removed in hand-cuffs and made to walk all the distance from Dehra Dun Jail to the railway station, and that the only persons who were not sent hand-cuffed were Messrs. Bradley, Spratt and Dr. Mukherjee.

The HOME MEMBER, replying, refuted the allegation that Colonel Cook had spoken insultingly to Usmani. He also denied that Dharamvir Singh, M. L. C., was either ill or fasting on the 17th May adding that neither was Jhabwallá in hospital on that day nor were Muzaffar Ahmed and Ghate under medical treatment. He admitted that the under-trials walked on foot from the jail to the railway station, a distance of about a quarter of a mile. It was also a fact that prisoners were all brought to Meerut in hand-cuffs excepting Bradley, Spratt and Mukherjee who were not hand-cuffed because through inadvertence hand-cuffs which could fit their wrists were not provided for.

PROPOSAL TO AMEND STANDING ORDERS

The Council next proceeded to discuss amendments to certain standing orders regulating the transaction of Council business.

Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu sought to amend the standing order governing limitations on debates. It laid down that a member, while speaking, must not reflect upon the conduct of the Governor-General, or any Governor or any court of justice. The Pandit moved to add the following explanation to this standing order : "A member shall not, by reason only of his discussing any particular act of the Governor of the United Provinces which affects the policy or administration of any particular department, be deemed to reflect upon the conduct of the Governor."

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Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu said that the existing standing order was so interpreted that any discussion in the Council of any act of the Governor was thus handicapped in the discharge of its normal functions. Such a practice was not in consonance with the practice obtaining in the Dominions.

K. B. Mahomed Ismail agreed generally with the Pandit's views, but thought that it was not good amending the standing order at present. It was hoped that India's constitution would be radically changed in the near future, and most likely the special powers at present enjoyed by the Governors would greatly be curtailed. The proposed amendment was therefore untimely, he declared.

Sir George Lambert, Finance Member, opposing the amendment pointed out that even under the existing rules, all Governor's actions were not immune from criticism. Whatever was done by the Governor-in-Council or by the Governor acting with his Ministers was subject to discussion in the Council, because there was some one or other responsible to defend such acts of the Governor. It was a different proposition when it came to an act of the Governor in his capacity as representative of the Crown, invested with special powers for the proper discharge of his duties. There was no one in the Council who could answer on his behalf criticisms of such acts. Things might be said which would create wrong impressions, because the various statements right or wrong would never be fully answered. Such a procedure would neither be fair nor sportsman-like. There were certain sections in the Government of India Act which imposed on the Governor, as Governor,certain obligations from which he could not escape. He had emergency powers to authorise expenditure or veto bills. He had powers intended to be exercised for the protection of minorities. The constitution undoubtedly intended that the Governor should be protected in the exercise of such emergency powers. If the Governor's acts under such special powers were subject to the Council's criticism, it would be impossible for him to exercise them fairly and impartially.

Mr. Chintamani, supporting the amendment, said that it could never be seriously contended that acts done by the Governor as distinguished from the Governor-in-Council or the Governor acting with his Ministers were done by him in the seclusion of his study and for reasons with which his colleagues were utterly unacquainted. If it were so, then Indians were living under a Government far more discreditably despotic than the most hopeless agitator ever thought they were.

After a prolonged discussion Pandit Gurtu's amendment was put to vote and rejected by 50 votes against 29.

MUNICIPALITIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL

On the *22nd OCTOBER* the Council considered and passed two non-official bills amending the existing Municipalities Act. A third bill to amend the District Boards Act 1922 was under consideration when the Council adjourned.

The object of the first bill was to regulate the system of nomination to Municipal Boards by the Local Government. The amending bill further aimed at taking away the power of the Government to nominate the Chairman of the Naini Tal Municipality. Under the existing Act, the Government nominates two members to all municipalities. The amendment proposed stated that of the two members nominated one should belong to the depressed classes, and the other should represent some special interest remaining unrepresented after the general elections.

Mr. Hafiz Hidayat Hossain moved that in the amending clause along with the word "Depressed", the word "backward" should also be added.

Ths motion was objected to by several Hindus on the ground that backward classes might include every person.

The amendment to the Bill was pressed to a division and was rejected by 42 against 40, the entire official bloc voting for it.

The next clause of the amending bill was for safeguarding the section in the existing Act which empowered the Government to nominate the chairman of a municipality. The present section was operative only in the case of the Naini Tal

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Municipality, where the District Magistrate was the ex-officio chairman, all the other 84 municipalities in the province having elected non-official chairmen.

The hon. Nawab Yusuf, Minister, and the Secretary to the Local-Self Government Department opposed the clause on the ground that Naini Tal's case was unique by reason of its being the summer headquarters of the Government.

By 51 votes to 32, the Government won their point, the amending clause being thrown out.

The object of the other amendments to the District Municipalities Act related to certain disqualifications of electors. At present any person sentenced to imprisonment for a term exceeding six months cannot be enrolled as an elector. The amending bill which was passed raised the imprisonment limit from six months to one year.

DISTRICT BOARDS ACT AMENDING BILL

On the *23rd OCTOBER* the Council resumed discussion of the Swarajist member, Babu Umashankar's Bill to amend the United Provinces District Boards Act of 1922.

The principal objects of the amending bill were to remove cerain defects in the working of the existing Act, to widen the franchise and to provide for the removal of the chairman who did not enjoy the confidence of the majority of the member of the board.

The Select Committee, to which the Bill was referred, had deleted the clause extending the franchise, but to-day several amendments were adopted, in spite of Government opposition which would nearly double the existing franchise.

At present persons paying a land revenue of Rs. 25 or over, a rent of Rs. 50 or over, or having a matriculation certificate are enrolled as District Board electors.

Mr. Mathura Prasad Merhotra moved an amendment urging that the electoral qualification should be the payment of land revenue of Rs. 15 or more, or a rent of Rs. 30 or more.

The Hon. Nawab Yusuf, Minister, opposed the amendment on the ground that the District Boards Act was passed only in 1922. It was too early to revise and lower the franchise. The amendment found strong support among the Swarajists and Nationalists and was carried by 43 votes against 39.

Mr. Hidayet Hussain moved another amendment lowering the educational qualification from the holding of Matriculation to Upper Primary certificates. This amendment was also opposed by the Minister but was adopted.

By 43 votes against 39 the Council adopted another amendment to the effect that only persons convicted of offences involving moral turpitude should be disenfranchised and not all ex-convicts.

A vital clause of the amending bill provided that if a Board, by a majority of not less than one half of its members, adopted a resolution calling upon a chairman to resign, such a chairman must resign within three days of the adoption of the resolution. The Government opposed the inclusion in the bill of this clause, but by 53 votes against 30, the Council pressed its adoption.

Mr. Merhotra next moved an amendment deleting the section in the existing Act which empowered District Magistrates to exercise control over district boards and their funds in cases of emergency. The Hon. Nawab Yusuf, Minister, opposed it, and it was rejected without a division.

MINOR GIRLS' PROTECTION BILL

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Swarajist leader, then presented the Select Committee's Report on the Minor Girls' Protection Bill. The object of the Bill was to check the prevailing practice of selling, buying and bringing up minor girls for immoral purposes.

The Bill, which was limited in character and designed to meet the evil only partially, contained four clauses, and conferred on the Government power to declare a community, class or group of persons to be a "restricted class" if the Government had reason to believe that such a group or class was in the habit of devoting its girls to prostitution.

The Bill was considered clause by clause after which the House adjourned till

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the next day, the *24th OCTOBER*, when the Council passed into law the Minor Girls' Protection Bill.

OUDH CHIEF-COURT AMENDING BILL

The next item of business was Moulvi Fashiuddin's Bill amending the Oudh Chief Courts Act. The Bill contained a solitary clause which empowered the District Judges, Subordinate Judges and the Munsiffs to dismiss and suspend the Ministerial staff. Up till now the punishment was meted out by the Chief Court alone. The amendment proposed to-day restriction of such powers to District Judges only. The Council negatived both the original clauses and to-day's amendment. The Bill was shelved.

U. P. JAILS COMMITTEE REPORT

The Council re-assembled on the *28th OCTOBER* and commenced discussion on the Jails Committee Report which continued till the next-day when the Nawab of Chattari (Home Member) winding up the debate, thanked the non-official members for the manner in which they had received the Committee's report and assured the House that the Governor-in-Council would take into consideration the suggestion for the improvement of jail administration made by the different speakers. As for the treatment of undertrial prisoners, he said the matter was already receiving the close attention of the Government.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The Council then proceeded to discuss the Public Accounts Committee's Report on the accounts for the year 1926-27. There was a prolonged discussion regarding the attitude of the Finance Department towards token "cuts." Eventually the following motion made by Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu was adopted by the House :—

"The Council is of opinion that according to Rule 34 of the U. P. Legislative Council Rules the Public Accounts Committee is required to bring to the notice of the Council all such appropriations which increase the expenditure on an item, the provision for which has been specially reduced by a token or substantive vote in the Council, and that any practice or convention contrary to it is not premissible."

The report was adopted and excess grants voted. The Council then adjourned *Sine die.*

DECEMBER SESSION—12th DECEMBER 1929.

TRAINING FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE.

The Council's December session commenced at Lucknow on the *12th DECEMBER* when a series of questions were addressed regarding the health of the Kakori prisoners. Babu Sampurnanand (Swarajist) then moved :—

"That this Council recommends to the Government to appoint a committee of nine members, five of them to be elected by this Council to suggest measures to be adopted by the Government whereby able-bodied citizens of suitable age, both students and others, may be imbued with public spirit and be made fit for national defence."

The mover explained that by public spirit he meant that state of mind that would make one willing to lay down one's life if necessary for the public good, and that would make imperative on one always to subordinate one's personal interests to the interests of the nation. Such public spirit, the mover proceeded to say, was not very manifest in India to-day. One stock argument against the achievement of Swaraj by India was that Indians were unfit to defend the counry. It was an irony of fate that the men who lay the greatest stress on this argument were most keen on not giving Indians any opportunity to receive military training either in schools or colleges or outside.

When Hindus and Moslems held sway over India the chivalry, courage and patriotism of Indians were everywhere in evidence and they were now a matter of history. But ever since the advent of Bristish rule all these qualities appeared to have evaporated and Indians as a race had become thoroughly devitalized. The British rulers of India must get rid of their distrust of the people of India and permit the latter to grow into proper men and able citizens. Steps should be taken

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to include some kind of compulsory physical exercise and military training in the school and college curriculum. Nothing was better suited to inculcate a spirit of discipline and promote character among students than compulsory military training.

Mr. MUKANDI LAL moved several minor amendments and emphasized that the primary duty of the Government was to educate boys in a manner that they might grow into proper citizens capable of doing good and fit to defend their hearths and homes. Government not only did nothing to promote the growth of public spirit among the students, but, on the contrary, tried to retard it by setting the police to watch the movements of patriotic young men.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, supporting the resolution, strongly advocated an increase in the number of the University Training Corps.

The resolution, as amended by Mr. Mukandi Lal, was put and adopted, the Government not challenging a division.

ELECTION OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

On the *13th DECEMBER* the Council was given to the discussion on the resolution moved by Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu recommending that the village Panchyets of the province should be constituted on elective basis and endowed with powers of taxation. Pt. Gurtu said that in olden days the village Panchayets were institutions on which the entire fabric of the country's Government was based. The system gradually disappeared because of the policy of extreme centralization introduced by India's British rulers. The principle adopted by the latter was devolution of authority from the top to the bottom. That this principle was wrong was pointed out by the Decentralization Commission of 1909 since when the Government of India and also the local Governments have been taking some interest in village panchayets. The striking defect of the Panchayet Act in the United Provinces was that whereas in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab the Panchayets were elected, in the U. P. they were selected and appointed. Further, although the Act was passed in 1920, in nine years there were only 4000 Panchayets for one lakh of villages in the province.

Nawab Yusuf, Minister for local Self-Government, opposed the resolution on the ground that as the Panchayets are being entrusted with Judicical functions they should not be constituted on elective basis.

The resolution after prolonged debate was defeated by fifty votes against thirty.

USE OF KHADDAR BY GOVERNMENT

On the *14th DECEMBER* the Council met amidst unusal excitement as certain very interesting resolutions concerning the use of khaddar by Government departments and the plea for the release of political prisoners at once stood up on the agenda paper.

The motion recommending to the Government to use khaddar as far as practicable in all Government departments and institutions which stood in the name of Mr. Ganesh Sankar Vidyarthi was taken up by Mr. Sampurnanand. An interesting debate followed in which quite a good number of members, both official and non-official, participated.

Thakur Manjeet Singh Rathore supporting the motion said that that was the least and minimum demand that one could expect from Government of one's own country. He supported the motion not on political grounds, but on economical grounds, as such move on the Government side would provide work for thousands lying idle.

Replying to the debate the Minister for Industries said that the Government were doing its level best to patronise Indian industries.

When the motion was put to the House it was carried by 41 to 33 votes.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

After luncheon hours Babu Bhagwati Sahai Bedar moved the House to recommend to the Government to take immediate steps to release all political prisoners committed to jail or undergoing prosecution under political or quasi-political charges in the United Provinces and approach the proper authorities to declare a general amnesty before December 31, 1929. Mr. Bedar in a forceful speech traced the history of British pledges to India and characterised them as a very hopeless record. He said that if the British government were serious about the talk of Dominion

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Status of India in the near future, the release of political prisoners were the first step in this direction.

The history of British Rule in India was full of broken pledges and unfulfilled promises, the mover continued. Here was the chance and opportune time for the British Government to give a concrete evidence of genuine change of heart. The local Governments need not fear that heavens would fall or the British connection with India would cease if a handful of patriotic Indians convicted were set free.

Mr. C. Y. CHINTAMONI, leader of the Nationalist Party, seconding the resolution paid an eloquent tribute to the sincerity of Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn who, he said, against the overwhelming odds, were attempting to solve India's constitutional problem. The stamp of inferiority which led to the entire exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission was somewhat removed by the Viceroy's announcement made with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government inviting India's political leaders to discuss with the British representatives the problem of India's constitution. India's spokesmen at the Round Table Conference would be free to ask His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament to discard the Simon Report and to consider the Nehru Report, being more acceptable to India. The Conference would also include the representatives of Indian States thus diminishing the danger threatened by the Butler Committee's Report dividing India into two parts. Now was the time to wipe the bitter memories. It would be the highest political wisdom to release the political prisoners and secure a healthy atmosphere that is *sine qua non* the success of the Round Table Conference.

Mr. G. B. PANT, Swarajist leader, said that the Swarajists wanted amnesty of political prisoners not because they wished to place obstacles in the way of an honourable solution of India's problem but they felt that no solution was otherwise possible. In fact, no start could be made until and unless this preliminary step was taken. If the Government granted amnesty and extended a hand of fellowship and carried out other proposals mentioned in the Delhi leaders' manifesto the tendency towards violence in the country would automatically weaken and a favourable atmosphere would be created.

He was followed by Mr. Manak Singh and Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain who gave general support to the resolution.

Speaking on behalf of the Government the Hon. the HOME MEMBER said that he found his position very critical as any statement on the subject might be misunderstood by the House for the fact that the term political prisoners was still undefined. He thought that it meant prisoners who had committed no offence involving to any person or property. In this province there are few prisoners under this category. They all are receiving special treatment. It was clear from to-day's speeches that a general amnesty throughout India was necessary and a solitary Act of that nature on the part of one Local Government would not be enough to create the necessary atmosphere. This Government could therefore do little. He would forward the views expressed by the members to the higher authorities.

He said that indeed it was painful that some youngmen were in jail, but he declared that the youngmen were fomented with such ideas as to break the law and enter into seditious speeches. In conclusion, he expressed his inability to accept the motion as it stood.

Mr. Hafiz Ibrahim supported the motion in a forceful speech. Mr. Mukundilal, Deputy President of the Council, declared that neither Government nor Mahatma Gandhi nor Motilal Nehru nor Malaviya could crush the spirit of complete independence that was rising in the minds of men like Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar, or Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose. He said that for the sake of peace the release of political prisoners was the minimum demand.

The resolution was declared carried without demanding a division from Govt. benches. The House adjourned till Dec. 17.

DISTRICT BOARDS AMENDMENT BILL

Official business was transacted in the Council on the *17th DECEMBER*. Several supplementary demands for the current financial year including Rs. 58 lakhs for loans to agriculturists, were agreed to.

Nawab Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, moved the second reading

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of the District Boards Amendment Bill, which *inter alia* provided that the life-time of the District Boards should be four years instead of three as at present.

Several members favoured five years, while others, including Mr. Chintamani supported the present triennial elections.

By 61 votes to 15, the Council divided in favour of 4 years.

On the *18th DECEMBER* the only clause discussed was that dealing with the procedure to be adopted in connection with the election of the chairman of a district board.

Nawab Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, accepted an amendment to the effect that the meeting of a district board convened for this specific purpose namely, for the election of a chairman, should be presided over by a stipendiary civil judicial officer, previously appointed by the Government in this behalf. The House adjourned till the next day, the *19th DECEMBER* when the second reading of the Bill could not be concluded as the President *adjourned* the Council under orders of the Governor.

The Punjab Legislative Council

The Simla session of the Punjab Legislative Council opened at the "Barne's Court.", Simla on the *26th JULY* 1929 under the chairmanship of Khan Bahadur Ch. Sahabuddin. Admission was strictly regulated by the Police. Supplementary demands for grants were all passed. The Punjab Tenancy Amendment Bill, as amended by the select committee, was passed.

REGULATION OF ACCOUNTS BILL.

Mr. Stow, Finance Member, introduced the Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill. He said that it gave effect to the pledge given by the previous Governor, Sir M. Hailey that the Government would bring forward a restricted measure to enable debtors to ask periodically for their accounts from the creditors. Accounts kept for trade, commerce and industry were excluded, Mr. Stow said, the preliminary draft of the Bill was improved as a result of consultation among members of all parties of the House, which was considered a happy augury for the Bill. Mr. Stow moved the appointment of a select committee.

Mr. Labh Singh said that due notice of the motion was not given, whereupon the motion was postponed till the 1st August. The Council then adjourned.

REDUCTION OF ABIANA RATES.

On the *27th JULY*, in a vehement speech in Urdu, Mr. Syed Hussain moved a resolution asking the Government to reduce the Abiana rates so as to cover the ordinary remissions allowed on account of Khoraba, and to reconsider the present rates on non-perennial areas.

Sir Fazli-Hussain admitted that corruption prevailed in the department, but said that it existed in spite of the best efforts of the Government to stamp it out. Explaining the difficulty in stamping out the evil, which was deep-rooted, Sir Fazli Hussain declared that in theory the Abiana rate was unexceptional, though on account of the defect of the machinery of collection, it presented some objectionable features. But on that ground they were not prepared to do away with it.

Dr. Narang, intervening, asked if the charge could not be made that the Government offered an inducement to corruption when it was remembered that a Patwari was started on a salary of Rs. 18 a month.

Sir Fazli-Hussain replied that if they raised the starting salary to Rs. 30 a month, it would mean an extra expenditure of rupees 50 lakhs. He wondered if Dr. Narang was prepared to shoulder that additional burden.

Mr. Syed Hussain withdrew the first part of his resolution. On the second part the House divided, but the motion was defeated by 39 to 29 votes.

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COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Sardar Ujjal SINGH next moved the appointment of a committee of the Council to find out ways and means for introducing compulsory primary education in the Punjab. He stressed on the need for education of their masters, meaning the voters which has been taken in other countries for the education of the general mass of people. The speaker asserted that throughout the world in every progressive country compulsion has been found the best means of tackling the problem of education. At the start he did not favour compulsion for girls. The house was discussing this resolution when it adjourned till the *29th JULY* when Sir George ANDERSON, Director of Public Instruction, in a speech which was much applauded by the official benches, saw no utility of the resolution. He said that the mover's statistics were confusing and his speech was guilty of serious overstatement. The introduction of compulsion at this stage was not feasible. The number of trained teachers were too few, besides, there was no genuine enthusiasm among the people for it. What was important at this stage, was the improvement in the pay and prospect of those who were now engaged in the field of education. Unless, they laid the foundation truly, and surely, they could not build up the edifice of universal education. If they acted hastily the panacea for compulsion would prove a snare and a delusion.

Sir George challenged the speaker's charge that the Government have not done anything towards the spread of education. Quoting statistics he asserted that the Government with all their limitation had done something to build up a system which would gradually lead to compulsory education. Pointing to further difficulties of the introduction of compulsion, Sir George said that at present there was no machinery which would see to the proper working of the system of compulsion and bring to book the defaulting parents. Judging from the financial point of view, Sir George opined that the introduction of compulsion was not feasible.

Mr. Afzal Haq asked the Government to declare openly if they want to see universal education introduced in this country instead of taking refuge under the plea of various difficulties.

Dr. Gokul Chand NARANG was sorry that the speech of Sir George Anderson though delivered eloquently, was wholly irrelevent and an arffont to the House. The resolution simply asked to appoint a committee to find out the ways and means, but Sir George had quoted facts and figures and had pointed out the difficulties to show that the committee would do no useful work, but merely waste their time and energy. It was hardly fair to the House to anticipate the decision of the committee it might appoint.

Continuing he said that too much stress had been laid on trained teachers, but India had done for ages without teachers who were trained, yet the system had produced giants, a claim which could not be made in favour of trained teachers.

There was a tendency, said Dr. Narang, among the educational officials to lay too much stress on unessentials. Dr. Narang suggested that the people should be prepared to shoulder additional taxation if it be necessary to give effect to compulsory system.

Choudhuri Zafarulla Khan said that no case had been made out to show that any useful purpose would be served by the appointment of a committee.

Mr. Monoharlal, Minister, said that the speech of the Director of Public Information was misunderstood. Government did not oppose the principle of compulsion, but the question was one of ways and means.

During further discussion some speakers suggested that the Punjab was backward in the matter of the spread of education, but from his study of the Report of the Committee of Enquiry (Hartog Committee) which was still confidential, he could say that the Punjab had made better preparation for the introduction of compulsory system than other provinces in India. He left the resolution to the House to accept or reject it.

Dr. Narang : Do you accept it.

Mr. Monohar Lal : I do not oppose it.

The motion was then put to vote and carried with only one dissentient.

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IRRIGATION FACILITIES

Choudhuri Mohamed Abdul Rahaman Khan next moved a resolution urging the Government to introduce necessary legislation to allow zeminders to take water by means of water covers through the field of neighbouring zeminders on payment of adequate compensation. The motion was being discussed when the House adjourned.

On the *30th JULY* Sir Fazli Hussain replying announced that there would be an enquiry into the grievances by the Financial Commissioner. The Government were unwilling to undertake legislation unless it was absolutely necessary.

Ultimately the resolution was withdrawn.

MANDI HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME

A full dress debate then ensued over the resolution of Mr. Zafarulla Khan regarding the Mandi Hydro Electric Scheme.

Mr. Zafarulla asked for the appointment of a committee to make an enquiry into the progress of the scheme. He put in a strong plea for the appointment of a committee, as it was absolutely necessary to examine, before it was too late, if the province was able to shoulder such a financial burden.

Colonel Battye, Chief Engineer, said that personally he would welcome the appointment of a committee, for that would enable the public to fully appreciate the work they had done. But the appointment of a committee would mean not only an additional expenditure, but also mean further loss on account of stoppage of the construction.

Explaining the scheme, the Chief Engineer pointed out the difficulty in arriving at a precise estimate of the cost on account of the intervention of unforeseen circumstances. The project they had undertaken, on account of its lay out in the hills, was novel in nature, without a parallel in the world. Proceeding he asserted that the scheme they had in hand compared favourably with the Shannon Scheme in Ireland, which the other day was advertised throughout the world.

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang said that it was unfortunate that Sir Jogendra Singh, Minister, who as a member of the House supported a rival scheme and got the present scheme as a legacy from his predecessor Choudhuri Chhatu Ram, who was really responsible for it, should now join those who attacked it. He said that Choudhri Chhotu Ram, while he was Minister, plunged into the scheme without proper circumspection. The speaker gave his whole-hearted support to the demand for an enquiry committee, as the scheme threatened to match the notorious Back Bay affair.

Choudhri Chhotu Ram, following Dr. Narang, enumerated the steps he had taken while he was Minister to have the scheme scrutinised by experts, but he said the reason why the scheme had not made the progress it ought to have made, was perhaps due to lack of vigilance on the part of the recent Minister.

Sir Jogindra Singh, Minister, asserted that, although formerly he supported a rival scheme, he now accepted full responsibility for the Mandi scheme which would, when completed, be a great source of power and development to the province. He congratulated the House on agreeing to this scheme and said that he agreed to accept the resolution for the appointment of a Committee. Finally, he reiterated, that if this scheme was given effect to, it would do a great deal to modernise the Punjab. The resolution was then put to vote and carried. The House then adjourned.

REGULATION OF ACCOUNTS BILL.

On the *1st AUGUST* the Council devoted the main part of the sitting to a discussion of a motion to refer the Regulation of Accounts Bill to a Select Committee.

Dr. Gokulchand Narang voiced the Hindu opposition to the Bill. The measure, he said, was in fundamental respects the same as its predecessor. The reason for which Sir Malcolm Hailey declined his assent to the Bill, still held good. Dr. Narang moved for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion by the 15th October.

Mr. Maqbool Mahomed assured the House that all that they wanted was that, with the minimum of sacrifice imposed on the money-lender, a borrower should be

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able to trace his accounts to their very origin, and know how they stood. He suggested that the Select Committee should not sit till the 15th October, by which date public opinion could be informally consulted.

Mr. Stow agreed to the suggestion, and Dr. Narang withdrew his motion. The Bill was thereupon referred to a Select Committee.

The *Punjab Pure Food Bill* of the Hon'ble Malik Ferozekhan Noon was recommitted to a Select Committee. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

AUTUMN SESSION—18th—20th SEPTEMBER 1929.

DEBATE ON THE PUNJAB SIMON REPORT.

The three days' autumn session of the Council commenced at Lahore on the *18th SEPTEMBER*, Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Shahabuddin presided. There was a thin attendance, most of the National Unionist Party benches being empty. Two familiar figures were also absent from the House, namely, Dr. Alam, leader of the National Party and Dr. Gopichand (Independent) who had recently resigned their seats as a protest against the treatment meted out to Mr. Jatindranath Das and his subsequent death while he was hunger-striking in the Borstal Jail.

After interpellations, the Finance Member moved for discussion of the Reforms Committee's report, and the Government memorandum to the Simon Commission.

Mr. Bodhraj (Nationalist) explained that his party was opposed to the motion, which was put to vote clause by clause. The House carried by 51 votes to 6 the first clause, namely, that the Reforms Committee report be discussed, and carried the second clause by 51 votes to 8, namely, that the government memorandum be discussed.

Several remained neutral. The House therefore proceeded with the discussion.

Mr. Maqbool Mahomed, while generally supporting the majority report, stressed that provision be made that no amendment under the constitution should be possible after the next Reforms.

Mr. Din Mahomed ridiculed the demand of the Sikhs for 33 per cent representation although they formed only 11 per cent of the population, and urged representation in the administration according to the percentage of population.

Mr. Mohanlal said that the majority report was totally unacceptable as no remedy was suggested therein to protect the minority communities. He dwelt on the Muslim demands, characterising them as unreasonable.

Dr. Gokulchand Narang, member of the Reforms Committee, urged the introduction of certain fundamental principles in the constitution to safeguard the rights of citizens. These included equal civic rights for all, equal opportunities for all in Government employment and equal rights for all in regard to public roads, schools, wells, etc,

Dr. Narang regretted that the report of the Committee was not unanimous. Referring to the remarks of Mr. Din Mahomed that the Hindus and Moslems were each a separate nation, he said that if Mr. Mahomed was an index of the majority community in the Punjab, that province did not deserve one iota of reforms. That was the view of the whole Hindu community in the Punjab.

Dr. Gokulchand Narang wanted that the Simon Commission should be asked to grant Dominion Status for India, and abolish separate electorates. He urged the freeing of the Central Government from the control of Whitehall, as otherwise provincial autonomy alone would do no good.

Criticising the signatories of the majority report, Dr. Narang said that two of the signatories were Moslems. A Hindu had also appended his signature, but why did the latter join the Moslem members? That was because he knew that his election entirely depended upon the vote of the Mohammedans who constituted the vast majority in his constituency.

The President wanted Mr. Narang to withdraw the remarks.

Dr. Narang said that he was entitled to disclose before the world how support to the majority report was secured. He refrained from saying anything against the other member who was a European and an official. The Council then adjourned.

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On the *19th SEPTEMBER* Capt. Sikandar Hayat Khan, Chairman of the Reforms Committee and Revenue Member, denied the allegation, but Dr. Narang emphatically declared that his statement was correct and asked whether there was not the hand of the Government in it. He wished to speak more on this question, but the President requested him to drop the subject, which the speaker did.

Dr. Narang, in the course of a long speech, gave the lines on which amendment of the present provincial constitution should take place. He recommended the abolition of communal electorates, and if continued, only on certain conditions. The strength of the Punjab Council should be 150, of which 125 should be elected. The official *bloc* should continue until the abrogation of the communal principle. There should be a Second Chamber. The security of subjects should be entrusted to a Board consisting of Hindus and Moslems. He recommended that the power of direction, superintendence and control over all Provincial Departments and powers of legislation and finance should be with the Central Government, as also all residuary powers. He desired the elections to the Provincial and Central Legislatures to be direct, and favoured the continuance of Sind as part of Bombay.

Mr. Gray sympathised with the Hindu demand that a method of election should be devised whereby a Hindu would be elected by a Moslem and a Moslem by a Hindu, but at the same time he said the rights of minority communities should not be ignored, and they should be given opportunity to express their views.

Mr. Zafarullah Khan, a member of the Reforms Committee, said that the proportion of representation in the Council suggested in the majority report was fair to all and not only to Moslems alone as alleged. He accepted as essential the introduction of a provision in the next Government of India Act whereby a further amendment of the constitution could be avoided and emphatically repudiated the allegation that the majority report was prepared in consultation with the Government. He complained that the Hindu authors of the minority report did not give the signatories of the majority report a chance to tone down their recommendations by suggesting constructive proposals to the committee as a whole. He regretted that Dr. Narang had said that if the majority report was accepted, the Punjab would be connected with a homogeneous land from Constantinople to Karachi, and thus the life, property and honour of the Hindus would be in danger. The speaker had never even thought that if the minority report was given effect to, the life, property and honour of the Moslems would be endangered. Mr. Zafarullah Khan advanced arguments to prove that the Sikhs were not a separate community from the Hindus and therefore special representation to them was being sought to be given to create a Hindu-Sikh majority in the Punjab. Mr. Khan was speaking when further discussion was adjourned.

On the *20th SEPTEMBER* Mr. Zafarullah Khan, continuing his speech, replied to the arguments of Mr. Narang to establish that complete provincial autonomy was necessary, considering the heterogenous elements in the population, and that persons elected through electorates would not always be communally minded but on the other hand would be true representatives of the communities.

Mr. Ujjal Singh, member of the Reforms Committee and author of a minute of dissent next emphasised that the Sikhs were not Hindus. What the Sikhs wanted was justice. Otherwise, they would fight to the bitter end, even if a new Akali Dal were to be created. Referring to the majority report, he said that no better scheme to change the British Raj into a Moslem Raj could be devised. The Sikhs were prepared to forego their rights for the sake of nationality, but they would not place themselves under another community. For the sake of the common good and growth of nationality, the Sikhs, though in a minority, were prepared to accept common electorates.

Mr. Abdul Ghani (nominated Labour Member) said that the Reforms Committee had recommended eight seats in the Council for capitalists through special constituencies, but none for the labourers. By denying Labour their right, they, the coun-

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cillors, were forcing the labourers to resort to communism. He recommended that eight seats in the Council be reserved for factory labourers and five for agricultural labourers.

Mr. Mayadas, Indian Christian, appealed to the Hindus and Moslems to settle their differences in a spirit of give and take, and start work in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. Finally, he urged reservation of three seats for Christians in the Council on the basis of population.

After some other speakers had spoken, the President adjourned the Council ***sine die.***

NOVEMBER SESSION—25th NOVEMBER 1929.

The Council commenced its November session at Lahore on the *25th NOVEMBER 1929.* There was an interesting discussion on the Government's demand for a grant exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 for maintaining a special Police Force in connection with the Congress session.

Mr. Bodhraj, Congressman, opposed the motion on the ground that the Police Force was employed from the 16th September, and the Government was demanding sanction for expenditure in connection therewith now. The expenditure was uncalled for, as there was sufficient police in the Province already, which was apparent from the fact that each Congressman was shadowed by a number of C. I. D. men. Lastly, owing to the recent floods a deficit budget was feared and the province was not in a position to incur further expenditure.

Mr. Emerson, Chief Secretary, emphasised that the Government were not in the habit of anticipating the Council's vote. In the present case, the Council's permission was sought late, owing to the difficulty of arriving at any correct estimate of the requirements of the police for the Congress. Only the previous day there was a conference of Government officials, at which owing to certain indications which occurred since the persent demand was formulated, it was held that the estimate needed revision. He was surprised that Congressmen should take exception to expenditure to be incurred in the interests of the Congress. He assured the Council that the expenditure was not being incurred in any way to restrict the activities of the Congress.

Numerous speakers participated in the discussion. Supporters of the motion included Pandit Nanak Chand, who feared that various communities might try to use force in order to get their demand accepted by the Congress and that might lead to disturbances requiring police intervention. The demand was eventually sanctioned.

THE PUNJAB PURE FOOD BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ferozekhan Noon then moved that the Pure Food Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration. The Bill proposed to inflict punishment of imprisonment up to six months for adulteration of food.

Pandit Nanak Chand (who had a motion in his name for circulating the Bill as amended by the Select Committee). opposing the motion, said that in view of the present condition of education and communalism, the proposed legislation would not work smoothly and benficially. The House adjourned.

On the *28th NOVEMBER* Mr. Mohanlal moved a resolution recommending to the Government to increase the grant to the indigenous system of medicine from Rs. 9,000 to 20,000. He said that while Madras grant was one lakh, U. P. two lakhs, the Punjab was only 9,000. He criticised the apathy of the Government towards the indigenous system of medicine which by no means was inferior.

The Minister for local Self-Government said that two institutions, the D. A. V. College and the Islamia College, where the indigenous are taught, do not want fund and the case, therefore, is not made out. The resolution was defeated

CONGRATULATION ON VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT.

Mr. Zafarullah moved the next resolution on the agenda recommending to the Government to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy the House's congratulations on the announcement, urging His Excellency the necessity of securing full represen-

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tation of the Punjab on the Conference to be held in pursuance of the announcement, Mr. Zafarullah said that hardly had there been any pronouncement around which all shades of opinion veered so spontaneously. The representation on the Round Table Conference, he said, should be on an all provincial basis and not on an all India basis.

Mr. Ujjalsingh said that Lord Irwin's name will go down to history as one of India's greatest Viceroy who struck at the right moment and insisted that all communities and interests would find place. Mr Mohanlal accorded support to the first part and not the second as communalism should never be represented. Mr. Afzal Haq expressed appprehension that the Punjab would destroy the fabric of the Round Table Conference by the spirit of communalism. The Simon Commisson afforded opportunities for communalists to represent their case.

Mr. Roberts (European commerce) said that in the future constitution of India European interests would not be neglected. Mr. Sewakram held that nominations on the Round Table Conference should be on an all-India basis as all India leaders think better than provincial leaders. Messrs Mayadas, Harbaksh, and Sadik spoke on the resolution which was put to vote part by part. The first part, viz., congratulating the Viceroy was carried unanimously, while the second part urging adequate representation of all communities and interests was passed by a majority. The Council then adjourned.

COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION.

On the *29th NOVEMBER* Mr. Akbar Ali moved recommending to the Govt. for introducing compulsory primary education in the province comprising a six years' course within the next seven years. In order to accelerate such education he suggested appointment of rural teachers.

Mr. Monoharlal, Minister of Education, said that a committee will shortly be appointed in pursuance of the resolution of the House passed at the Simla session and assured the mover that his motion will also be conside ed by the committee. The motion was then withdrawn.

Mr. Mohammad Hussain then moved a resolution recommending to the Govt. to open an Intermediate College in Montogomery. Mr. Monoharlal assured the House that the Govt. would come to a decision if financial provision could be found to open an Intermediate College at Montogomery. This motion was also withdrawn.

Mr. Mian Ahmad Yar Khan then moved a resolution recommending to the Govt. not to hold the forthcoming elections of the Council in the next spring or summer as at that time the Zemindars will be busy in crops-cutting and will not be able to address their constituencies.

Sir. Fazli Hussain conceded the mover and the resolution was withdrawn.

The House then adjourned till December 2.

WATER-TAX ON COTTON.

On the *2nd DECEMBER* Mr. Hira Singh moved a resolution recommending that in view of the unprecedented fall in the price of cotton, the water-tax on cotton be reduced by six annas in the rupee. Mr. Hira Singh contended that the water-tax could be reduced by cutting down the salaries of the highly paid officials.

Mr. Townsend, the Finance Commissioner, opposed the resolution, saying that it would create a dangerous precedent. The resolution was withdrawn.

THE PUNJAB PURE FOOD BILL.

On the *3rd DECEMBER* the Council held a long sitting, and considered the Pure Food Bill clause by clause and disposed of twelve clauses.

According to the amended clauses, the Bill shall extend only to such areas in the Punjab as the Local Government may by notification direct in respect of any specified article of food or generally in respect of all articles of food, and shall come into force in each area to which it is extended on such dates as may be notified.

The Bill provides for the appointment of public analysts and inspectors of food. The municipal and district medical officers of health may also exercise the

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powers and perform the functions of the inspector throughout their respective jurisdictions. According to Clause 7 an Inspector may (a) at such a reasonable time as prescribed, enter into and inspect any place ordinarily used for sale or where there is any food which he has reasonable ground for believing to be intended for sale ; (b) inspect any food found in any such place or in any other place to which the public has access, which he has reasonable ground for believing to be intended for sale ; and (c) seize and (d) destroy it. Any person who obstructs any inspector in the exercise of his powers under this section shall on conviction by a Magistrate be punishable with fine up to Rs. 500.

Mr. Roberts, speaking on the amendment of Mr. Nanakchand moved at the previous sitting, said that the bill attacked Banaspati ghee direct but aimed only to regulate the sale of other things. He agreed fully with Mr. Nanakchand.

Mr. Ferozekhan Noon, Minister, said he had a talk with some members and accepted some amendments.

Mr. Sewakram protested against hurrying up of the bill.

Mr. Gray supported the amendment for re-circulation. Capt. Sikander Hayatkhan opposed re-circulation of the bill. He said that the evil of impure food was increasing fast and the urgency of the bill was established.

Raja Narendra Nath favoured recirculation and said that if the bill was hurried through it would share the same fate as the Towns Improvement Act.

The amendment when put to the vote was lost. Mr. Sewarkhan moved that the bill be sent to a sub-committee to re-draft it.

Mr. Afzal Huq condemned dilatory tactics. The amendment being lost the main resolution was then discussed clause by clause up to clause 12.

At this stage Mr. Mukund Lal Puri moved to insert "knowingly" in clause 13 (1) as otherwise, he said, many innocent persons would be punished. The whole structure of criminal law, he said, would crumble down if this principle was not accepted. Almost all the members prosent spoke on the resolution.

At 6 p. m. the amendment was put to the vote and lost by 13 to 38 votes. The Council then adjourned till December 5.

On the *5th DECEMBER* five more clauses of the Pure Food Bill were disposed of and a heated discussion on the 18th clause was proceeding when the House adjourned.

Clause 13 in the final form prohibits the sale of adulterated food and ghee as pure food. Contravention of this section would entail Rs. 250 fine for the first offence, Rs. 500 fine for the second offence, and in the case of subsequent offences a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000 and imprisonment up to six months or both.

Clause 14 lays down that vegetable ghee or other substitutes for ghee be sold in a place specially licensed and contravention of this section too, is punishable with the punishment laid down in Clause 13.

Clause 15 makes it compulsory for a manufacturer of vegetable ghee to keep registers.

Clause 17 gives power to Magistrates to confiscate or destroy all aduiterated foods.

Clause 18 which lays down that it shall be no defence to allege that a seller was ignorant of the nature of the substance or quality of the food sold or offered or kept for sale, caused considerable opposition.

Mr. Mukundlal Puri, supported by Hindu members, urged the deletion of the clause which, he said, would take away the right of defence from every dealer in food. Other members urged amendment of the clause in such a way that innocent persons should not be penalised. The House at this stage was adjourned to enable a suitable amendment being framed.

On the *6th. DECEMBER*, resuming discussion on Mr. Mukandlal Puri's motion that clause 18 be omitted, Minister Feroze Khan Noon said that the Government were prepared to delete the clause as the Government thought it was redundant. The clause was therefore deleted.

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Clause 19 empowers a magistrate to recover all fees and expenses incidental to the analysis of any impure food from the convicted person.

Clause 20 lays down that no prosecution under the Act be instituted except on the complaint of an Inspector authorised by the Director of Public Health or a local authority appointed by the Director.

Clause 21 says that no third class magistrate could take cognizance of an offence under this Act.

Clause 22 protects inspectors of food against vindictive suits by persons charged with adulteration of food.

Clause 23 empowers the Local Government to make rules incidental to the passage of this Act, and any person who contravenes it is made liable to punishment.

On the motion of the Hon. Feroze Khan Noon, the bill was passed without discussion.

REGULATION OF ACCOUNTS BILL.

The Council thereafter took up the Regulation of Accounts Bill, the predecessor of which, the Money-Lenders' Bill occasioned a keen controversy inside and outside the Council.

Mr. Stow, Revenue Member, moved that the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be taken up for consideration. He admitted that it was unpalatable to some and was considered inadequate by others, but hoped that the Bill would be discussed in a spirit of reasonableness.

Mr. Nanakchand, opposing the motion, said that it was throwing dust in the eyes of the people by calling it the Regulation of Accounts Bill while it was the same as the Money-lenders' Bill. If the bill was passed, he said, trade, commerce and agriculture in the province would be restricted.

Mr. Mohanlal moved for the circulation of the Bill for eliciting opinion. He said it had emerged from the Select Committee in a very much changed form which fact necessitated its recirculation.

The motion after a heated debate was rejected, and the Council adjourned.

On the *9th DECEMBER* Mr. Dhanpat Rai, opposing Mr. Stow's motion, said that the Bill was most absurd as it required submission of six monthly accounts by a person who lent money to his friend or deposited money in a bank or who purchased Government securities.

Mr. Dulichand, supporting the motion, criticised the methods of keeping accounts of the Punjab money-lenders. Mr. Ferozuddin, supporting the motion, said that unrestricted credit was disastrous to the illiterate rural classes.

Mr. Stow's motion was carried, and the House commenced consideration of the Bill clause by clause.

Mr. Mohanlal's amendment to the first clause restricting the working of the Act only to those districts or groups of districts whereto Government applied it, was lost. Mr. Sale, Legal Remembrancer, opposed it on the ground that the cause of action would not always arise in the same districts.

A Government amendment having been carried, the first clause, as passed, laid down that the bill would be extended to the Punjab and shall come into force on such date as the local Government might appoint, provided that this date shall not be earlier than six months or later than one year after the date of the final publication of the rules made under Section 6 of the Bill.

Mr. Gokulchand Narang moved substitution of the words "two years" for the words "six months" in order to give sufficient time to the money-lenders to learn the new method of accounts to be maintained. This was lost. Discussion on the second clause was proceeding, when the Council adjoured.

Clause 2 defines certain terms used in the Bill namely, bank, company, co-operative society, court, creditor, interest and loan. The last named term occasioned the keenest controversy when the Council assembled on the next day, the *10th DECEMBER*, and the definition of the term, as accepted in the final form, was that a loan means an advance in money or kind at interest and shall include any transaction which the court found to be in substance a loan, but shall not include : (1) deposit of money or of the property in a Govt. treasury, post office or any

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other bank or in a company with a co-operative society, (2) loan to or by or deposit with any society or association registered under the Society Registration Act of 1860 or under any other enactment, (3) loan advanced by the Government or any local body authorised by the Government, (4) loan advanced by a bank, co-operative society or company whose accounts are subject to audit by a certificated auditor under the Companies Act, (5) loan advanced to a trader (6) advance made on the basis of negotiable instrument as defined in the Negotiable Instrument Act of 1818 other than a promissory note. (7) transaction which is in substance a mortgage or sale of immovable property.

All the amendments moved to the definition of the term "loan" were lost including (1) excluding from the provisions of this Bill loans advanced by persons carrying on business bonafide not having for its primary object the lending of money (2) a loan advanced by a trader and (3) a loan advanced by a landlord to his partner in cultivation or co-sharer.

On the *12th DECEMBER* Mr. Mukand Lal Puri moved that the protection sought to be given to the borrower through the Bill be not given to a non-Mohamedan who was not a member of anagricul tural tribe. He said that the measure was designed to protect the supposed high-handedness of a money-lender. As a representative of an important non-Muslim constituency the speaker could say definitely that not one voter in his and another important non-Muslim constituency relished the Bill.

Mr. Mohammad Hussain said that if the amendment was carried the untouchables would still remain in the money-lenders' clutches.

Mr. Nanak Chand showed surprise that when Mr. Mohammad Hussain was developing his point Government members were cheering him. He asked, since when Government and Muslim members had developed special love for the untouchables? The last time when a Hindu member moved a resolution recommending the throwing open of public wells for the untouchables, and the Sikhs supported it, only the Muslim and Government members opposed the resolution. The action of Muslim and Government members to-day was sheer hypocrisy.

The speaker concluding expressed satisfaction that Mr. Jayakar had drafted a bill for the Assembly to abandon the term untouchability and class the latter among touchables.

After further discussion Mr. Puri's amendment was defeated. The Bill's second clause wherein only two minor amendments were passed was carried. The discussion on the third clause was proceeding when the Council adjourned.

On the *13th DECEMBER* the Council disposed of a part of the third clause of the Bill. The clause as passed required a creditor to regularly maintain an account in respect of each debtor of all the transactions relating to any loan advanced and furnish each debtor every six months with a legible statement of accounts. The accounts may be kept in English, Urdu, Gurmukhi, Nagri or Mahajani, whichever the creditor chooses, but he should supply the accounts to the debtor in whichever of the above-mentioned languages the debtor demands. The clause futher laid down that the principal and interest be not mixed up in the account books and that if a loan passed by inheritance or assignment to a widow or minor such widow or minor shall not be bound to maintain and furnish an account for six months from the date of such passing.

The option of the creditor to keep accounts in one of the five languages was granted after the Hindu members had threatened to walk-out.

On the *14th DECEMBER* the Council passed the Regulation of Accounts Bill which proved the most controversial measure ever discussed in the Council.

The concluding part of the third clause said that non-acknowledgment of six-monthly accounts by a debtor would not be deemed to be a admission of the account's correctness. The fourth clause *inter alia* gave the Magistrate power to disallow the whole or a portion of the interest found due and the cost of the suit when the creditor established the claim against the debtor, but was found not to have complied with the provisions of the Bill The fifth clause exempted from the provisions of the Act, loans advanced before the commencement of the Act. The sixth clause gave the Government power to prescribe the form for the maintenance of accounts. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

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The C. P. Legislative Council

Addressing the August session of the C. P. Legislative Council, which began at Nagpur on the *21st AUGUST 1929* under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sir Shankerrao Chitnavis, His Excellncy Sir Montagu Butler referred to the late Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, the first President of the Council, and paid a high tribute to his public life and friendly relations with the Government.

His Excellency then referred to the great rust epidemic and the measure adopted to arrest its progress. Under the Agriculturist Loan Act nearly Rs. 30 lakhs had already been allotted for distribution for the purchase of Rabi seed to enable the cultivators to replace the loss sustained by the failure of the last year's crop. After referring to several provincial matters His Excellency said that he had given serious consideration to the question of the life of the C. P. Council. He had not found it easy to determine what action would be the best for this province. His doubt had not been lessened by the lack of unanimity in the advice offered to him by those whom he consulted on the subject. Indeed, there seemed to him to be no settled opinion at all on the matter. His natural inclination was to proceed always according to plans. He felt that the object of the province should be to get into the main streams of Indian affairs, and not to explore back-waters. And in the present circumstances, the balance of advantage seemed to lie in not having general elections this coming November. He had decided not to come to a final decision on the matter until the conclusion of the present session.

The Hon'ble Mr. Tambe, Home Member, then proposed the adjournment of the business of the House as a mark of respect to the late president.

Rao Bahadur Kelkar, Messrs. Khaparde, Raghavendra Rao and Gowan on behalf of the non-official members supported the motion. The adjournment motion was carried, all standing. The House then adjourned.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS VOTED

On the *22nd AUGUST* the supplementary demands under the heads, Police, Administration of Justice, Education, Public Health, Agriculture, Famine, Expenditure in England, Famine Relief Fund and Loans and Advances by the Provincial Government, were voted. The Council then adjourned.

Interest centred round the "no-confidence" motions. Of the 27 members who stood up for the motions, 18 were Congress members, and the rest from the Democratic Party.

NO-CONFIDENCE ON MINISTER

On the *23rd AUGUST*, after question time, Dr. KHARE (Congress) formally moved his motion of "No-confidence" in the Hon. Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, Minister. Dr. Khare said that Dr. Deshmukh's acceptance of office was unconstitutional, because no Minister under the present Reforms and the present Government of India Act, could do any good to the country. The speaker challenged the Minister to show that the power he held was independent of the Government's wishes. The Ministers had no control over the purse and could take no action to better the condition of his country. The Ministers did not command the confidence of the majority of the elected members of the House. He should resign immediately instead of being a mere tool in the hands of the bureaucracy. Dr. Khare criticised the Responsive Co-operation party for the change in their policy towards the Ministry.

Mr. Majiduddin AHM ED Jubbulpore Division,) supporting the motion, said that Muslims joined the Nationalist Party on a definite assurance that one post would be given to a Muslim. His speech, which contained repeated references to communalism, was interrupted frequently and the President had to order the

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speaker to confine himself to the motion before the House, and to say why he had no confidence in the Minister. The speaker had to cut short his remarks.

Mr. Ahmed concluded by appealing to the House to vote for the motion as in his opinion the Minister had failed to protect the interests of the minorities.

The Government Advocate (nominated) opposed the motion. He observed that there was no good in wrecking the Ministry. He did not understand the object of the motion,

Mr. Umesh Dutt Pathak (Independent) supported the Congress view and questioned Mr. Deshmukh's move in forming the new Ministry. He complimented the Swarajists on having followed the Congress mandate.

Mr. Ganesh Gupta, leader of the Swaraj Party, gave reasons why the "No-Confidence" motion was tabled. He said that the present Ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the elected members. Hence they did not enjoy the confidence of several of the constituencies. They were in no sense responsible to the people under the present dyarchy.

Mr. Vaidya (Responsivist) protested against certain remarks made during the discussion and assured the House that he would follow the mandate of his party.

Mr. Khaparde said that the Swarajists also helped the Government by moving resolutions and asking questions and by working on committees as the Nationalist Party had done, thus indirectly helping in working dyarchy.

Mr. Kedar, on behalf of the Democratic Party, made a statement saying that the Governor was not well advised in choosing one of the Ministers, against whom last year there was a motion of "no confidence". 37 members had stood up favouring the motion. It should be taken that a "No-Confidence" motion had been virtually passed against the Hon. Mr. Deshmukh.

Mr. Kedar personally and on behalf of Mr. Raghavendra Rao, assured the House that they would not accept office during the life time of the Council.

The Hon. Mr. R. M. DESHMUKH made a statement that Ministers could take the initiative in several matters. He said that the charge that the interests of the minorities would not be safeguarded, was groundless. He fought for Mahomedan nominations on several occasions. He had acepted office this time, on the assumption that the present Ministry would be stable. He assured the House that he would abide by the decision of the Council shorly to be declared.

A motion for closure was made, but the President adjourned the House till the next-day on the ground that a full debate was necessary.

On the *24th AUGUST*, after interpellations, Dr. Khare's notice, to move an adjournment of the House on the ground that the Hon. Mr. Tambe, the Home Member, and other Government officers were bringing undue pressure to bear on the members in connection with the motion of "No-Confidence" in Mr. Deshmukh, the Minister, was disallowed by the President on the ground that the motion was indefinite.

The debate on the "No-Confidence" motion was then resumed.

Mrs. Anusaya Bai Kale opposed the motion. Mr. Fuley said that the time would soon come when all obstructive tactics would disappear. He added that the constitution must be worked.

The closure was moved and carried.

The Hon. Mr. Deshmukh repeated the remarks made by him the previous day, saying that there was nothing new.

The mover of the motion, replying to the debate, criticised the Nationalist Party which he said comprised various groups with no fixed principles.

The motion was put to vote. A poll was demanded with the result that 29 voted for the motion and 49, including officials and nominated members, voted against. The Congress Party and the Democratic Party solidly voted for the motion. The result of the voting was received with cheers.

Mr. Raghavendra Rao, Leader of the Democratic Party, asked why his signature was missing from the voting list, stated that he was leading members to the lobby to record their votes in favour of the "No-Confidence" motion and he

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forgot to record his vote, supporting the "No-Confidence" motion, although he had the intention to do so.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

Mr. Pradhan's District Municipalities' Amendment Bill, and Mr. Jaiswal's Smoking Bill were passed into law.

Mr. Kolhe's Cotton Market Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Jaiswal's Land Alienation Amendment Bill was lost.

Mr. Thakurdas Gowardhandas' Land Revenue Amendment Bill was referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Jaiswal's Gond Succession and Adoption Bill, and Mr. Kale's University Bill were also referred to Select Committees. The Council then adjourned.

On the *26th AUGUST* a few non-official bills were referred to Select Committees.

A resolution relating to the abolition of the post of Commissioner of Hoshangabad was carried by 33 votes to 25.

Mr. Kalikar's resolution regarding unemployment among the educated classes was not opposed by the Government. The Council then adjourned.

DISCOURTEOUS TREATMENT OF COUNCIL SECRETARY.

On the *27th AUGUST*, as soon as the President took his seat, Mr. Majidudin Ahmed got up and protested against the alleged discourteous treatment by Mr. Grille, the Council Secretary.

Mr. Majidudin said that when he went to the President's Chamber to hand in the adjournment motion about the Konti troubles the Secretary said, 'Your motion is time-barred. It should have been delivered before 11-30. Go out."

Mr. Majidudin referred to Lord Morley's dinner to the members of the Indian Civil Service, when there was a talk about the behaviour of Civil Servants towards the people of India. Mr. Majidudin Ahmed wanted to know why he was insulted by the Secretary.

The President explained that when he was talking to Mr. Kedar, Mr. Majidudin began to interfere, and he was told to wait until the talk with Mr. Kedar was over.

Mr. Grille explained that as the time left before the opening of the Council was only ten minutes, and as they were discussing business connected with the Council, he as Council Secretary requested Mr. Ahmed to go out and wait. No discourtesy was intended and he was surprised that there should have been a misunderstanding.

Mr. Ahmed enquired whether the Secretary would treat a European member of the Civil Service in the same manner.

Mr. Grille said : Yes, most emphatically, if any member of the Service behaved in the manner in which the member did.

After discussing some non-official resolutions of provincial interest, the Council adjourned *sine die*.

The B. & O Legislative Council

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS.

The autumn session of the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council commenced at Ranchi on the *3rd SEPTEMBER 1929* under the presidency of the Hon. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mahomed Noor. After interpellations and formal business, Mr. R. L. Nandkeolyar moved a resolution recommending the improvement of the status, pay and prospects of the subordinate Civil Executive Service but it was lost, 29 voting for and 31 against it.

The next resolution for enabling women to enter the Council was adopted by 43

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against 18 votes. The resolution for providing accommodation for jurors and assessors was then accepted by the Government.

Babu Ramcharitra Singh then moved the following resolution: "This Council recommends to the Government to issue a circular to the Director of Industries and the Textile Expert directing them to visit the Congress Khadi Organisations with a view to study this problem and to report to the Government as to the ways and means they should employ to help the growth and spread of this national movement."

Sir Fakhruddin, Minister for Development, opposed the resolution while Messrs Baldeo Sahay and Dipnarayan Singh supported it. The resolution was lost by 37 against 31 votes. The House was then adjourned.

On the *4th SEPTEMBER* the Council discussed non-official resolutions.

Mr. Brijmohan Panda's resolution to bring the Sambalpur District into line with the other other parts of the province so far as the Local Self-Government Act was concerned was withdrawn on the Government assurance that the matter was being considered.

Mr. Amrit Lal Ojha's resolution for raising the status of the Dhanbad district was rejected, the Government pointing out financial difficulty.

TREATMENT TO POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Mr. Guru Sahay Lal, Swarajist, moved a resolution asking the Government to amend the jail rules with a view to provide treatment as first class misdemeanants to all persons convicted for political offences. The speaker stated that the Government had accepted the principle and they should now frame definite rules to treat all political prisoners as first class prisoners.

The Judicial Secretary, opposing the resolution on behalf of the Government, said that under the existing rules, the Magistrate could direct that prisoners convicted of political offences be treated differently. Such class of prisoners were mildly treated, given special food and separate accommodation and every reasonable latitude was given which could be given in jail.

He pointed out that in England, no prisoner who was convicted of upsetting the existing order of society would be treated as a first division prisoner. The whole question of the treatment of prisoners, including political prisoners was the subject matter of an enquiry by the Government of India. The Provincial Government, under the instructions of the Government of India would consult non-official opinion on the question and forward it to the Government of India.

Mr. K. C. Sahay, Swarajist, pointed out that in England the prisoners were classified into two groups, ordinary convicts and those who were not convicted of an offence involving moral turpritude. The latter class of prisoners were treated as special class prisoners.

Mr. Jagat Narayan Lal gave instances in which political prisoners were not properly treated. The discussion was not concluded when the Council adjourned till the *5th SEPTEMBER* when in view of the Government offering to set up a small committee regarding the question of treatment of political prisoners, the resolution on the subject was withdrawn.

"SEARCHLIGHT" UNDER DISFAVOUR.

Mr. Nirsu Narayan Sinha moved a resolution urging the Government to withdraw their orders withholding from the *Searchlight* Government advertisements and free supply of their publications. The speaker strongly criticised the action of the Government. The paper had but done its duty in securing and publishing the Government's confidential memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission. Summaries of it had already been published in other newspapers. If the Government thought that the paper would in any way be affected by their action they were mistaken. The Government had been condemned by the leading newspapers and the Calcutta Journalists' Association. It was not too late to mend and the Government should withdraw their order.

The Hon. Mr. Whitty, opposing the resolution on behalf of the Government, said that the Government were responsible for the documents and papers in their charge and they must be the judges as to which of these were suitable for publication in the public interests which should be kept confidential. If

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papers, which the Government thought should not be published and marked 'confidential' appeared in any newspaper, the Government were bound in the public interests to show their disapproval. Papers which the Government had decided to treat as confidential, in the ordinary course, could only be procured for publication by dishonesty and breach of confidence of those Government servants through whose hands they passed. The Government, therefore, felt very strongly that they must protect their less reliable servants being offered inducements to dishonesty and their honest servants from the unjust suspicion which would fall on them, by marking their disapproval of the publication of such documents.

Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay (Swarajist) said the Government were under a delusion if they thought that they could make a paper subservient by penalising it No public interest had been jeopardised by the publication of the documents concerned.

Rai Brij Raj Krishna thought it was the duty of a newspaper to find the doings of the Government and publish them. He could not understand how the Government could mark their disapprobation of the conduct of their servants by punishing the *Searchlight.*

Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath said that it were they who were to judge whether the public interests had suffered by the publication of the documents. The newspapers in Europe had often published confidential official secrets, the speaker recalling in this connection the publication of the memorable Berlin treaty.

The resolution was rejected by 57 votes to 40.

DEBATE ON GOLMURI STRIKE.

On the *6th SEPTEMBER*, Mr. Sri Krishna Singh, leader of the Swaraj Party, moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the situation arising out of the tin-plate strike in Golmuri. He enumerated the grievances of the labourers, namely, low scale of wages, insufficient housing accommodation, absence of bonus, provident fund scheme, maternity benefit and other benefit service rules. These grievances were, he said, represented to the management who first held out hopes, but later adopted a defiant attitude, and the result was the strike. The strikers were willing to resume work if the management were prepared to stop victimisation and reinstate all the hands dismissed before and during the strike and appoint an impartial committee to enquire into their grievances. But these modest demands of Labour were not accepted by the management.

The mover said that Pathans were employed to terrorise the strikers, and the police had dedicated their function of maintaining law and order to the Pathans. He asked Government if such a state of things should be allowed to continue. It was, he urged, the plain duty of the Government to intervene at this critical juncture, and apply the provisions of the Trade Disputes Act and appoint a Conciliation Board. The intention of the Act was to promote goodwill between the workers and the employers, and if the Government kept aloof at this hour, the contagion would spread, and the labour unrest would assume a serious aspect in the country.

Mr. Krishna Ballabh SAHAY, Swarajist, who had been to Golmuri, said that the strike had been continuing for five months, and the industry concerned was ruining itself by the prolongation of the strike. During this period the Company suffered loss of about Rs. 19 lakhs. He referred to an assault on the picketers by the Pathans.

The Hon'ble Mr. WHITTY, on behalf of the Government, detailed the fact leading to the strike. He pointed out that the strike was resorted to by labour without notice to the management, who had no alternative but to recruit new hands. He repudiated the suggestions that the police allowed Pathans to intimidate the strikers. All cases were dealt with by the local officers strictly according to law. The attitude of the Government was wholly impartial. It was very difficult for the Government to intervene in a dispute of this nature. The appointment of a Conciliation Board would be infructuous and serve no useful purpose. In this case, the difficulty would be how to deal with the new hands now working in the tin-plate industry.

The adjournment motion was carried by 41 votes to 39.

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NON-OFFICIAL BILLS.

On the *9th SEPTEMBER* the debate was dull and attendance scanty when the debate on the *Muslim Wakfs Bill* was conducted in vernacular languages, even the Minister speaking in Urdu. Some Swarajist Hindu members supported and independent Muhammedan members opposed the motion for reference to a Select Committee. The Minister opposing observed that the provisions of the Bill were drastic and unworkable.

The proposal of the author of the Bill to translate vernacular speeches was ruled out by the President. One Mahant of the Swaraj Party, who supported the motion, voted against the motion which was lost by 35 against 49.

The motion for reference to a Select Committee of the *Religious Endowments Bill* of Mr. Rameswarprasad Dutt was opposed by a motion for circulation which was adopted.

Pandit Godavaris Misra remarked that although the Minister promised, nothing had been done to appoint a committee promised on the withdrawal of his bill during the winter session. Letters were received by the Mahanta and the Mahant's servants in Puri to serve on that committee. It was rumoured that a retired collector would preside over the committee.

Moving the *Chotanagpur Tenancy Amendment Bill* proposing transfer of non-aboriginal tenants' occupancy holdings for reference to a Select Committee, Mr. Gunendranath Roy said that transfer was allowed to the caste men of some villages under the same zeminder which resulted in surreptitious transfers through surrender, collusive suit and sale in execution of decree.

The debate was not concluded when the Council adjourned.

On the *10th SEPTEMBER*, four non-official Bills, *the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Amendment Bill*, *the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Amendment Bill*, the *Cattle Bill* and the *Orissa Tenancy Amendment Bill* were allowed to be circulated for eleciting public opinion.

The *Local Self-Government Amendment Bill* was brought forward by Mr. Ramcharitra Singh, Swarajist, with a view to protecting local bodies from the possibility of abuse of the powers of supersession vested in the local Government.

On the *11th SEPTEMBER*, the Council discussed certain points connected with the *Chota Nagpur Tenancy Amendment Bill*, which had been returned to the Council for reconsideration by His Excellency the Governor.

The Bill, which is an official measure, was passed in the last session of the Council with a view to facilitating the acquisition of land for mining purposes but a few amendments were then effected which in the opinion of the Governor required reconsideration. A motion regarding the omission of the provison in respect of acquisition of surface rights of land was defeated. Another amending motion was carried. A third point regarding the acquisition of dwelling houses was being discussed when the Council adjourned.

THE BIHAR AND ORISSA MICA BILL.

On the *14th SEPTEMBER*, the Council discussed the Bihar and Orissa Mica Bill an official measure for the prevention of theft of mica from the mining area of the Hazaribagh district.

The Hon. Mr. Whitty, moving for reference of the Bill to a select committee, explained that theft of mica in the Kodarma area was a most serious evil and it was interfering with the development of an industry of vital importance and keeping capital out of it when it was needed and preventing its development on scientific lines. Theft was so extensive that it could not be dealt with effectively by ordinary law. Cumulative evidence and independent enquiry had shown that theft was so prevalent that it was causing complete demoralization in the industry and driving reliable firms from the business. It was, therefore, their duty to set their house in order and take steps to put an end to the crying evil. He assured the Council that no injustice would be done to any party concerned by the proposed legislation. He detailed the provisions of the Bill, pointing out that the present Bill was modified to meet some practical objections urged on the previous occasion,

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Mr. Baldeva Sahay, Swarajist, disputed the existence of theft on an appreciable scale. He considered ordinary law quite sufficient to meet cases of theft. He pointed out that out of 103 cases of mica theft 86 ended in convictions. He failed to see why and in whose interest special legislation was enacted when the Bihar and Orissa Mica Association, a majority of the members of which were Indian, and five members out of nine of the Kodarma Mica Association had opposed the legislation.

Mr. Brij Raj Krishna, Swarajist, moved an amendment that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion.

The discussion was continued in the Council till the *16th SEPTEMBER* when the Government motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee was passed by fifty-one votes to forty-three. The Swarajist amendment for circulation of the Bill for public opinion was rejected.

The Hon. Mr Whitty on behalf of the Government reiterated that the Bill aimed at the prevention of theft of Mica and was meant to help the industry which was in an unhealthy state. No useful purpose would be served by circulation as the principle of the Bill was not new. All the interests concerned were consulted when the Bill was introduced in 1927.

A number of supplementary demands were next voted. The Swarajists opposed the demands. Mr. Srikrishna Singh, leader of the Swaraj Party, stated that they wanted to record their protest as the Government had never cared to pay any heed to popular opinion and failed to take action of the ajournment motion regarding the Tinplate-strike at Golmuri.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

On the *17th SEPTEMBER* His Excellency the Governor in ***proroguing the Council*** said :—"I have come on this occasion to prorogue the Council in person, because, I think, it is due to you that I should inform you myself of my intention to use the power vested in me by clause L B of Section 72B Government of India Act to prolong the life of the Council beyond the normal three years. In the ordinary course of events I should at the close of this session have taken leave of you preparatory to dissolving the Council so that the fresh elections might take place in November and the meeting of the newly elected Council might be held in January. But as you are aware His Excellency the Governor-General has announced his intention of extending the life of the Legislative Assembly and the Governors of other provinces have notified that they intend to follow the same course in respect of their Legislative Councils. The reasons for this slip have been given fully by the Governor-General.

"The next election for the Council can hardly take place without some relation to the constitutional changes that have been under discussion for the last two years and I am convinced that it is right that electors and candidates should have before them the report of the Royal Commission which was appointed to collect information on the basis of which the Parliament can consider the question of what these constitutional changes should be rather than that the election be influenced by hazardous guesses not impossibly coloured by political bias as to the contents of that report. I have decided therefore not to dissolve the Council now or hold elections this year.

"Ordinarily having come to this conclusion, realising, as I do, the great inconvenience to everyone, of elections held in hot weather and the rains, I should definitely extend the life of the Council until the following autumn, a time which experience has shown to be the most suitable for holding elections. But it is obviously desirable that we should fall into line with the Government of India and other provinces and hold our elections same time as they do. I shall not therefore issue the necessary notification fixing the period of extension until shortly before the life of this Council would normally expire, so that, I may have the advantage of considering the action contemplated elsewhere.

"The course I have adopted will enable the Council to give full consideration to two Government bills which the House has just referred to Select Committees."

The Swarajists walked out before the Governor's arrival.

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The Burma Legislative Council

The August Session of the Burma Legislative Council commenced at Rangoon on the *5th AUGUST 1929* under the presidenship of the Hon'ble Mr. U. Pu when the report of the Burma Provincial Simon Committee was presented. Next day, the *6th AUGUST*, the adjournment motion, moved by Mr. S. Tyabji to discuss the present students' strike in the Technical Institute, Insein was carried against Government opposition by a majority of four votes. Mr. Tyabji related the students' allegations and the assurance given to him by Mr. Dunn President of the Institute's Governing Body that no disciplinary action will be taken against them. Notwithstanding this assurance at a meeting later the Governing Body said that there was no justification for the strike and to punish the students for the same. This he asserted was a breach of trust.

Mr. Dunn replied that Mr. Tyabji's statement was incorrect. He did, when Mr. Tyabji met him, draw his attention to class attendance and stipends rules. Several officials and non-officials took part in the debate.

The Finance Member said that before striking, the students did not represent to the Governing body nor represented to the higher authorities of the Burma Government when they were dissatisfied with the mode of defence recorded by the Inquiry Committee. Non-officials also complained against the Principal acting as Secretary.

The Forest Minister said that as he would have to deal with the matter administratively he would refrain from taking part in the discussion but observed, composed as it was, the public had confidence in the Governing Body as he had.

DEBATE ON PROVINCIAL EXCISE BOARD

Non-official business commenced next. After a prolonged debate which continued till the next day, the *7th AUGUST*, the resolution moved by Mr. Tun Win recommending the formation of a Provincial Excise Board, consisting of 12 non-officials and the Minister as Chairman with final power to regulate the sale of liquor, opium and deleterious drugs and fix the number and location of shops was lost by a majority of eight votes. The same resolution as amended by Mr. Chit Hla to form a board to advise the Excise Minister regarding the sale of those drugs was also lost.

Mr. Tun Win, criticising the excise policy of the Government, pointed out that the policy failed to prevent smuggling, but increased the number of liquor and opium consumers.

The Excise Minister, Sir Ah Yain, said it had been best so far as no better suggestion had been yet made to alter it. The adoption of the resolution would create interference and difficulties in the administration and besides involve the delegation of the powers of the council to such a committee. There was the idea of prohibition behind the resolution but that was practically impossible in this country.

PROTEST AGAINST DISBANDMENT

On the *8th AUGUST* a united protest was made by various sections of the House against the disbandment of the Burma Sappers and Miners, the only Burmese Regiment. Simultaneously a demand was also made to remobilise them. The whole day was devoted to the debate. The resolution was moved by Mr. Tharrawaddy U Pu. Non-officials criticised the action of the Army Department in disbanding the Burmese Sappers and Miners, complaining that neither the military authorities of Burma nor the Local Government were consulted before the action was taken.

The Home Member said that the Local Government sympathised with the

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mover, and pointed out that the matter was a central subject and the final decision rested with the Government of India. The Burma Government did what they could before action was taken. He informed the House that the Government members would neither vote nor take part in the debate, but would send the resolution, if passed, to the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

The resolution was carried without opposition.

PLEA FOR REMOVAL OF SEX DISQUALIFICATION

On the *9th AUGUST*, after interpellations, Mr. Tharrawaddy U Pu asked for leave to move an adjournment motion to discuss the Local Government's action in refusing the demands of Phoongyi Wizaya, a prisoner hunger-striking for the last four months and now on the point of death.

The Finance Member, opposing it, said that the matter was the individual's concern, and it was Wizaya's choice.

The President disallowed the motion, holding that the matter was not of public importance.

An interesting debate them centred round the resolution moved by Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu recommending the removal of sex disqualification from the electoral rolls, which was carried. Non-officials, supporting the motion, pointed out the absolute freedom enjoyed and high position held by Burmese women in various spheres.

The Home Member, Sir Maung Gyi, explaining the Government's attitude said that Government would not oppose it, but officials might speak or vote as they liked. The resolution was passed without a division.

BURMA SIMON COMMITTEE REPORT.

On the *10th AUGUST* Mr. Tharrawaddy U Pu moved a motion to condemn the Provincial Simon Committee's report and the Government's memorandum, which was ultimately talked out.

The mover said that the former recommended separation, and the latter stated that Burma was still unfit for Home Rule. The speaker characterised the Provincial Simon Committee's report as useless. Producing a printed pamphlet which, he said, was the original provincial report, to which he had agreed, he said that it was all right as it then was, as it recommended full responsible government simultaneously with separation. The sudden change in the final report, the mover said, might have been due to the Government influence.

Mr. U. Ba Pe moved an amendment condemning the report'sr ecommendation except that on separation and the paragraphs in the Government memorandum suggesting retention of veto powers by Governor and the continuance of official *bloc*. He said the provincial report fell far short of the people's expectations. He said that the Committee would have received the whole country's thanks if they had stuck to their former report.

The Finance Member, explaining the Government attitude, said that neither the Government nor the officials would oppose the motion. When the Committee was appointed, the members refused to serve on it, but now they want to condemn the report. Their refusal, he thought, was due to fear to take responsibility. The speaker informed the House that there was no other memorandum barring that submitted to the Council.

Dr. Parekh, on behalf of Indians, said that they would neither vote nor take part in the debate owing to the separation recommendations.

Mr. Deglanville expressed disapproval of the action of the boycotters and non-co-operators in censuring the report, and said their remarks were improper.

Mr. U. Tun Win, supporting the motion, objected to communal representation which, he said, was now a great hindrance in India.

Mr. Aung Thin, Chairman of the Provincial Committee, said that the report submitted to the Council was the only one they had prepared, and the other one referred to by several members was not their report. Explaining the reasons for certain recommendations, he said, the retention of the official *bloc* was still necessary, as experts in administration were essential.

As the clock struck six, the President *prorogued* the Council.

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December Session—9th to 12th. December 1929.

ECHO OF PHOONGYI WIZAYA'S HUNGER-STRIKE.

The December Session of the Council commenced at Rangoon on the *9th DECEMBER 1929.* After interpellations, the President made a statement drawing the attention of the House to the Press article by Mr. Tharawaddy U. Pu, challenging the ruling of the President on the 9th August, disallowing his adjournment motion in connection with the hunger-strike of U. Wizaya. The President said that the article was incomplete, incorrect and misleading and created mischief. He must therefore warn the member not to repeat a similar mischief in the future.

Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu then tried to offer a personal explanation, but was not allowed to continue, as the President regarded that the member's explanation was not of the proper type. The President remarked that the member had no right to criticise the action of the President, his ruling being final.

Thereupon, Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu stated that he would criticise the President's action the next day when his motion for the removal of the President from office would come up for discussion.

This evoked heated cross-remarks between some Burman members, when the timely intervention of the officiating Finance Member, Mr. T. Couper, who presented the financial statements, resulted in the restoration of order in the House.

OFFICIAL BILLS.

To-day's agenda included several official bills of which two—(1) to provide protection to young persons living in circumstances conducive to crime and (2) to provide for the prevention of cruelty to animals in Burma—were passed, while the third bill to conserve and protect underground sources of water-supply was referred to a Select Committee. The Council then adjourned.

MOTION FOR REMOVAL OF PRESIDENT NEGATIVED.

On the *10th DECEMBER*, Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu's motion for the removal of the President from his office was lost without a division after several hours' debate, there being only a few supporters for it.

An adjournment motion by the same member was allowed by the President, the Government not objecting, to discuss the Government's action in refusing yellow robes to Buddhist monks in jails and also regarding the hunger-strike by U Arthappa. now in Rangoon Jail. The motion was talked out after two hours debate.

After interpellations, the Deputy President Mr. U. Ni occupied the chair, when Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu moved that the Hon. Mr. U. Pu be removed from his office as President, and the concurrence of His Excellency the Governor be invited to the course of action proposed.

The mover regretted the duty imposed upon him by the action of the President in disallowing his adjournment motion with reference to U. Wizaya's death as a result of hunger-strike. After giving a brief history of the controversy, he said the members who desired to criticise any action of the Government were prevented from doing so on the floor of the House because, standing orders were being so drafted as to make it not only impossible to offer such criticism, but also to obtain assistance in the public press and outside the Chamber for the ventilation of the grievances. Because he had published his views on the action of the President with regard to his adjournment motion, the President made a statement the previous day accusing him of creating bad feeling between the President and the Buddhist public. The speaker said he had never denied that there was any bad feeling between himself and the President so far as the Council business was concerned. He said, the present motion before the House was not inspired by any personal motives. He moved the resolution as he felt that he ought to bring things to a head, so that the members of the House when placed in a similar predicament as he had been, would be in a better position to say what they wished to say without being told that they were creating bad feeling.'

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Under the present conditions, the President's actions and decisions could not be criticised either in the Chamber or in the public press. That being so, he desired that the President should be one whose decision and actions would be absolutely impartial. He said he was fighting for the privileges and rights of all the members of the House and not for his own, and wanted to withdraw the motion ; but there were cries of "No, no" from all sides of the House.

The motion was then opposed by the leaders of the People's Party, the National Parliamentary Organisation and the Independent Party, who all criticised the mover for bringing such a motion on flimsy grounds.

Mr. Couper, leader of the House, opposing the motion, asked whether the President's action justified the withdrawal of their confidence and the support they had promised. He remarked about the absence of weighty reasons for such a motion, and asked the members to consider not only the dignity of the Chair but also of the proceedings of the House. He said the President had been supported by all sides of the House.

The motion was lost without a division.

TREATMENT OF PHOONGYIS IN JAIL.

To-day's agenda included non-official resolutions of which one was withdrawu after discussion, while the others lapsed.

When the clock struck four, Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu moved his adjournment motion to discuss the situation arising out of the action and policy of the Government in refusing yellow robes to Buddhist monks in jails which had already resulted in the death of U. Wizaya and in the hunger-strike of another Phoongyi U. Arthappa in the Rangoon Jail for similar reasons. The mover criticised the jail rules preventing monks from observing sabbaths in jails. The mover said he wrote a letter to the Government to consider the matter, but the request was not granted. He also referred to the ill-treatment and artificial feeding of Phoongyis in jails.

The Chief Secretary, Mr. Lloyd, opposing the motion, gave a history of Phoongyi Arthappa's case and said his hunger strike was an after-thought on hearing of Wizaya's death and that his object was to embarrass the Government.

The Home Member, opposing the motion, pointed out that Rev. Ottama, while in jail, never made such demands, and he asked the members to show authority. After quoting the Vinaya rules, he remarked that before the eyes of the Civil Laws, laymen and Phoongyis were the same.

The Home Member was still speaking when the clock struck six. The President adjourned the Council till next day.

MOTION FOR PROHIBITION EXPERIMENT REJECTED

On the *11th DECEMBER* Mr. U. Sein Ba moved a resolution that a prohibition experiment be carried on in Ryaukse district as a first instalment of total prohibition of alcohol in Burma. After a lengthy discussion the resolution was lost by a majority of three votes.

The Minister in charge of Excise opposing the resolution, pointed out that such an experiment conducted from 1922 to 1927 in the most suitable area had failed, and said that the result of such an experiment would lead to preference of foreign liquors to country ones. He also remarked that so long as there was demand, supply must come.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

On the *12th DECEMBER* the motion moved by Mr. U. Ba Pe welcoming the Viceroy's announcement and claiming for Burma adequate and separate representation at the proposed Round Table Conference by representatives of progressive political organisations was discussed for several hours, and passed without a division.

The mover said that at the proposed conference, the inclusion of Burma as a part of India would be unsatisfactory, as Indian leaders would be unable to present Burma's case. Besides, Burma was not satisfied with the Nehru Report. The Local Government's memorandum to the Simon Commission and the

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provincial Simon Committee's recommendations had not come up to their expectation.

Mr. Tharrawaddy U. Pu, who was supported by a few others, opposed the motion, remarking that, as the status of the representatives to the Conference was not yet defined, it would be useless to attend such a conference. Besides, the motion was a little premature at the present moment.

The Home Member said that he felt glad with regard to the first part of the motion, because there was no doubt that the Viceroy had the best interests of the people at heart. Regarding the second part of the resolution, he said the mover had the sympathy of the Government. He added that he would forward the proceedings to the proper quarters. The motion was ultimately passed.

AMENDMENT TO EXPULSION OF OFFENDERS ACT.

Besides additional supplementary grants the official business included a bill further to amend the Expulsion of Offenders Act which was moved by the Home Member and passed. The Council was then *prorogued.*

The Assam Legislative Council

The first session of the new Assam Legislative Council commenced at Shillong on the *7th SEPTEMBER 1929.* After the members were sworn in the Council proceeded to elect the President. The Hon. Maulavi Abdul Hamid, Minister for Education, in the meantime occupying the chair.

Originally five candidates were proposed, viz., Mr. Faiz Nur Ali (Swarajist), Mr. Keramat Ali (nominated), Mr. Munawar Ali (independent), Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha (Swarajist) and Mr. Gopendralal Das Chaudhuri (Swarajist).

The last three withdrew. Mr. Faiz Nur Ali secured 27 votes against 21 obtained by Mr. Keramat Ali and was declared elected.

Addressing the new Council, His Excellency Sir Laurie Hammond referred to the extensive damage caused by the recent floods, and acknowledged the assistance they had received both inside and outside the province. The total sum subscribed up to the last month exceeded Rs. 2,28,000.

Among the items on the agenda before the Council, His Excellency observed, was the appointment of a commitee by the Government to go into the question of the rules in the Jail Manual and the treatment of prisoners and under-trials in jail. That was in response to the order received from the Government of India.

"Our financial position is none too secure" His Excellency continued, "and the financial outlook can only be described as dismal. We have already spent some 24 lakhs in meeting the damages caused by the floods, and we have pledged ourselves to spend so much more as may be necessary to tide over the period when the sufferers from floods need relief. As a result of that, our cash balance will undoubtedly be seriously reduced, and we have therefore, at present, decided that where any particular work of magnitude has not been started, we shall cut down supplies pending future developments."

The flood position, according to the last report, His Excellency declared was improving. It would not be until November, however, that they would really know to what extent it had been possible to resow and what would be the crop from which they could expect a harvest.

On the *9th SEPTEMBER* the Council elected Mr. Gopendralal Das Chowdhury, Swarajist, as Deputy president. His was the only name proposed and he was the Deputy President in the last Council also. The President then announced the panel, Chairman and constitution of the Finance Committee.

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The election of members of the Road Board, the Shilliong Pasteur Institute Managing Committee, the various advisory boards and the Public Accounts Committee then took place.

The Swarajists walked out of the House when Mr. Botham presented a copy of the recommendations of the Assam Government to the Simon Committee.

FLOOD ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

On the *10th SEPTEMBER*, Mr. Basant Kumar Das, Swarajist, moved a resolution recommending that steps be taken for enquiry by at least three experts of whom one being Rai Bahadur G. C. Das, Chief Engineer, Martin's Light Railways, into the following problems regarding the Surma and Brahmaputra valleys :—

(1) Rainfall and total volume of water to be carried. (2) Sufficiency or insufficiency of existing drainage. (3) In case the drainage was found insufficient what measure could be taken for discharge or storage of water to prevent damaging floods with rough estimates of the projects recommended. (4) How far the Railway embankments and public roads or the insufficient water passage through them aggravate or have aggravated or tend to aggravate the effects of floods in the two valleys. What remedies (including alterations to alignments or even abandonment of ways where eseential) could be suggested to minimise the effects, if any.

The Hon'ble Sir Saadulla, member-in-charge, replying, pointed out the great magnitude of the task and the enormity of the expense involved in such an enquiry. The resolution was eventually carried *nem con.*

Another resolution moved by Mr. Mahmud Ali, which the Council carried, was for the postponement of next revenue sale date and the kist date till the next Magh (February) owing to the great damage done by the last floods.

REALISATION OF REVENUE PENDING LEGISLATION

On the *11th SEPTEMBER*, the House proceeded to consider the resolution of Sj. Lakheswar Barua which recommended realisation of revenue at the old rates pending suitable legislation from all parts of the House. The resolution was carried without division.

The resolution recommending remission of land revenue in the flood-affected areas of the Brahmaputra Valley was also carried.

NO-CONFIDENCE IN MINISTERS

On the *13th SEPTEMBER*, after question time, Mr. Brajendra Narayan Chowdhury, Swarajist, asked leave to move a motion of no-confidence in the Hon'ble Maulvi Abdul Hamid, Minister for Education, and the Hon'ble Rai Kanak Lal Baruah Bahadur, Minister for Local Self-Government.

The President allowed the motion to be taken up the next day after the conclusion of Government business.

The Assam Local Funds, Accounts and Audit Bill, 1929, was introduced after a lengthy discussion and was referred to a Select Committee.

The supplementary demands were then taken up. For flood relief the Government sanctioned Rs. 4,43,000 out of which there was a provision of Rs. 2,000 under famine relief, and Rs. 50,000 was expected to be recovered from the sale of rice to people able to pay.

The Council was asked to vote Rs. 2, 91,000 and Rs. 25 lakhas under the head "Loans and Advances" to enable the people to tide over the period until the crops are reaped, and to provide funds to purchase cattle.

Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha, Swarajist, moved token cuts of Re. 1 each in both in order to raise a discussion on the inadequate provision for the flood-affected people of Nowgong. He, however, withdrew them after a discussion. Both the grants were passed.

The Council voted Rs. 10,000 towards the costs of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee and Rs. 15,000 for repairing the breaches in the bunds and embankments caused by the recent floods in Sibsagar district. The Council then adjourned till the next day the *14th SEPTEMBER* when the "No Confidence" motion was withdrawn after the supplementary budget was passed. The Council was then *prorogued.*

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The Council of State

The Simla session of the Council of State opened at Simla on the *16th SEPTEMBER 1929*, under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith.

Seven official Bills amending the existing Acts were introduced. They related to Indian Territorrial Force Act, Indian Cotton Cess Act, Indian Registration Act, Burma Salt Act, Guardians & Wards Act, Provident Funds Act and Indian Succession Act. None of the bills were of controversial nature.

On the *17th SEPTEMBER* the House discussed non-official resolutions. At the outset the *establishment of the Privy Council* in India was urged by Sj. Kumar Sankar Roy.

Mr. Gwynne, Joint Secretary, Home Department, opposing said that the proposal was very inopportune as it would involve an amendment of the Government of India Act at a time when the Statutory Commission was reviewing the whole position. The resolution was ultimately negatived.

Sir Haroon Jaffer urged the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the question of *location of the central Medical Research Institute*, constitution of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association and recruitment for Medical Research Department.

Dr. Rama Rao supported him while Sir Henry Symon and Sir Fazli Hussain said that the Government had decided definitely to locate the Institute at Dehra Dun after careful consideration of the question by an independent committee. As regards the other parts of the resolution he assured the mover that they would receive a careful consideration at the hands of the Government. The resolution being pressed to a division was lost by 12 to 23 votes.

Sj. Rama Prasad Mookerjee urged the raising of *Salary of accountants* in the head Post-offices, as it was rather low considering the nature of the work they have to do.

Mr. T. Ryan, Secretary, Industry and Labour, pointed out the difficulty in acceding to the request but assured that it would receive a careful consideration from the Government. Sj. Mukherjee thereupon withdrew his resolution.

On the *18th SEPTEMBER* the seven *official bills* introduced on the 16th appeared on the agenda of the Council of State when 25 members were present. Six of these were passed with formal speeches for consideration by the official members concerned, and no speeches were made on these from the non-official side. The seventh bill relating to the amendment of the Provident Funds Act was postponed on the ground, as Mr. Burdon stated, a certain non-official member had no time to give notice of an amendment which he desired to move.

EXPORT DUTY ON RICE

On the *19th SEPTEMBER*, the Hon. Dr. Rama Rao moved for the reference of the matter of the propriety or otherwise of the export duty on rice to the Tariff Board in accordance with the Taxation Committee's recommendation. The mover referred to the view of the Taxation Committee and particularly to Dr. Paranjpye's opinion, who considered that the export duty was justified for discouraging the export of the commodity which India needed to retain in her own borders. The price of rice had risen from 13½ seers a rupee in 1857, to less than four seers now, the average annual exports during the period being two million tons. Such large exports must be prohibited to save the people of the country from starvation and Dr. Paranjpye had urged a prohibitive duty. The argument that such an export duty was a burden on the producer had been met by Sir Basil Blackett who had maintained

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that it fell on the consumer, and was not harmful in the producer. For every eight tons India exported, she imported five tons from Burma. To allow that to continue was an economic folly. In the course of the debate on Maung Tok Kyi's motion for the abolition of the export duty, Sir Basil Blackett had promised an investigation into the incidence of the export duty but nothing had been done yet. Hence the speaker urged reference of the matter to an expert body namely, the Tariff Board.

Mr. BURDON. Finance Secretary, said that the undertaking referred to by the mover had been fulfilled, and the Government of India had been very closely examining the question, and had been in correspondence with the Burma Government. The Taxation Committee's view was that so far as the export duty on Burma rice was concerned, it should be continued, but the Committee had urged an examination of the question. The speaker also referred to the Burma Government's contrary view and to the Burma Legislature's resolution urging the abolition of the export duty on Burma rice. Although the Burma Government's conclusions supported Dr. Rama Rao's view, yet the former did not desire immediate investigation. The large interests of the Central Government were also involved in the matter. The export duty on rice brought one crore annually. It had been regarded as justifiable for a long time. Even at present it was not possible to say that the tax was so harmful that it called for immediate abolition. Moreover, the implications of the removal of the tax might be fresh taxation elsewhere or the curtailment of important expenditure. The financial relations between the Central and the Provincial Governments were also under the consideration of the Statutory Commission. Inquiry by the Tariff Board could not commence before the summer, while the matter could be more summarily investigated. These were the reasons which *inter alia* led the Government of India to desire the postponement of a decision on the question until some more opportune moment presented itself some months later. The Finance Secretary hoped that, in view of his assurance, the mover would withdraw the resolution. He promised at the same time to communicate the proceedings of the debate to the Burma Government and if the Burma Government desired an earlier investigation, the Government of India would be willing to consider the matter.

Dr. Rama Rao accordingly withdrew the resolution.

GRIEVANCES OF CURRENCY OFFICE STAFF.

Mr. KHAPARDE next moved for the appointment of a mixed committee to inquire into the grievances regarding pay. provident fund, etc., of the non-gazetted staff, menial and clerical, of the currency offices in India and Burma. His reasons for the motion were that representations to the Executive heads had not had a response. He said that the staff had been entirely neglected for the last 20 years. In 1920 something was done but too little. The cost of living had considerably increased and the responsibilities of these employees were very great, and yet their salaries were insufficient.

Mr. BURDON, Finance Secretary, opposed the resolution with great regret for several reasons. It had been decided to accede to the employees' representation regarding provident fund contribution. Proceeding, he said that the functions of the legislature did not include a detailed examination of the administration. To make a special case of the present matter, would be to create a dangerous precedent. Further, if the House removed all grievances of public servants it might have a general grievance from the tax-payer. There had been revisions in pay in 1920 and 1922 and 1924. Heads of departments could be depended upon for claiming for their subordinates what was due. Indeed the scales of pay had been substantially improved in 1924. They were in communication with the Local Governments regarding the question of pensions. The attention of the Controller of Currency was focussed on these matters and it was not necessary to appoint a committee of enquiry.

The resolution being pressed to a division, was lost by 16 against 19 votes.

FREE ALLOWANCES OF LUGGAGE ON RAILWAYS

The House next proceeded to discuss Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana's resolu-

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tion for increasing the free allowances of luggage on railways to 25, 30, 40 and 80 seers for third, inter, second and first classes.

Mr. Woodhead, Commerce Secretary, explained that an inquiry was being held into the question of increasing the free allowances of luggage for lower class passengers. They were considering the advisability of introducing a uniform procedure in the matter of concessions, and the provision of better facilities for weighing luggage He regretted that the Government could not see its way to abolish the penalty on those who carried excess luggage as was desired in the resolution.

Mr. Ramaprasad MUKHERJI considered that while no reduction was necessary for first class passengers, it was necessary for others Third class passengers also deserved abolition of the penalty, since for no fault of theirs they were unable to get luggage weighed at the start of the journey. In view of the assurance of an inquiry made by the Government the mover withdrew his resolution.

CAUSES OF RECURRING FLOODS

Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray CHOWDHURI next moved for the appointment of an expert committee, having also representative public men on it, to enquire into the causes for the repeated floods. and suggest means for prevention. Various artificial causes, he said, which enhanced the damage by floods, required particular investigation. Among these were the railway embankments.

Mr. RYAN, Secretary of the Industries Department, referred to the previous resolution of the Assembly, and said that the Government objection was that the matter was entirely within the purview of the Local Governments, and the Central Government had already several times offered all possible assistance to the latter for the purpose. The Local Governments were also of the unanimous view that au inquiry would not be of any value. The Government of India were fully alive to the gravity of the problem, and had been drawing the attention of the Local Governments to the matter. The resolution was rejected and the house adjourned.

EXPORT OF CATTLE

On the *23rd, SEPTEMBER* Seth Govindas introduced his Bill to prohibit the export of cattle. He said the Bill was based purely on economic grounds, and did not touch religious matters as it did not concern slaughter. Good types of cattle were being taken away by rapidly increasing exports. He would move for the consideration of his Bill in the winter.

EXPORT OF OIL CAKES

Dr. U. Rama Rao moved for the levy of a prohibitive duty on the exports of oil cakes, bones, fish manure, etc. He said that the Agricultural Commission had deplored the lack of nitrogen in Indian soil, while much combined nitrogen was being exported as oil-seeds, bones, etc. He quoted figures to show the increasing exports of fertilisers. Many witnesses before the Commission had advocated total prohibition of the export of phosphates, which proposal had the support of the Agricultural Board and the Taxation Committee. The Government should therefore prohibit export by imposing a duty or otherwise. If necessary a small manure committee should be appointed as suggested by the Agricultural Board.

SIR M. DADABHOY'S AMENDMENT

Sir Manekji Dadabhoy considered that the suggested method would be ruinous from the economic point of view. So, he proposed an amendment that, instead of a prohibitive duty, small cess should be levied as suggested by the Fiscal Commission in 1922, and the proceeds be utilised in essential propaganda for encouraging the use of manures. He charged the Government with remissness in not giving effect to the said recommendation of the Fiscal Commission for seven years.

Sir Fazli HUSSAIN, sympathising with the object of increasing India's agricultural productive power as far as possible, said that there was difference of opinion regarding the means of achieving it. The Agricultural Commission had considered that an export duty would do harm. The Government agreed that the Fiscal Commission's view was sound as far as the necessity for educative propaganda was concerned, but thought that probably the amount of the cess would not exceed thirty or thirty five thousand rupees and that it would not be

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worth while to collect such a small amount. Why not find the small necessary amount from some other source? Moreover, an Agricultural Research Council has been appointed, and it should be left to tackle the question of manures.

The export trade of these articles was comparatively very little, and the export duty would kill the oil seeds-pressing industry. So long as the Government were prepared to achieve the object, the cess was unnecessary.

Mr. Ramdas PANTULU expressed bitter disapointment at Sir Fazli Hussain's speech, and said that the Government's attitude in the country was dictated by powerful foreign agencies, who sent artificial manures into India. The British Sulphate of Ammonia Federation alone spent £23,000 annually on propaganda in India of imported manure or and offered to raise it to £50,000. Proceeding, he said that the Government did all propaganda for such foreign companies, helping them further by placing restrictions on local manufactures and by internal transport concessions. The plea of education of the ryots in the use of indigenous manures was pure camouflage. The theories of the fiscal and Agricultural Commissions deserved rejection by capitalists. Sir Fazli Hussain was as powerless as any non-official in influencing the Indian Government in favour of the Indian cultivator against the conflicting British financial interests.

Rai Bahadur RAMSARAN DAS gave copious quotations from the reports of the proceedings of the Agricultural Board to show that the Government had not taken action on them, and said that the productive capacity of land was going down. Germany, France and Czechoslovakia did not allow the export of manures. Why should not India also prohibit the export of these articles?

Sir Fazli HUSSAIN agreed that the complaint, that organised capitalists had a way of forcing themselves on the administration, was just, but it was as just in India as in England, where the growing strength of public opinion fought these interests.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu : People should be sent to jail for that.

Sir Fazli Hussain : But that process has to be gone through if you wish to fight those interests to whatever class they belong.

Proceeding, Sir Fazli Hussain said that the Government was anxious to help the industries, but if a responsible Minister's presence was not enough for such help, he did not know what else would.

Mr. Ramdas Puntulu interjected that customs was an Imperial subject, and not within the Minister's powers.

Sir Fazli Hussain admitted that it was so but said that if they did what the resolution asked, they would be injuring the producer of oil cakes, Moreover. he stated that foreign interests would not suffer in any way. If the test was the cultivator's good, the resolution could not be accepted. As against the resolution, he was all for the principle of the amendment.

The House passed the amendment, but rejected the resolution as amended.

PLEA FOR UNI-CAMERAL LEGISLATURES.

Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray Choudhury then moved a lengthy resolution recommending that steps should be taken by the Governor General-in-Council to have the Indian legislatures reconstituted on a unicameral and on entirely elected basis, giving capital and labour equal representation as detailed by the mover.

The mover explained that the modern theorists were veering round to the view that unicameral legislatures were more desirable than bicameral ones.

Mr. Gwynne, Joint Home Secretary, characterised the resolution as premature, fanciful and impracticable, and said that the Statutory Commission had all those matters under consideration, and the mover might forward his views to them. The resolution was rejected, after a brief reply from the mover.

ENQUIRY INTO JAIL ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Ramaprasad Mukerji moved for the early appointment of a committee of the members of the Central Legislature and other representatives to investigate into the jail administration, particularly the nine points mentioned in the resolution. The mover said that to Mr. Jatin Das belonged the glory of showing in nakedness the conditions of Indian jail-life, and the nature of the slow moving and unimaginative Government. The resolution was moved with the object of empowering the

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proposed committee to give a final shape to the provincial committees' recommendations. The jail administration of India was rotten to the core, and needed early detailed examination.

Mr. Gwynne said that the Government had devoted great attention to the subject for ten years, and were not satisfied that an occasion had now arisen for appointing a committee as suggested. Most of the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee of 1919 had been carried out as far as possible. Moreover, periodical conferences of Inspectors-General of Prisons and Provincial enquiries constituted a sort of perpetual investigation. The question of the advisability of introducing an All-India Act would be discussed at the next conference. Though legislative committees had done valuable work, yet the cost had been great reaching over a crore.

After a reply from the mover, the resolution was defeated by 30 against 13, and the House adjourned.

PROVIDENT FUNDS ACT AMEND. BILL

On the *24th SEPTEMBER*, the house considered and passed the Provident Funds Act (Amendment) Bill incorporating Mr. Ramaprosad Mukerji's amendment, whereby the Bill would also cover colleges affiliated to universities established by statute. The Bill was purported *inter alia* to legalise withdrawals from provident funds for the payment of subscriptions or premia to family pension funds and to extend the protection of the Act to provident fnnds of certain public institutions.

The Council then considered and *passed 4 bills* to levy a cess on certain kind of coke, to amend the Boilers Act, to enable the taking of a census and to amend the Calcutta Pilots and Indian Ports Acts. Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray Choudhury's amendment to the Census Bill was defeated.

MINIMUM WAGE FIXATION MACHINERY

Mr. Ryan, Secretary, Industries and Labour, next moved a resolution urging the acceptance of the recommendation regarding machinery for fixing minimum wages in certain trades adopted at the 11th International Labour Conference.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu protested against the consideration of the resolution then, as members had not been supplied with the connected papers.

Eventually, on Sir Fazli Hussain's suggestion, the mover and the House agreed to postpone consideration of the resolution until Thursday to enable papers to be distributed to and studied by the members. The House then adjourned.

EXPORT TRADE IN CATTLE-MEAT

On the *25th SEPTEMBER* Seth Govind Das introduced his Bill to prohibit the export trade in cattle-meat. He said that the country's misfortune was that cattle were slaughtered not only for the people in India, but also for foreigners.

TELEPHONE RATES IN CALCUTTA

Mr. Ramaprasad Mukerji moved a resolution asking for a committee to enquire into the message rates levied by the Bengal Telephone Corporation. He said that businessmen were very adversely affected by the rates.

Mr. Ryan, Industries Secretary, observed that the question of the revision of the rates was being considered and the Government would be glad to inquire into specific complaints. The committee suggested however was unnecessary.

In view of the assurance of Mr. Ryan, the resolution was withdrawn.

PRIVY COUNCIL FOR INDIA

Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray Choudhury next moved a resolution recommending the amendment of the Government of India Act to enable the establishment of a Privy Council in India.

Mr. Gwynne, speaking on behalf of the Government, considered the resolution to be very vague and impracticable. It was also inopportune, he observed, as the entire question of constitutional changes was being examined by the Statutory Commission.

Nawab Mahomed Akbar Khan opposed the resolution as it would further ncrease the tax-payers' burden. The resolution was eventually rejected.

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AMENDMENT TO HINDU LAW OF INHERITANCE

Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana then introduced the Hindu Law of inheritance (Second Amendment) Bill purporting to give recognition to the rights of females related by marriage to the family of the deceased, for instance, predeceased son's widow or brother's widow. Both this, and Seth Govind Das's Bill will be however moved for consideration in the Delhi session.

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY (AMENDMENT) BILL

On the *26th SEPTEMBER* Mr. Ramaprosad Mukerji and Mr. Kumar Sankar Rai Chowdhuri, between them, were responsible for all the twenty-one amendments tabled to the Transfer of Property Amendment Bill which was taken into consideration on Mr. Graham's motion. Only seventeen of these amendments were moved and all were defeated. By two of these Mr. Ramaprosad Mukerji desired to retain the saving in favour of the rules of the Hindu and Buddhistic laws from the operation of Chapter two of Act. He had the support of Mr. Kumar Sankar Roy Choudhury and Mr. Khaparde while Mr. Ramdas Pantulu considered the Law Member's explanation satisfactory that since no existing rule in Hindu Law militated againt the provisions of the said chapter the saving was not needed. On one of Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray Choudhury's amendments regarding presumption of notice, the Law Member assured the House that the Government of India would draw the Local Government's attention to the need for consequential modifications of their registration rules. The Bill was passed exactly as it was passed by the Assembly.

The Transfer of Property (supplementary) Bill and the Income Tax Amendment Bill were next passed without amendments or discussion.

"MINIMUM WAGES" CONTROVERSY

The House then resumed discussion on the Labour Secretary's resolution recommending that the Draft Convention and recommendations regarding the machinery for fixing minimum wages adopted at the Eleventh International Labour Conference be not ratified or accepted.

The relative questionnaire had been issued by the Geneva Conference in the middle of 1927, so the Government had the matter before it for thirty months. The speaker hoped that the Government would not compromise the dignity of the House by asking it to say that a convention passed by the representatives of forty-six nations after full deliberation was not right. The Government itself appeared to be against the convention so it was not either fair or honest for it to ask the obliging House to share the responsibility in the matter. The wording of the convention was very elastic and provided ample safeguards for the Governments concerned. So, why not ratify it? The speaker did not see why the matter which had been decided by representatives of all nations be allowed to be reopened by the Whitley Commission. Also, as several other nations had ratified the convention, why not India?

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy said that in bringing this resolution the Government had acted in conformity with previous practice. The Trades Act passed last year supported adequate machinery, for deciding such matters. Hence there was no necessity of the convention. Moreover, the Whitley Commission was yet to investigate the matter. The adoption of the Convention at the Geneva Conference was no reason why the House should not take an independent decision on the matter.

Mr. Ryan, Labour Secretary, replying said that since the original questionnaire had been received by the Government near the beginning of August 1927 and the reply had to be sent by the middle of November 1927, the Government really had very little time to formulate any opinion on the matter. But in the reply sent to Geneva the Government of India gave a clear indication of its tendency to sympathise with the object in view but the Government felt that since it had not yet full materials before it, it could not take a definite decision on the matter at present.

The resolution was put to the House and passed by twenty against ten votes.

DEBATE ON SARDA BILL

On the *27th SEPTEMBER* the consideration of the Sarda Bill attracted a large number of visitors. After question time, the President having overruled

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Mr. P. C. D. Chari's preliminary objection, Mr. V. Ramadas PANTULU was allowed to move the consideration of the Sarda Bill.

He conceded that the measure was drastic and offended against certain cherished sentiments, but its advantages far outweighed the disadvantages. He also pointed out that religious matters had been already legislated upon. The custom of Sati had been abolished and serious inroads made into the rules of Hindu Law. The Moslem oppositionists must know that Egypt and Turkey had enacted such laws of a more drastic nature. Why should they pay heed to the opposition of religious heads who had never shown an interest in eradicating social evils? Seventy-six per cent of girls between 10 and 15 in Madras were already married at 15 The House had every right to change the ancient law if the same was not in consonance with modern requirements.

Mr. P. C. D. CHARI moved for the postponement of the consideration of the Bill to the next Delhi session since the Bill seriously interfered with age-long customs and needed a thorough examination. The Moslems who were not originally covered by the measure were now affected. It was a pity that the Assembly had not proposed a joint select committee of both the Houses on this measure.

Nawab Mahomed AKBAR KHAN said the opinions of leading Moslem theologians had not yet been ascertained and he reminded Mr. Pantulu of the Lucknow Pact whereby if two thirds of the members of a community opposed any measure, it should not be forced on that community. The speaker therefore urged the postponement of consideration.

Mr. Surpat Singh also favoured postponement, but Sir Maneckji DADABHOY opposed it as being a dilatory motion based on no substantial reason. The Bill had been before the Assembly for two years. It would be criminal for the House to postpone and thus give time for injury to young girls by quick marriages to avoid the provisions of the Bill. After Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray Choudhury had opposed the dilatory motion, it was put to the vote of the House and defeated.

Sir Ebrahim Haroon JAFFER, speaking next, said :—

I am desired by the Moslem elected members of this Council to make a short statement regarding the Bill which is before us and with your kind permission I hereby do so. Ever since the British Government began to administer this country, they have scrupulously and without any reservation respected Moslem religion and the personal law obtaining therein. This attitude of the British Government has been consistently confirmed by many decisions of British Courts and the Privy Council. Sir, I beg to point out that we have received messages from a large number of Ulemas, both Sunni and Shia, including the President of the All-India Jamaitul Ulema, Principal of Deoband School of Theology, Ulemas of the famous Faranghi Mahal and Mujtahids of Lucknow bearing their serious and considered opposition to this proposed legislation. Further, Sir, we feel bound respectfully to observe that the passing of this Bill will be contrary to the provision of the Lucknow Pact relating to religion and personal law by which it was agreed that such subjects should not be discussed in and passed by any legislature in India if two-third of the members of the community concerned were opposed to it. We feel deeply concerned in the establishment and perpetuation of this convention especially having regard to the approach of responsible government in India and we feel that non-observance of this convention under the majority rule would mean removal of the protection and safety of our community in matters of personal and religious laws. With these observations, Sir, we shall oppose the Bill.

When the division was taken all elected Moslem members present including two non-official nominated Moslem Members voted against the Bill ; only Nawabzada Md. Ashrafuddin Ahmed of Patna voted in favour of Bill.

Rai Bahadur RAMSARAN DAS said that he supported this measure. He had not received any mandate either from the Punjab Sanatan Dharmists or from his constituents to oppose the measure, nor had a single meeting been held in the Punjab opposing the Bill. Urban and educated Punjab had already favoured the Bill and the speaker had been personally told by distinguished Pandits that there was not any religious bar to marrying girls after puberty.

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Mr. G. S. KHAPARDE took one hour in opposing the consideration of the Bill. He feared that if the Bill was passed, India would be governed by Roman Law as it had filtered through England. He affirmed that Sati had not been abolished. Indeed, it was so deeply rooted in human nature in India that it could not be abolished. No member of the Assembly was elected on the issue of abolishing early marriage. On the other hand, most of them who were Swarajists were elected on 'Swaraj in one year' ticket. Instead of giving Swaraj they had given a Bill which destroyed what little there was in the marriage laws of Hindus and Mussalmans. The agitation for the revision of the Prayer Book in England lasted many years and even then Government, which represented the majority in the country, remained neutral when it was passed, but here a Government which was pledged to religious neutrality wanted to change a law deeply affecting religion in one day. Those who did so were really autocrats and the Government which abetted it was certainly unrepresentative and irresponsible. In Russia there was no regular marriage system. It was a mere social custom. Did they want to reproduce in India conditions obtaining in the Soviet country? Let not the bill be passed at the point of the bayonet. The proposed reform was unconstitutional. It was not in consonance with the genius of the people and was impracticable.

Mr. Ramaprasad MUKERJI expressed entire agreement with the principle but pointed out that modifications were needed in the Bill. He criticised that the Assembly did not pay heed to the well considered recommendations of the Age of Consent Committee. On a question like marriage reform, the opinion of people in the mofussil really counted, but the Age of Consent Committee did not examine people in the mofussil. However, he denied that consummation before puberty was in vogue in Bengal.

Mr. P. C. DESHIKACHARI said that in Burma both among Burmans and non-Burmans there was no such thing as child or early marriage because public opinion was strong against it. He could not understand why public opinion could not be created in India in order to raise the age of marriage. Intensive propaganda, moral persuasion and growth of public opinion must precede social reform.

The *motion for consideration* was passed by 28 against 10 votes.

Mr. Chari then moved for 12 being fixed as the minimum age for the marriage for girls. Mr. Surpat Singh also supported 12.

Dr. RAMA RAO vehemently protested at the suggestion mainly from a medical point of view. He pointed out that one-third of the number of babies died within one year because they were offsprings of weak and unhealthy mothers. Unless the parents were strong and healthy, their offsprings would be weak and anaemic and themselves fall easy victims to consumption. From a commonsense point of view also he supported 14 as the minimum age. Another reason in support of 14 was that the dowry syetem which was both degrading and pernicious and which told hardships on parents would automatically be abolished.

The *amendment* was lost without a division. Half a dozen amendments more or less on the lines of the amendments discussed by the Assembly were moved by Messrs Ramaprasad Mukherji, Surpat Singh and Khaparde, but were all rejected. Only six clauses were approved of. The House then adjourned.

On the *28th SEPTEMBER* Mr. Rama Prasad Mukerji in whose name some amendments stood, arriving late, the Council of State passed without discussion clauses 9, 10 and 11 of the Sarda Bill.

Sayed Mahomed Padshah moved for the correction of the date in the title clause by replacing 1928 by 1929.

Mr. Graham explained that the mistake did not affect the operative clauses and would be rectified later. Three more speeches were however made on the matter and the Council rejected the amendment by 21 against 8 votes.

Amendments by Messrs. Chari, Khaparde and Surpatsingh for exemption in favour of Brahmins, Moslems and all others having conscientious objection were defeated after Messrs. Choudhury, Mukerji and Ramdas had spoken on them, the last named remarking that Brahmins, as the natural leaders of the people, should not claim any exemption. Of these, Mr. Khaparde's amendment was

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defeated by 25 against 6 votes. A long discussion followed on Nawab Mahomed Akbar Khan's amendment to exempt all Moslems from the operation of the Bill. Describing the history of the provisions of the Islamic law, the mover asked, if Islamic law did not penalise marriages at any age, why should the legislature interfere with their personal law.

Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy said that the Nawab had not shown textual authority whereby Moslem law enjoined early marriage. Indeed, the Prophet prefered marriage after the age of discretion. Turkey and Egypt had more drastic laws on the subject. Law was necessary for the protection of children and should apply to all.

Sayed Mahomed Padshah declared that there was no provision in Islamic law for interdicting early marriage. Turkey was no longer looked up to by Moslems as a guide.

Sir Maneckji : "But the law was enacted there in 1864 long before you repudiated Turkey."

Continuing, Sayed Mahomed Padshah said that Moslem opinion in the country considered the legislation on the matter to be an unwarranted interference with their religious law. In case of early marriage, Islam gave the couple liberty to repudiate it later if the alliance was not adequately ascertained.

Sir Fazl-i-HUSSAIN, speaking not as a member of the Government but representing purely his personal view, controvered the statement, that the Bill constituted an attack upon Islamic law by non-Moslems. The attack was surely not by Government, surely not by Mr. Harbilas Sarda who expressly limited his Bill to Hindus, but the extension of the Bill to Moslems was made at the request of Moslems themselves. It was not fair for the mover of the amendment who came from the Frontier Province, where they were safe from the evils of early marriage, to say that where the evil existed nothing should be done to combat it. Islamic law was based on principles derived from fundamental settled principles according to social needs. Were they to allow it to become a dead letter irrespective of society's progress by referring to the Lucknow Pact? Moslem members, led by Sir Haroon Jaffar, had indeed admitted the legislature's jurisdiction under certain conditions to legislate on such matters. The Bill was a mere flea-bite for Islamic law as compared with what it did towards Hindu law. Indeed, Islamic practice, culture and traditions were in consonance with the provisions of the Bill. It had been said a large number of Moslems were opposed to the Bill, but half the Moslem population did not belong to the opposing sex and it was true that a large number of Moslem women were against child marriage which prevailed amongst the ignorant, Moslems alone who had been kept in ignorance by the neglect of the higher classes. India to-day demanded the supreme sacrifice of severing the comunities from the past and he hoped that they would pass the Bill in a spirit of mutua tolerance of views. (Applause).

Shah Mahomed Zubair, although admitting that the Bill did not interfere with Islamic law, yet supported the amendment. Mr. Mukerji also supported it. It was however negatived by 24 against 13.

The House next rejected Mr. Chari's amendment seeking to give exemption in special cases of hardship. It was supported by Messrs Mukerji, Choudhury, and Surpat Singh and opposed by Mr. Pantulu. Further amendments by Mr. Surpat Singh and Mukerji designed to postpone the enforcement of the measure to the 1st of April or 1st or January, 1931, were rejected, the latter by 24 against 6, after Mr. Choudhury had opposed them saying that the interests of infant girls required the law to be enforced as soon as possible. All amendments were disposed of, none being accepted.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu them moving the final passage of the Bill, said that the choice lay between national degeneration and stagnation on the one side and on the other national progress to a proper place in the Commonwealth of the Empire. He hoped that the House would choose the progressive course. After several more speeches for and against, the Bill passed the third reading amidst great applause after which the Council adjourned *Sine die.*

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OFFICIAL REPORT.

July-Dec. 1929.

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Official Reports.

The Age of Consent Committee Report.

The report of the Age of Consent Committee which was appointed by the Government of India on June 25, 1928, was published on the *26th. AUGUST 1929.* The Committee, as finally constituted, consisted of Sir Moropant Vishvanath Joshi (chairman), Rai Bahadur Pandit Kanhaiya Lal (vice-chairman), Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Khan Bahadur Mahbub Mian Imam Baksh Kadri, Mrs. M. O'Brien Beadon, Mrs. Brij Lal Nehru, Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub and Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz.

The terms of reference of the committee were (1) to examine the state of the law relating to the age of consent as contained in sections 375 and 376 of the Indian Penal Code and (2) to inquire into the effect of the amendments made by the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 1925 and to report whether any further amendment of the law was necessary and, if so, what changes were necessary as regards offences (*a*) without and (*b*) within the marital state. The report is a rather bulky document containing with the appendices nearly 350 pages. There are separate notes by Rai Bahadur Pandit Kanhaiya Lal, Mrs. Brij Lal Nehru, Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub and Khan Bahadur Mahbub Mian Imam Baksh Kadri.

The committee met at Simla on June 30, 1928 and after settling the questionnaire which was sent out directly to about 6,000 persons and to 1,930 more through the various local Governments adjourned on the 12th. The response to the questionnaire was wide and general, indicating the great interest evinced in the question and the importance attached to it by the public in every province. The number of persons who participated in the enquiry was, however, much larger than this figure would indicate, as several of the statements received represented the views, not merely of individuals, but of larger bodies like organisations, associations and corporations.

900 WRITTEN STATEMENTS

About 900 written statements were received by the end of August 1928, and the rest within the extension of time granted late. In the beginning of September the Committee started the examination of witnesses at Simla and took advantage of the session of both the Chambers of the Central Legislature to examine such of the members as could spare time, amid their other engagements, to attend and give evidence before the Committee. On the 15th September the Committee started on tour and in the course of its itinerary visited and recorded evidence at Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Poona, Ootacamund, Calicut, Madras, Madura, Vizagapatam, Dacca, Shillong, Calcutta, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow and Nagpur. The Committee examined about 400 witnesses of different classes and shades of opinions, including medical men and women, social workers, leading representatives of different classes and communities, and exponents of both orthodox and advanced opinions.

LADY WITNESSES

The Committee examined a large number of lady witnesses in different parts of the country, whose intimate knowledge of the conditions of married life and maternity entitled them to speak with authority of the feelings and views of at least the educated section of women in the country. To ascertain the opinions of orthodox women unable to appear and give evidence before the Committee, Purdah parties were organized at some places in which the lady members of the Committee attended ; and meetings of ladies of different shades of opinions were addressed by a lady member of the Committee in Peshawar, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Poona, Madras, Calicut and Madura and other places, to afford occasion

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for an exchange of views and to create a general interest in the work of the Committee.

VILLAGERS' VIEWS

Feeling the necessity of ascertaining at first hand the opinions of villagers, the Committee took the opportunity of visiting a number of villages in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces. In every village visited enquiries were made from the people there as to the practices prevalent among them in regard to marriage and consummation, the evils, if any, noticed by them and the remedy proposed. Lady members made similar enquiries separately from the women gathered there. The alacrity with which in certain villages the villagers expressed their willingness for legislation to prevent early maternity was a surprise to the Committee. The evidence of lady doctors examined at different places had been of particular value. The Committee also visited two chawls in Bombay and various girls' and boys' schools in different parts of the country to see the girls and boys, married and unmarried, and their physical condition. The scope of the Committee's enquiry was, therefore, much larger than the mere volume of oral and written evidence would indicate.

Every opportunity was afforded during the itinerary to all persons, interested in the question to send their considered opinion on the various points, mentioned in the questionnaire ; and in many instances, persons who had not sent written opinions for want of time or other reasons, were invited to give evidence before the Committee ; and among them there were many learned representatives of orthodox opinion and several representatives of what are described as the depressed classes, whose opinions would not have otherwise been available to the Committee. The Committee did not visit Burma, because early consummation of marriage was uncommon in that province, though cases of rape or attempted rape were far more numerous than in any other Province. The Burma Government also thought that no special enquiry by the Committee in Burma was necessary.

About 400 persons were examined out of those invited for oral examination. Amongst these there were about 60 Muslim witnesses, including 3 ladies.

MOSLEM ORTHODOX VIEWS

Amongst non-Muslims there was an important section of orthodox opinion which was opposed to any change on the ground of Shastric injunctions or more properly, of customs modifying such injunctions. The Committee took care to have the views of this latter class on record ; and the paucity of their numbers did not prevent the Members from giving due weight to their opinions. Efforts to get the opinions of orthodx ladies by direct evidence were made, but they were not very successful : and the Committee had to content itself with second-hand information from those who were in touch with their opinions.

Members of the Committee, who have the advantage of knowing Sanskrit, examined the texts cited by witnesses, and opinions expressed in pamphlets written by Pandits and scholars qualified to speak on the interpretation of Shastric texts ; and others, who know Arabic, went through the Islamic texts referred to by witnesses.

After completing the evidence, the Committee adjourned again on the 29th January 1929 and re-assembled at Mussoorie on the 20th April to discuss the several points involved and to frame a report.

AGE OF MARRIAGE.

The terms of reference to the Committee did not directly include the question of prohibiting or penalising child marriages. But, among other things, the Committee had to consider how far the existing law of the Age of Consent within the marital state was effective in its operation and whether any remedy could be suggested to make it more effective. It was impossible to debar the witnesses from suggesting the latter as a better and more effective remedy to check the evil intended to be dealt with by the law of the Age of Consent, if they thought fit to do so. The object of the Age of Consent within marital relations is to protect tender girls against early cohabitation and early maternity ; if the witnesses

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considered the mere law of Age of Consent as ineffectual in attaining the desired object, it was open to them to say so and suggest what they considered the better remedy, viz., fixing the minimum age of marriage. The witnesses freely availed themselves of this opportunity and declared by a very large majority that they would prefer the latter remedy. Moreover, objections to raising the age of Consent were partly based on the ground of Shastric injunctions ; that was a ground common to both—raising the age of Consent and fixing a minimum age of marriage. Texts were quoted to prove both that pre-puberty marriages were enjoined and consummation soon after puberty was also enjoined by the Shastras. This also necessitated a consideration by the Committee as to the extent to which the texts are looked upon as authoritative in either case.

The following is the official summary of the recommendations of the Committee :—

Summary of Recommendations.

1. That the age of Consent with the marital relation be raised to 15 years.
2. That sexual intercourse by a husband with his wife below 15 years of age be made an offence, and that the said offence be included in Chapter XX of the Indian Penal Code dealing with offences relating to marriage.
3. That the said offence be called 'Marital Misbehaviour'.
4. That section 375 and 376 of the Indian penal Code be confined to rape outside the marital relation.
5. That the age of Consent for the protection of a girl against rape by a person who is not her husband be raised to 18 years.
6. That in order to deal most effectively with the evil of early marriage and early consummation, a law be enacted fixing the minimum age of girls at 14 years.
7. That subject to any provision of the personal law for the time being in force the validity of a marriage performed in contravention of the Marriage law be left unaffected.
8. That measures be adopted to give wide publicity to the Marriage and Consent Laws and to carry on an educative propaganda.
9. That an accurate marriage register in a prescribed form be kept, through an administrative department of the Government, containing details of marriages including the ages of the couple and that it be made obligatory by law on the parties and guardians of parties to the marriage, either personally or through authorised agents, to report the same to a prescribed local authority.
10. That certificates of marriage be issued to the parties concerned, free of cost, when the marriage is reported.
11. That the officer keeping the register of marriages be empowered and also be charged with the duty to complain of any omission to report a marriage, or of a false entry in the details required in the registration of marriages, to the nearest magistrate having jurisdiction to try such cases, after such preliminary enquiry as he thinks fit to make.
12. That in all urban and rural areas the father or other guardian of every child born shall, where not already required by law, report the birth of the child in such form as may be prescribed, within a stated time to a prescribed local authority and make a further report mentioning the name given to the child, if surviving, within a year of the birth, to the same authority.
13. That the prescribed authority be required to maintain a register of births within a given area under its control, and to take stringent steps to enforce registration and to prosecute persons who omit to send a report within the prescribed period,
14. That birth certificates giving the date of birth, sex, parentage and name of the child and such other particulars as may be prescribed, be issued free by the prescribed authority to the person making the report, when the name of the child, if alive, is reported to the said authority.
15. That the registers of marriages and births be permanently preserved.
16. That the offence of Marital Misbehaviour do remain bailable and non-cognisable as in the case of rape by husband at present.

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17. That the offence be non-compoundable, if the girl is under 12 years of age, and compoundable with the permission of the court, if she is between 12 and 15.

18. That it be made punishable with (*a*) imprisonment of either description for 10 years and fine when the wife is under 12 years of age and (*b*) imprisonment of either description which may extend to one year or with fine or both, when the wife is between 12 and 15 years of age.

19. That by the addition of a suitable sub-section to section 562, Criminal Procedure Code, it be provided that in the case of Marital Misbehaviour the bond may, in addition to the present provisions, also provide for the custody, separate living and maintenance of girls and for such other conditions as the court may deem necessary to ensure the prevention of a repetition of the offence, the bond being executed either by the offender, or by his parent or guardian if the husband is a minor.

20. That where the accused is sentenced to fine or imprisonment in cases of of the Marital Misbehaviour, a new provision be made for bonds with or without sureties, being taken from the husband, or if he is a minor, from the parent or guardian for separate living, custody and maintenance of the girl-wife till she completes the statutory age of Consent, and that the court be empowered to rescind or vary the order or the terms thereof as may be necessary, from time to time.

21. That the provisions of sections 122, 126-A and 406-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure be extended, so as to make them applicable, as far as may be, to sureties in cases of Marital Misbehaviour referred to in 20 above.

22. That the punishment prescribed for breach of the Law of Marriage referred to in para 6 be imprisonment or fine or both, and not a bare fine.

23. That the court trying a case of contravention of the Marriage Law be empowered on conviction, to require the offender to furnish a bond, with or without sureties, for separate living, custody and maintenance of the girl and for preventing the husband from consummating the marriage before she completes the statutory age of Consent.

24. That the provisions of Sections 122, 126, 126-A and 406-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure be extended, so as to make them applicable, as far as may be, to sureties in cases of breach of the Marriage Law.

25. That where girls under the prescribed age are made over to the custody of any individual or institution, under the foregoing recommendations, the court be empowered to receive and examine periodical reports from the party concerned as to progress, good behaviour and other particulars essential to enforce a compliance of the law and the conditions of the bond, and to pass orders from time to time rescinding or varying the order or the terms thereof.

26. That suitable aid and encouragement be afforded to the establishment of institutions giving protection to girls dealt with under the foregoing recommendations.

27. That in the case of rape, the punishment be transportation for life or imprisonment of either description for 10 years and fine, provided, where the girl is above 16 years and below 18 years of age and is proved to be a consenting party, the punishment may be extended to imprisonment of either description for 2 years and fine.

28. That women Police be employed, where available, to aid in the investigation of sexual offences, in taking statements of girls or women witnesses in cases of Marital Misbehaviour, rape and the like, and in protecting or accompanying the girls or women witnesses where necessary, when going to or from the court house or for medical examination ; and that where women Police are not available, any respectable and disinterested women of the locality or neighbourhood be invited to be present, while the statement of the girl concerned or of any female witness is being taken by the Police.

29. That women willing to serve as jurors and assessors be empannelled in the trial of cases of rape or of Marital Misbehaviour.

30. That instruction be issued to trying judges and magistrates that in cases

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of Marital Misbehaviour, the discretion under section 352,Criminal Procedure Code, be invariably used.

31. That where a medical examination of a girl is necessary, it be carried out by a woman doctor.

32. That separate waiting rooms wherever available be provided for girls and female witnesses in all court houses.

33. That a provision corresponding to section 4 of Act XXIX of 1925 be made exempting from the operation of the proposed amendment, sexual intercourse with a wife between 13 and 15 years of age if the girl-wife was married and had completed 13 before the new Act comes into force.

34. That no complaint in regard to an offence of Marital Misbehaviour be entertained after the expiry of one year from the date of the alleged offence.

35. That in clause 1 (*a*), section 561, Criminal Procedure Code, the words 'Marital Misbehaviour' be substituted for the words beginning with 'rape' and ending with 'wife'.

36. That consequent on recommendation 5, section 361, Indian Penal Code, be amended by substituting the word 'eighteen' for 'sixteen'.

37. That section 552, Criminal Procedure Code, be also amended by substituting the word 'eighteen' for 'fourteen'.

38. That section 60 of the Indian Christian Marriage Act XV of 1872 be amended by substituing '14' for '13'.

39. That the law be amended, so that a suit by a husband for the custody of a wife or for restitution of conjugal rights shall not lie where the girl is below 15 years.

40. That effective steps be taken to spread general education amongst men and women.

CONCLUSION.

Acknowledgment.—"We have now come to the end of our task. The work of the committee has been of absorbing interest. The appointment of the committee marked a new departure. A survey of the social and religious customs, relating to such intimate subjects, has not been undertaken before by any non-official body nor has the assistance of the public been invoked to the same extent. The subject of our enquiry is easily understandable by all and the interest which has been taken in the enquiry has therefore been proportionate. The evidence that has been collected will prove of considerable use in regard to all attempts at social legislation in the near future. It reflects the hopes and aspirations, the fears and apprehensions of all classes with reference to social advance and the changes required in some of the existing customs. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not express our sincere thanks to the witnesses, who so kindly responded to our questionnaire and many of whom came from long distances at considerable personal inconvenience, to help us in the enquiry. We are also indebted to the press in the different provinces, whose publicity regarding the inquiry has facilitated our task We have received assistance from various local Governments and Administrations and have been shown hospitality by non-official ladies and gentlemen all over India, which we acknowledge with gratitude.

"The work of the committee has proved much heavier than was at first imagined. The brunt of the work has naturally fallen on the secretary and we should like to place on record our appreciation of the manner in which the secretary, Mr. M. D. Sagane, M. A., LL. B., has discharged his responsibilities. The staff has had to work often at very great pressure and against time and their willing co-operation has been of great assistance to us. We desire to express our satisfaction at the work of the staff and in particular of that of Sardar Sahib Bur Singh. We submit our report.

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The Punjab Jails Enquiry Report

The Punjab Provincial Jails Enquiry Committee's report was laid on the table of the Punjab Legislative Council on the *2nd, December 1929.* The following are the recommendations of the Committee :—

Prolonged discussions were held on the question as to whether it was necessary to classify under-trial prisoners in greater detail than at present with special regard to the desirability of catering for undertrial prisoners of a high social standing. It was, however, ultimately decided that the existing classification is sufficient and that no provision need be made for superior or special class under-trials, provided that the existing conditions for under-trials generally are improved. If this is done, the Committee are of opinion that privileges of receiving their own food from outside and of being allowed their own bedding and utensils would obviate any undue hardship to prisoners of the higher class. Prisoners should therefore be classified as—

(i) first offenders ; (ii) previous convicts ; (iii) juveniles and adolescents ; and (iv) females ; as at present.

CONVEYANCE.

The main principles to be observed in arrangements for the conveyance of under-trial prisoners either from the lock-up to the court or on transfer from place to place should be—(i) avoidance, as far as possible, of parading the prisoners in public ; and (ii) to effect journeys or transfers with the greatest speed and the least possible discomfort to the prisoners.

Motor lorries should be employed whenever possible for conveying prisoners from the lock-up to the courts and back and ; where this is impracticable, suitable vehicles should be employed when the distance to be covered is more than half a mile.

Night travelling by train should be avoided whenever possible. When it is unavoidable, double accommodation should be provided. It has been brought to the notice of the Committee that existing latrine accommodation in prison vane has been extremely unsatisfactory in the past in this province. Separate latrine accommodation is necessary in the interests of decency and where prison vans, which are now being properly equipped, cannot be provided, under-trial prisoners should travel in a class higher than the third at their own expense. If they avail themselves of this privilege, they should pay the difference in fare of their escort as well as of themselves.

In cases where a transfer involves a night journey for a female undertrial, a female attendant should accompany her in addition to the Police. Night journeys for female under-trial prisoners should especially be avoided whenever possible. When in Police custody, female under-trial prisoners should be accompanied either by a relative or by a temporary female warderess. These recommendations should be held to apply also to convicted female prisoners.

HANDCUFFS.

The Committee is aware that the handcuffing of under-trial prisoners is more the concern of the Police than of the Jail Department, but it wishes to lay stress on its opinion that undertrial prisoners should only be handcuffed when considerations of safe custody imperatively require it, and that instructions should be issued accordingly to superitendents of Police and Superintendents of Jail.

FEEDING ON TRANSFER.

Arrangements for the feeding of under-trail prisoners on transfer are unsatisfactory. Diet of approximately the same quality as that supplied to under-trial prisoners in jail should be provided. This would result in the raising of the present scale of diet money to six or eight annas a day.

Arrangements should be made for supplying under-trial prisoners on transfer with a sufficient quantity of blankets if they do not possess them.

The Committee are agreed that cellular accommodation should be increased and that the ultimate ideal should be the provision of cellular accommodation for 50 per cent of under-trial prisoners. Normally, unless special circumstances

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exist, under-trial prisoners of the same class should be permitted to associate during the day time. For purposes of segregation under-trial prisoners who are accused in the same case may be placed in different classes. Full facilities, however, for discussing the case against them should be allowed to such persons. Until sufficient cellular accommodation is available, barracks should be sub-divided to allow of the complete separation of previous convicts from first offenders as well as juveniles from adults, and arrangements should also be made to sub-divide the day-yard in the same manner. All under-trial prisoners should, subject to the requirements of safe custody, be permitted to sleep in the open during the hot weather e. g., from April 15th to October 15th. Two sheets should be supplied to each under-trial prisoner during the hot weather.

DIET.

The diet for all under-trial prisoners should be uniform and the cost of it should be borne by the Government. It should be the same as the ordinary prison diet now supplied to convicted prisoners with the addition of a ration of *gur* twice a week during the winter and of *lassi* twice a week during the summer and the substitution of half-a-chittak of ghee per day per head for oil. All wheat chapattis should be supplied to them throughout the year. Those who are accustomed to a rice diet should be given rice instead of wheat chapattis. They should be permitted, as at present, to supplement this diet.

LIGHTING ARRANGEMENTS.

Wherever electricity is available, it should be supplied to the jail and it should be used for the lighting of cells and barracks. Where it is not available, the lighting arrangements should be improved. Those at present existing are considered unsatisfactory. Literate under-trial prisoners, wherever possible, should be allowed the concession of light for reading purposes upto 10 p. m. This privilege should be dependent upon their good conduct while in the prison or lock-up.

BOOKS.

Under-trial prisoners should be allowed to have the use of their own books and magazines and also to receive books from public libraries, subject to the approval of the Superintendent of the jail. Every jail should, in addition, be supplied with one English and one Vernacular daily in Urdu, Gurmukhi, or Hindi, if required, at Government expense, and under-trial prisoners should be permitted to purchase at their own expense other papers on the list approved by Government. Books and the contents of newspapers should be subject to the censorship of the Superintendent of the jail, but all cases of the exercise of such censorship should be reported to the Government for confirmation. It is understood that in some provinces a prison newspaper already exists, and the Committee would welcome a proposal to start one in the Punjab.

RECREATION.

If lectures or cinematograph exhibitions are held at any jail in which under-trial prisoners are also confined, the under-trial prisoners should be permitted to attend them with due regard to the principle of segregation from convicts.

It is desirable that under-trial prisoners should be enabled to take a certain amount of exercise. should they so desire ; and reasonable facilities should be afforded wherever possible for physical recreation.

WASHING ARRANGEMENT

The present washing arrangements are inadequate and Sikh prisoners in particular suffer from the lack of proper provision. Soap and oil should be substituted for soap-nuts for washing the hair and hot water should also be supplied for this purpose. They should also be allowed the same concession in regard to the supply of oil for external application as is granted to convicted prisoners. In judicial lock-ups outside jails no proper arrangements for washing or hair-cutting at present exist. Arrangements should be made to provide them without delay.

VISITS TO DYING RELATIVES

Subject to the requirements of safe custody, an under-trial prisoner should with proper precautions, be allowed to visit a near relation, who is dying.

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INTERVIEWS.

The provisions of the Punjab Jail Manual regarding interviews with under-trial prisoners are satisfactory, but the Committee doubt whether they are invariably followed in practice. They consider that the attention of Superintendents of Jails should be drawn to the necessity of scrupulously observing these provision.

All the recommendations with regard to under-trial prisoners made by this Committee should be held to apply as for as possible to under-trial prisoners confined in judicial lock-ups outside jails as well as to those confinedin jails. It is considered that the condition in lock-ups outside jails, both judicial and police, are extremely unsatisfactory, and that early and extensive improvements are required particularly as regards accommodation, washing and sanitary arrangements.

All judicial lock-ups, whether situated inside or outside a jail, should be open to visit by the non-official visitors of the district in which they are situated and also by the members of the Standing Jail Committee of the Legislative Council. Non-official visitors should be appointed to visit judicial lock-ups in districts, in which there are no jail.

SPECIAL CLASS CONVICTED PRISONERS.

1. The Committee considered at length whether it was possible to substitute a specific list of offences under the Indian Penal Code on other enactments for a general description of offences by categories which would operate to exclude from classification as a special class prisoner and came to the conclusion that it was impracticable. A great number of the offences enumerated in the Penal Code may be committed under such extenuating circumstances as would justify admission of the officer to the special class. The Committee would accordingly adopt the following criteria for eligibility :—

(*i*) All non-habituals, who by character, social status, education or habit of life have been accustomed to superior mode of living and the character of whose offences does not include the elements of callousness, moral depredation, brutality or personal greed should be placed, in the special class, provided that their offences do not come under the following categories—

(*a*) Serious, premeditated and unprovoked violence or serious offences against property ; and (*b*) abetment of crimes of this character.

(*ii*) All persons convicted of non-violent political offences (*i. e.*, which are unaccompanied by any act of actual physical violence or direct incitement to the same), libel and contempt of court shall be included in the special class, unless the trial magistrate, for reasons to be recorded in writing, finds after due enquiry that the inclusion of any such offender in the special class would be inconsistent with the principles of penal detention.

It was felt that this special provision should be made in favour of those prisoners whose offences not only do not fall under any of the excluding categories enumerated in (*i*) above but also are definitely free from the element of violence in any form.

2. It was considered that there might be exceptional cases which could not properly be brought even into the wide categories ultimately decided upon and therefore it is felt necessary to add a recommendation that it should be within the power of the Local Government to grant admission to the special class to any individual offender, whether his case comes within the purview of the suggested rules or not.

The trial court should be the classifying authority, but its order in this respect should be subject to modification by the appellate and revision courts on the application of the convict. The Inspector-General of Prisons should also be permitted to include in the special class eligible convicts who have not been so classified by the courts. Recommendations to this effect may be made to the Inspector-General of Prisons by Superintendents of Jails and non-official visitors.

SPECIAL FACILITIES.

There should be only one special class.

3. Facilities to be granted to special class prisoners.

Special class prisoners should be allowed—

(1) Separate cellular accommodation plainly furnished. This is not to imply solitary confinement. The furniture should consist of a chair, a table, a cot, a

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small cupboard and pegs on which to hang clothes. In addition they should be permitted to have an easy chair at their own expense.

(2) Private clothing (if the prisoner so desires, jail clothing of a superior pattern and quality to that provided to ordinary prisoners should be supplied).

(3) Bedding and eating utensils (if desired at the expense of the State and as may be laid down from time to time by executive instructions).

(4) Fortnightly interviews in the prisoner's cell.

(5) A letter once a week.

(6) Artificial light up to 10 p. m.

(7) Books, magazines and papers from the jail library or from public libraries and any other books and magazines and papers at their own expense with the approval of the Superintendent of the jail. They should include one English paper and one of any vernacular that may be necessary, *e. g.*, Urdu, Gurmukhi or Hindi. The censoring by the Superintendent of books or papers should be subject to the confirmation of the Local Government.

(8) Diet of the approximate value of 12 annas per diem at current rates to be selected by the prisoners, subject to the approval of the medical officer, and the right to supplement it at their own expense.

(9) Separate cooking arrangements with permission to cook their own food, if they so desire.

(10) Reasonable facilities for physical recreation.

(11) All such facilities as may be possible for religious observances.

(12) Only such forms of labour as are suitable to their education and mode of life should be required of special class convicts who are sentenced to rigorous imprisonment.

SPECIAL JAIL

4. It is desirable in the interests of prison discipline, as well as in that of the health of special class prisoners, that there should be a special jail set apart for them and the Committee recommended that it should be situated at Madhopur in the Gurdaspur district, and should, in the first instance, be constituted to allow of accommodation for 100 convicts. Provision should be made for further extensions.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

1. It will be observed that the recommendations of the Committee, while allowing the possibility of admission to the special class to certain classes of offenders who would now be excluded from it, would not in practice very largely increase the number of offenders eligible for these privileges. It was, however, strongly felt that one of the main reasons for the discontent with the present system of prison administration in this country has been the failure to recognize the fact that the standard of living of the Punjab middle classes has risen to a very marked extent during the last few decades and that the standards accepted as suitable for prison-life in this country are no longer suitable for them. No differential treatment in favor of any class of persons is recognized in the English Prison System ; but, as the Government of India are aware, the difference in the standard of living and mode of life between the upper and the lower classes in England is not, in essentials, nearly so pronounced, as it is between the corresponding classes in the Punjab. It is not contended that the standard of accommodation, diet and clothing allowed to European prisoners or more properly speaking to prisoners who have adopted the western mode of life in excessively high, but it is universally felt that provision should be made for prisoners who, though they have adopted the western mode of life, are in no way inferior either in culture or in standard of living to those who have. It is inequitable that an Indian who prefers the eastern style of living, though he may have been well-off and always have lived in an atmosphere of material comfort and social refinement, should, if he has the misfortune to be imprisoned, be treated in a much lower scale than Europeans, Americans, other foreigners or Indians, who have adopted western ways.

2. A new class should, therefore, be created definitely to remove this anomaly and to it should be admitted Europeans, Eurasians, foreigners and all Indians of

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the upper and middle classes without regard to the nature of the offence which they may have committed but merely in consideration of their standard of living Persons admitted to this class would be separated in accordance with the mode of life they had previously followed whether western or eastern. Those accustomed to the latter would be allowed accommodation similar to the others and a diet of the same quantity and quality.

The new class might be entitled the First Division, or if the term 'spe cial class prisoner' were abolished and substituted by 'First Divis'on' it would become Second Division. Ordinary prisoners who fall into neither of these categories would be 'Third Division' by the trial court. Its decision on the point should be subject to modification by the appellate and revision courts.

3. It has not been felt necessary to make any detailed recommendations as to the treatment of this class, as with possible unimportant modifications it would be the same as that at present accorded to the so-called 'European' class and would include better clothing than that supplied to ordinary prisoners at present, simple furniture, cellular accommodation and superior diet.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. The Committee is of opinion that all prisoners to whatever class they may belong, should not be entirely cut off from news of the outside world and that those who are literate should be allowed access to some form of newspaper.

2. The members also desire to urge, though they agree that the matter does not fall within the scope of their enquiry, one general reform in prison diet. Oil is rarely, if ever, used by the average Punjabi for cooking purposes ; and the jail-food, however good in quality it may be, is unpalatable for this reason. They are aware that the expense of replacing it with ghee would be heavy, but are of opinion that financial consideration alone should not be permitted to operate against the introduction of this reform.

The Assam Jails Enquiry Committee Report

The Assam Jails Enquiry Committee recommended the adoption of the following general principles to regulate the classification and treatment of convicted and undertrial prisoners. The report was issued in December 1929. The report was signed by Messrs. Muhammad Saadulla, Stuart Roffey, G. Hutcheson, Pyari Mohon Das, Brindaban Chandra Goswami. Mizanur Rahman and Mahmud Ali :—

The jail rules should be so revised that there should be no differentiation between Europeans as such and others. Differentiation should be based not on race but on the prisoner's previous standard of living. The fundamental principle should be that the scale of prison comforts prescribed under the ordinary rules for any class of prisoners should be sufficient for the maintenance of health and strength but at the same time should avoid any tendency to luxury or involve any impracticable scale of expenditure.

CONVICTED PRISONERS

Convicted prisoners should be divided into three divisions :—The first division, should consist of (1) All non-habitual prisoners who by character, social status education or habit of life have been accustomed to a superior mode of living and the character of whose offences does not include the elements of callousness, moral degradation, brutality or personal greed, provided that their offences do not come under the following categories : (a) serious, premeditated and unprovoked violence or serious offences against property ; and (b) abetment of crime of this character.

(2) All persons convicted of non-violent political offences (i. e., which are not accompanied by any act of actual physical violence or direct incitement to the same).

The second division should consist of Europeans, Eurasians, Indians of the upper and middle classes and foreigners of similar status who have not been admitted to the first division,

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The third division should consist of all prisoners not admitted to the first or second division.

The trial court shall be the classifying authority ; but a prisoner may appeal to the district magistrate against an order of any subordinate magistrate, or to the local Government against an original order of the district magistrate, or sessions court. The local Government will also have the power of revising any order of classification by any other authority.

DIET.

The scales of diet prescribed for prisoners following the Western and Eastern style of living, respectively, should vary in detail but not in cost. On account of the high cost of living in Assam and the necessity often of special arrangements for cooking, the maximum cost would be between Rs. 2 and Rs. 2-8 for the first division and between Re. 1 and 1-8 for the second division. These estimates are based on the present scale of diet prescribed for Europeans and others so classed.

LABOUR

Labour in the first division should be restricted to the forms of labour known as 'medium' and 'light'. Prisoners in other divisons should be liable for any form of labour subject to the discretion of the superintendent of the jail and the medical officer.

It is desirable that a separate jail should be provided for first and second division prisoners. This would involve a large building programme ; and in the meantime such prisoners should all be confined in a selected jail in the province. But if present accommodation proves insufficient—which the committee hope will not be the case—then two jails, one in each valley, should be selected for prisoners of these two classes.

The classification of prisoners into three divisions might be prejudicial to discipline if all the three classes are confined in the same jail.

The concessions now allowed to special division prisoners in Assam should be granted to all first division prisoners with the following modifications :—

(a) An iron cot with mattress and bedding and mosquito net as well as a table and a chair should be provided at Government cost.

(b) They should be permitted to do their own cooking if they so desire.

(c) Special latrines securing proper privacy for each compartment should be provided.

(d) Such prisoners should not be required to salute but should be required to stand to attention when required to do so.

(e) They may be allowed to write and receive one letter a week, and to see their friends and relations once a fortnight.

(f) They should be allowed to obtain at their own cost a copy of any newspaper on the list approved by Government.

(g) Lights should be allowed up to 10 p. m.

Second division prisoners should be given bedding and clothing on a scale similar to that allowed now for Europeans and other prisoners classed as Europeans.

First division prisoners should be allowed to travel in intermediate class at Government cost. They may travel in a superior class if they pay for the difference in fare.

HANDCUFFING OF PRISONERS.

First division prisoners in transit between jails should not be handcuffed unless this is necessary to prevent escape or violence.

Second division prisoners should travel by third class but if any part of the journey has to be undertaken after midnight, then they should be allowed to travel by the intermediate class.

All prisoners in transit should, so far as possible, be given the same scale of diet as in jail.

The committee are of opinion that the rations now supplied to the third division prisoners are sufficient. The only amelioration that they recommend for this class is that greater privacy in latrine arrangements for them is desirable.

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UNDERTRIAL PRISONERS.

There should be a special class of undertrial prisoners for persons of good social status, education and character and high standard of living for whom separate accommodation and diet should be the same as in the case of first division prisoners. The concessions now admissible to all under-trials in Assam are adequate except that a special class under-trial should be allowed a newspaper from the list approved by the Government. Adolescents should be separated from adults and men with previous convictions from others.

The committee agreed generally with the recommedations of the Punjab Jail Committee as regards the transit of undertrials except that special class undertrials should travel by intermediate class unless they elect to pay for a higher class. The recommendations which this committee adopt are as follows :—

PARADING OF PRISONERS IN PUBLIC

The main principles to be observed in arrangements for the conveyance of under-trial prisoners either from the lock-up to the court or on transfer from place to place should be—

(1) to avoid as far as possible the parading of prisoners in public ; and (2) to effect journeys or transfers with the greatest speed and the least possible discomfort to the prisoners.

Closed conveyance should be employed whenever possible for conveying prisoners from the lock-up to the courts and back when the distance to be covered is over half a mile.

Night travelling by train should be avoided whenever possible. When it is unavoidable, double accommodation should be provided. Undertrial prisoners of the special class should be allowed to travel by intermediate class at Government expense and by a higher class if they pay the difference in fare.

The committee are aware that the handcuffing of undertrial prisoners is more the concern of the police than of the Jail department, but they wished to lay stress on their opinion that under-trial prisoners should only be handcuffed when considerations of safe custody imperatively require it and that instruction should be issued accordingly to superintendents of police and superintendents of jails.

Arrangements for the feeding of undertrial prisoners on transfer are unsatisfactory. Diet of approximately the same quality and quantity as that applied to undertrial prisoners in jail should be provided.

Arrangements should be made for supplying undertrial prisoners on transfer with a sufficient quantity of blankets if they do not possess them.

FEMALE PRISONERS

In cases where a transfer involves a night journey for a female prisoner, convicted or undertrial, a female attendant should accompany her in addition to the police. Night journeys for female prisoners should specially be avoided whenever possible. When in police custody female prisoners should be accompanied either by a relative or by a temporary female wardress.

IDEALS.

The committee recognise that it is impossible to give full effect to their proposals without an extensive reconstruction of the jails in Assam which the province cannot at present afford. They have, however, formulated principles as the ideal to be enventually attained and in the meantime to be given effect to so far as the resources at the disposal of the Government permit.

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The Bombay Strikes Enquiry Report

The Court of Inquiry under the Trade Disputes Act, which was appointed by the Government of Bombay on July 3, 1929, issued its report in September. The Hon. Mr. H. G. Pearson, Bar-at-Law, a Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, was the Chairman, and the other members were Mr. F. S. Taleyarkhan, Bar-at-Law, and Mr. Rupchand Bilaram, B.A., LL. B., Additional Judicial Commissioner in Sind.

The Court of Inquiry was set up to inquire into the strike that then existed in the textile mills in Bombay city and the terms of reference to the Court were as follows :—

1. To inquire into and ascertain the exact nature of the dispute, or disputes, between the employers and workmen of the above-named mills which led to the strike in those mills in March and April, 1929

2. If there was any such dispute, to what extent the employers or workmen or both are responsible in matters connected therewith.

3. What are the causes of the prolongation of the strike? Whether the employers or workmen or both are responsible for such prolongation, and if so, to what extent?

4. What are the difficulties in the way of a settlement of the dispute, or disputes, between the employers and the workmen?

The sittings of the Court commenced on July 6, 1929, and continued till Wednesday, August 21, 1929. The parties who appeared before the Court were (1) The Millowners' Association, representing all the mills affected by the strike, except the Jam Mills, (2) The Girni Kamgar Union, (3) The Bombay Textile Labour Union, (4) The Bombay Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, (5) The Bombay Millworkers' Union, and (6) The Jam Manufacturing Co., Ltd.

On behalf of the Millowners' Association it was contended that some of the officials of the Girni Kamgar Union were communists and were utilising the Girni Kamgar Union as a cover for their communist activities. They placed reliance, *inter alia*, upon certain leaflets of the Union, articles in the "Kranti" and speeches made from time to time by Union officials. Upon objection taken, the Court was of opinion that such an investigation could not be taken in their inquiry as it might trespass upon the field of inquiry in the Meerut case. Accordingly, evidence directed expressly towards that point was excluded, and the court did not take the matter into consideration.

In discussing the nature and scope of the inquiry the Court pointed out that it was unnecessary to go over the ground already covered by the Fawcett Committee.

Moreover, they refrained in the report from making any suggestions, either to the millowners or to the Labour Union, in respect of any matter in dispute between them, as such a course was not within the terms referred to them and was therefore outside the scope of the inquiry.

The Report next reviewed the situation in the textile industry in Bombay from the year 1925 and reference was made to the Noyce Committee's Report and the suggestions made therein.

The Report of the Fawcett Committee was published on March 26, 1929. Between the settlement arrived at in October, 1928, and the publication of that report, the extremist leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union made strenuous efforts to increase the number of their members, to collect subscriptions and to prepare their members for the contemplated strike which they had intended to bring about at the end of six months.

"There is ample evidence to show," says the report of the Court of Inquiry, "that in the middle of November the Girni Kamgar Union had collected sufficient

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strength and that the effect of its policy was being keenly felt by the millowners. One of the chief grievances of the millowners, which is said to have caused most of the strikes that took place from the middle of November, was the working and methods of the mill committees formed by the Girni Kamgar Union for each mill and the doings of the members of such mill committees."

The report then examines the constitution of the Girni Kamgar Union and points out that the functions of the mill committees were stated to be "purely advisory." It, however, appears that, prompted by the officials of the Union, the mill committees arrogated to themselves some of the functions of the managing committee. Not only that but each member of the committee considered himself justified in performing those functions upon his individual authority, including the power to call a strike, a power which, upon the construction of the rules embodied in the constitution, the Court of Inquiry holds was vested in the Managing Committee of the Union. This caused considerable friction between the workers who were members of the mill committees and the mill officials, resulting in several lightning strikes.

LIGHTNING STRIKES.

The interference by the members of the mill committees with the management was subversive of discipline and the lightning strikes which were brought about by these members were not such as could be tolerated by the millowners. This naturally led to certain disputes and the report deals in detail with some of these disputes which are of considerable importance in understanding the state of affairs which prevailed in the months of March and April 1929. The first was the strike in the Spring Mill in November 1928 as the result of which there was considerable correspondence between Sir Ness Wadia and Mr. Dange, culminating on November 23, 1928, in an agreement signed by the Union officials Messrs. Alwe, Kasle and Dange which reads as follows :—

"With reference to our interview this morning, on your consenting to reopen the mills, on behalf of the men we give you an assurance that they will work peacefully in future, that they will not indulge in any lightning strike without first putting through the regular channel, any grievances they may have, and that they will obey all disciplinary measures of the mill as were in force before the general strike, and that they will clean their machines as they used to do before."

On the same day Mr. Dange wrote another letter informing Sir Ness Wadia that the agreement was an assurance given by the Union on behalf of themselves as well as the workers and the jobbers.

According to the constitution of the Union the medium for settling the disputes between the workers and the millowners was the Managing Committee and not the mill committees whose functions as pointed out above, were purely advisory." In practice the power was treated as conferred, not merely on the mill committee acting collectively but on each officer of the mill committee, an act on the part of the Girni Kamgar Union which clearly disclosed a revolutionary tendency. The strike was considered to be the first weapon to be used at each and every turn by any member of the mill committee instead of its being the weapon to be used in the last resort, after due deliberation, by the executive of the Union after consulting the wishes of the workers. There is no evidence that, with reference to these strikes, any attempt was ever made to secure the prior assent or subsequent confirmation of the Managing Committee.

CAUSE OF TROUBLE.

Apart from the fact that no minutes of the mill committees appear to have been kept in most of the mills to serve as a record of what transpired there, it is not disputed that the President and certain office-bearers of the Managing Committee and the Central Committee—who, by rule 15, were ex-officio members of each mill committee—were neither present at such meetings nor even notified to attend.

The troubles caused by the exercise of such wide powers by the members of the mill committees may well be imagined and evidence had been led before the Court to prove the chaos which had been caused during this period by

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young, inexperienced and illiterate operatives asserting their authority in various ways. The report gives examples and says : "It will thus be seen that the mill committees were functioning unconstitutionally and their members individually were indulging in unwarranted interference with the working of the mills."

The report then sets out the main facts with regard to each of the disputes which were in progress during the months of March and April, 1929, prior to the general strike which took place on April 26. Evidence was only led with regard to the strikes in the Spring, Textile and Morarjee Gokuldas Mills. "The strikes in the two former mills have formed the pivot of the discussion before us," says the report "and they therefore deal with them at some length."

WORKERS' DEMANDS.

The Report then goes on to deal specifically with the merits of the demands put forward by the Girni Kamgar Union representatives at the Conference.

With regard to the first demand the Court of Inquiry are of opinion that the issue must be considered to have been settled and could not form the basis of any grievance.

"With regard to the question of victimisation it is regrettable that the suggestion made by Mr. Bakhale that a Sub-Committee should be appointed for the purpose was not accepted. We think the Millowners' Association might have exercised a wiser discretion by accepting that proposal, without the qualification that they would be inclined to accept it if it came from the Girni Kamgar Union officials, but we are not prepared to hold that if they had accepted the suggestion it would have prevented the general strike."

VICTIMISATION.

"We have recorded the evidence adduced by both parties with regard to the alleged cases of victimisation. It is no doubt true that certain members of the mill committees lost their jobs on account of their activities and we think in one sense it is open to the Girni Kamgar Union to assert that these men were victimised. But the real question is how far they merited such dismissal. If the activities of these members were mischievous and detrimental to the interests of the mills concerned, resulting in their dismissal, it is not open to the Girni Kamgar Union to contend that these members were victimised or to represent their dismissal as a case of grievance to be redressed."

"In the report of the Industrial Disputes Committee of 1921 it is stated that there is undoubtedly a widespread belief that victimisation is practised and that Trade Union leaders are marked out for dismissal on the first opportunity." We agree with these observations and think that this widespread belief which prevailed then continues up to the present day and is, in our opinion, responsible for a great deal of distrust of the management by the workers leading to frequent disputes. Even Mr. Bakhale, a sober and experienced officer of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, has said that the Trade Union officials are marked men in the eye of the management. The mischievous and militant activities of some of the workers resulted in their dismissal, and the Girni Kamgar Union took full advantage of the distrust prevailing among the workers in bringing about the general strike."

"NO TRIBUNAL"

Dealing with the difficulties in the way of a settlement, the Court refers to the uncompromising attitude of the Union and points out that Mr. Deshpande, the Secretary, had gone so far as to say that he would submit to the arbitration of no tribunal, howsoever constituted, unless it was composed solely of workers. The Court holds that this uncompromising attitude is one of the main difficulties in the way of a settlement. But there is undoubtedly an undercurrent of discontent amongst the workers which has been turned by some of the extremist leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union to their own account resulting in the present unrest.

CUT IN WAGES.

The Report refers to the cut of 7½ per cent. in wages and points out that

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the Millowners postponed the introduction of this cut up to October, 1929, and it is also probable that if the present state of affairs had not been brought about the suggestion of the Fawcett Committee to give up the cut altogether might have been accepted. The Millowners have a perfect right to say that since the conditions precedent laid down by the Fawcett Committee to the giving up of the cut have not been fulfilled, the workers have no justification for asking for the cut not to be enforced. The Court thinks that steps taken to inform the workers of the findings of the Fawcett Committee would have the effect of removing certain wrong impressions that might have been created in their minds in consequence of any improper propaganda carried on during the past four or five months. The Court declines to give a finding as to the legality or otherwise of the non-payment of the April wages because it is not within the scope of their terms of reference, but so far as such non-payment has a bearing on the point in issue, the Court says that in their opinion it might not unreasonably form a ground for concession upon any discussion for the resumption of normal conditions in the industry and that the making of such an offer by the Millowners might operate favourably on the workers to create a better atmosphere.

ON ARBITRATION.

One of the most important difficulties in the way of a settlement is that at present there is no machinery for bringing the parties together and there is very little possibility of contact between workers and millowners. The Mediation Rules of the Fawcett Committee agreed to by the parties are inapplicable, for they are only appropriate to the position before the strike, and not after it has taken place. There is no joint tribunal of arbitration and the Board of Conciliation contemplated by the Trades Disputes Act, 1929, could achieve little result unless it was supported by the good-will of the parties concerned.

"To sum up, the main causes of the prolongation of the strike are :—

(a) the aggressive and mischievous propaganda of the officials of the Girni Kamgar Union and inflammatory appeals made by them to the workers ;

(b) picketing and intimidation by the strikers and acts of violence committed by them on non-strikers. One of the reasons why the mills are not working at full strength is that a number of strikers who left for their homes have not been able to return as the monsoon is not over.

"In our opinion the blame for the prolongation of the strike rests mainly upon the officials of the Girni Kamgar Union.

"The main difficulty in the way of settlement is the uncompromising attitude of the officials of the Girni Kamgar Union ; but we think that there is an undercurrent of discontent amongst the workers due, *inter alia*, to (a) the proposed cut of 7½ percent. in the wages of weavers ; (b) the fear of unemployment in consequence of the proposed introduction of the efficiency scheme ; (c) the non-payment of April wages. Full advantage has been taken of these causes by the officials of the Girni Kamgar Union in fomenting unrest and prolonging the strike. Some of the other difficulties in the way of a settlement are the absence of contact between the millowners and the workers, and the absence of any machinery such as an arbitration board to settle disputes as they arise."

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CONGRESS & CONFERENCES

July–Dec. 1929.

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All India Spinners' Association

BOARD OF TRUSTEES :—1. Mahatma Gandhi (President). 2. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (Treasurer and officiating Chairman) 3. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar. 4. Babu Rajendra Prasad. 5. Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande. 6. Sjt Konda Venkatappaya. 7. Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel. 8. Sjt. Satischandra Das Gupta. 9. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. 10. Sjt Manilal Kothari. 11. Sjt. Shankerlal G. Banker (Secretary). 12. Sjt. V. V. Jerajani. 13. Dr. B. Subramaniam. 14. Sjt. K. Santanam.

The following is the Annual Report of the All India Spinners' Association for the year 1927-28 :—

Before reviewing the work done during the year, it is necessary to record the great loss sustained by the Association and Khadi work generally by the death of Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi in April last year. His devotion and mastery of all the details of Khadi work had been at the service of the cause ever since the movement was started. In grateful recognition of his services the Council has resolved to raise a Khadi museum in his name. For this purpose Rs. 22,077-8-11 have been received from donors till now.

During the year propaganda and collection tours were undertaken by Gandhiji and other members of the Council in some of the provinces. Gandhiji's Ceylon tour early in the year and the collection of Rs. 1,05,247-2—0 in that island have been mentioned in the last report. After Ceylon Gandhiji toured in the Ganjam district and in some of the districts of Utkal for about a month just before the Madras Congress. The collections during this tour amounted to Rs. 21,644-13-5½. In April Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sjt. Manilal Kothari, Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Dr. P. C. Ghosh and the Secretary undertook a collection and propaganda tour in some parts of Bengal. The actual collections made during this tour amounted to Rs. 66,501-4-0.

Dr. P. C. Ray, Sjt. Shyamsundar Chakravarty and Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta visited Utkal in September and October, 1928, and carried the khadi message to several places in the province.

Such occasional tours are helpful but they are not enough. It is necessary that the provincial organisations should carry on more continuous propaganda in order to keep the subject constantly before the public and create the necessary atmosphere for further development of the work. Some of the organisations are doing this but it has to be done more systematically in all provinces if more funds and more workers, so necessary for any further progress in the work, have to be drawn into the movement.

FINANCIAL POSITION.

The present financial position of the Association can be gathered from a perusal of the accounts given in Appendix A. The chief receipts during the year were the Deshbandhu Memorial Fund collections made during Gandhiji's tours in Ceylon, Tamil Nad and Utkal and the collections made in Bengal in April. Altogether this year the amount transferred from the D. M. F. account is Rs 3,44,612-3-7. The total capital in the hands of the Association at the end of the year under report was Rs. 22,01,976-2-8 3/4. Out of this Rs. 22,09,66-0-6 is represented by book debts transferred by the All India Khadi Board and the Provincial Khadi Boards under the Congress resolution, which are still in the course of realisation. A large part of it will probably have to be written off. The net effective capital available therefore was Rs. 19,81,010-2-2 3/4.

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The main disbursements during the year were as follows:—

Department Investments.		
Rajasthan	Rs.	4,246— 2— 1
U. P.	,,	6,914—13— 0
Utkal	,,	10,931—11—10
Tamil Nad	,,	2,54,531—15— 7
Total Rs.		2,76,624—10— 6

Loans.		
Khadi Pratisthan	Rs.	25,000— 0— 0
Gandhi Seva Sangh, Tamil Nad Branch	Rs.	31,657— 7— 7
Bombay Bhandar	Rs.	5,000— 0— 0
Sjt. Chhaganlal K. Gandhi, (for Wool Spinning at Almorah)	Rs.	500— 0— 0
Total Rs.		62,157— 7— 7

The investments out of the A. I. S. A. funds in the different provinces were at the end of the year as under :—

Andhra	Rs.	1,71,412— 2— 5
Assam	Rs.	7,604—11— 0
Behar	Rs.	3,42,751— 3— 5
Bengal	Rs.	2,98,050— 0— 0
Bombay	Rs.	1,25,000— 0— 1
Burma	Rs.	23,700— 5— 7
Delhi	Rs.	49,658— 8— 9
Karnatak	Rs.	1,05,821—12— 2½
Maharashtra	Rs.	1,23,459— 7— 6
Punjab	Rs.	77,428—12— 6½
Rajasthan	Rs.	58,040—10—10
Tamil Nad & Kerala	Rs.	634,333— 2— 1
U. P.	Rs.	56,286— 3— 3
Utkal	Rs.	98,088—15—7
Total	Rs.	21,71,635—15—3

Out of the above total Rs. 6,04,214—0—7 is lent out to independent certified Khadi organisations. It should be mentioned that the amounts shown against Andhra, Karnatak, Behar and Utkal include large book debts transferred by the old Khadi Boards, which are not at present in effective investment.

PRODUCTION.

The production figures of the different provinces for the year given below with the corresponding figures for 1926—27.

	1927-28 Rs.	*1926-27* Rs.
Andhra	2.94,083	3,83,037
Behar	2,12,441	1,84,347
Bengal	3,28,609	2,44,597
Delhi	16,758	14,641
Gujarat	37,649	52,250
Karnatak	73,970	55,844
Kashmir	22,219	
Maharashtra	37,036	18,794
Punjab	84,692	75,671
Rajasthan	1,41,710	1,31,480
Tamil Nad & Kerala	9,97,466	10,94,633
U. P. & Gandhi Ashram	1,16,365	99,755
Utkal	53,384	51,321
Total ...	24,16,382	24,06,370

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It will be noticed that while there is an increase in the production in many of the provinces there is a fall in Andhra and Tamil Nad. In both these cases the fall was in respect of certified private organisations, and was due to unexpected causes. The fine centres of Andhra did not operate throughout the year. Practically for seven months in the year under report the work at these centres had to be stopped. Some cases of mixture of mill yarn in the private production of the fine Khadi were brought to our notice about January 1927, and as a result of the enquiry that was held immediately it was thought advisable to withdraw the certificates granted to the private organisations operating in this area, pending adequate arrangements for absolutely ensuring genuineness. The Association has started the work recently under its own direct management but for the larger part of last year the fine Khadi production was very little. In Tamil Nad the fall in private production was due to the high prices of cotton which prevailed during the first half of the year. The high cotton prices left but a narrow margin of profit and there was therefore no inducement either for new organisations to start or the old ones to expand. In fact a few of the manufacturers closed down for this reason and many of the remaining were unable to maintain production at the previous year's level. The result was a fall in private production in the province of over a lakh of Rupees worth. The total production for the year has consequently remained, inspite of the increase in the other provinces, practically at the same level as in the previous year.

Efforts were made this year to get the yardage and weight figures of the Khadi produced along with the money value. Only Rajasthan, Punjab and Maharashtra have given fairly full figures. Tamil Nad has given the figures only for the second half of the year. Calculating from the figures received the total yardage will be over 6 millions sq. yards.

SALES.

The sale figures for the different provinces are as under :—

	1927-28 Rs.	1926-27 Rs.
Andhra	3,71,698	4,03,737
Behar	3,43,359	2,67,302
Bengal	4,10,632	4,40,127
Bombay	3,06,258	2,85,858
Burma	25,451	25,438
Delhi	19,809	19,811
Gujarat	95,835	189,410
Karnatak	1,12,193	78,115
Maharshtra	1,95,590	1,66,774
Punjab	1,07,538	1,06,824
Rajasthan3	1.41,473	1,28,287
Tamil Nad & Kerala	10,23,521	10,73,021
U. P. & Gandhi Ashram	1,97,026	1,62,504
Utkal	58,251	41,586
Total	33,08,634	32,88,794

It must be noted in regard to the sale figures that we have not been able to get rid entirely for the duplication due to inter-sales between organisations in different provinces. Necessary instructions have been given to eliminate this small element of duplication also in the coming year's report.

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NUMBER OF VILLAGES COVERED.

There are now 310 centres of Khadi work, of which 138 are production centres and 172 sale depots. Of this total number, 156 are directly run by the A. I. S. A. The activities of the production depots cover nearly 3000 villages. The figures of villages covered have not been fully received. The Bengal figures are incomplete. The figures received at the central office are as under :—

Province	*Number of villages covered*
Andhra	362
Behar	457
Bengal	48
Delhi	63
Gujarat	129
Karnatak	180
Maharashtra	53
Punjab	82
Rajasthan	171
Tamil Nad & Kerala	925
U. P.	121
Utkal	64
Total	2655

CARDERS, SPINNERS AND WEAVERS.

Number of carders, spinners and weavers supported by the Khadi production activities in the country has also been received, but not complete in respect of Behar and Bengal. The figures of spinners and weavers received are as given below :—

Province	*Spinners*	*Weavers*
Andhra	13,157	1,111
Behar	7,428	272
Bengal	2,350	104
Delhi	977	68
Gujarat	1,457	193
Karnatak	2,992	232
Maharashtra	829	90
Punjab	42,712	487
Rajasthan	5,176	613
Tamil Nad & Kerala	18,225	1,474
U. P.	1,209	268
Utkal	1,188	32
Total	97,700	4,944

As regards carders it is only in certain areas that carders exist apart from spinners. In most regions the spinner cards her cotton himself. The number of carders benefitted is as under :—

Province	*Carders*
Andhra	260
Gujarat	23
Maharashtra	88
Rajasthan	200
U. P.	132
Total	703

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As stated in the previous year's report, in areas like the Punjab, Rajasthan, Andhra, U. P. etc. where hand-spun yarn or Khadi is being brought to the market for sale, and the Khadi organisations purchase the yarn or Khadi, a census of all the working wheels in the area has been taken. In such cases the spinners are not exclusively attached to our khadi organisations, only a part of their yarn output coming to our recognised centres of Khadi production.

It is not possible to give the exact amount distributed as wages to spinners and weavers as a result of the khadi production during the year, since in many areas yarn is not got spun for wage but purchased directly from spinners or through middlemen at markets, and sometimes Khadi even is so purchased directly from weavers. Precise figures, however, are available in the spinners and weavers respectively and wages paid for work. Calculating on the basis of these figures it will be found that out of the 24 lakhs and odd worth of khadi produced nearly 6 lakhs would have been distributed to spinners and 8 lakhs to weavers.

WORKERS.

Literate men engaged in the work of organising the industry now number nearly one thousand. Precise figures are not available regarding the number of workers in independent organisations. But in the service of the A. I. S. A. alone in the Central Office and in the several branches there are 511 workers. In addition there are 247 workers in the independent public organisation like the Pratisthan and others. Including private organisations the total number engaged in Khadi work must be nearly one thousand. The number of workers in the different organisations is as under :—

A. I. S. A.	
Central Office	9
Technical Department	8
Andhra	46
Behar	77
Bombay Bhandars	20
Burma	3
Karnatak	26
Maharashtra	41
Punjab	26
Rajasthan	28
Tamil Nad	144
U' P.	30
Utkal	53
Total	511

Aided organisation	
Khadi Pratisthan	95
Abhay Ashram	63
Prabartak Sangh	15
Khalispur Ashram	12
Vidyashram	17
Arambagh Khadi Karya	5
Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu	10
Gandhi Ashram, Meerut	30
	247

IMPROVEMENT IN QUALITY.

Mention was made in some detail in the two previous reports of the improvements that have taken place since the earlier years in the variety and quality of Khadi goods that are being placed in the market. It is unnecessary to go over the same ground in this report also. It is enough to mention that continuous efforts at improvement are being made in all the directions referred to in the previous reports.

YARN.

One of the directions in which improvement has taken place to which reference was made in the last report was in respect of the lifting up of the average quality of yarn both as regards strength and uniformity. It is necessary to remember that in both these respects progress in the very nature of things can be but slow. The noticeable improvement in the Punjab and the Rajasthan in the count of yarn produced has already been mentioned in the last report. But while it is the duty of Khadi organisations to be continuously striving to better the quality of yarn, it is necessary for the consumers to recognise that the count of yarn cannot be raised at a bound and that while there may be a slight lifting up from year to year, the bulk of the khadi produced for some years to come at any rate must remain of the thicker

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quality, i. e. of 12 to 18 counts yarn. At the same time the Association and affiliated organisations are making efforts to tap all available sources of fine and medium yarn and put into the market larger quantities of high count cloth. Andhra, Tamil Nad and Karnatak particularly are producing fairly large quantities of higher count cloth and the value of medium and fine Khadi production in these three provinces during 1927—28 amounted to over 2½ lakhs of rupees.

TEXTURE.

The second direction in which improvement continues to be effected is in respect of texture. In the last year's report it was stated that as compared with the first year's there was an increase of 25 to 30 per cent in the number of threads used per inchs. During 1927—28 many of the organisations have still further tried to improve the texture. Rajasthan, Andhra and Tamil Nad branches may be specially mentioned in this connection. The Rajasthan Branch in 1926—27 was using only 1200 threads in warp in its Gadha of 30 inches width. In 1927—28 even the lowest quality of Gadha manufactured by the Rajasthan Branch contains 1300 threads while the highest contains as many as 1600, Andhra has sought to improve the texture all round. The number of picks and ends used in medium Khadi i. e. of about 20 to 25 counts yarn has been increased from 40 to 44. In the ordinary Khadi of 12 to 16 counts it has been increased from 32 to 36, and in rough Khadi of under 12 counts from 28 to 32. The Tirupur organisations in Tamil Nad were generally using only 40 threads per inch of warp and weft in 1926—27 ; while now the Branch is attempting to introduce 44 threads. Other provinces are also working in this direction and generally closer attention is now being given to texture by all Khadi organisations.

DYED AND PRINTED GOODS.

Apart from better yarn and better weaving, efforts are made in other directions as well to meet the needs and satisfy the tastes of the consuming public. With the development of production on a large scale the Khadi organisations everywhere have realised the necessity of studying the needs of the market and satisfying the tastes of the consumers. Increasing attention is being paid to the finishing processes and every year the organisations are putting in the market not merely a larger number of varieties but more attractive varieties as well. All the usual varieties in white are of course now available. The need for printed and dyed goods has been realised and every important Khadi organisation is having its own printing and dyeing department large or small. The Tamil Nad Branch is having its dyeing department at Tirupur. Besides, the Branch has also made arrangements to get goods dyed at Madura. The excellence of Madura dyes is well-known. At present the Branch is getting goods dyed in Madura in 29 different shades of fast colours. The Khadi Pratisthan's dye-house at Sodepur has been maintaining its mark in efficiency. The Crome Khadi dyeing as done by this dye-house has been receiving deserved recognition. It is stated that the Calcutta Corporation has accepted this particular Khadi for its requirements. Of printed goods large quantities are now being made available. The Masulipatam prints are well-known. The Lahore bhandar run by the Punjab Branch of the A. I. S. A. has made its special printing arrangements and its palm-print and peacock-print curtains and table-cloths are in demand in many parts of the country. The spray-printing introduced by the Khadi Pratisthan is also note-worthy. This process is said to give peculiar delicacy of tint and touch. Prints are made fast by a special process. This is a new line that the Pratisthan has adopted for making khadi more attractive.

In this connection it is necessary to mention the Rashtriya Stree Sabha of Bombay. This Sabha is importing fine and medium Khadi and gets lace and embroidery work done and thus putting into the market a small quantity of fine and fancy fabrics. Smt. Mithuben Petit is also doing somewhat similar work, besides getting Khadi printed in many attractive designs. The A. I. S. A. bhandar at Bombay is also getting embroidery work done and by its study of the needs of the market is able to give helpful suggestions as to the quality and variety of goods in demand.

All these efforts are mentioned to show that the Khadi organisations are alive to the need for continuous improvements in quality so as to be able to meet all the

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needs of the market. But it is obvious that very much remains to be done if Khadi is to face and survive the competition of machine-made cloth, indigenous and foreign.

PRICES.

We have traced in the two previous reports the reduction that has taken place In Khadi price since 1922. During the year under report owing to the rise in cotton prices no further reduction could be effected in prices on any large scale. It was all that the Khadi organisations could do to keep the price at the same level as in the previous year. It has been mentioned already that some private organisations in Tirupur found themselves compelled to close their activities owing to the rise in cotton prices. It was therefore a hard task for khadi organisations to keep their prices unchanged. Even so wherever it has been possible owing to internal economies, some reduction has been made. For instance, the Andhra Branch has reduced the prices of its Guntur goods by 12 per cent.

But administrative economies carry the reduction very far. If any further reduction to an appreciable extent is to become possible, one necessary thing is an improvement in the quality of yarn. Any appreciable improvement in the quality of yarn is bound to have a considerable effect on the cost of production. A large part of the reduction that has taken place since the beginning of the movement is due to the fact that with the improvement in the quality of yarn and more experience in the handling of hand-spun yarn, the weaving wages could be reduced without any hardship to the weavers. But the weaving wages even as they are at present in the best organised Khadi centres are nearly double what they are for weaving mill yarn. If hand-spun yarn improves so as to make the reduction of the weaving charges to the mill yarn level possible, it will bring down the cost of production of Khadi about 15 per cent.

There are other factors as well to be considered in this connection. The spinners in many places have to be taught to stock their own cotton. In a large number of areas to-day the Khadi organisations have to stock the cotton centrally for issuing out to spinners. Secondly in many areas the spinner does not herself card the cotton. This has an adverse effect both on the quality of yarn spun as well as the manufacturing charges of Khadi. If these two changes can be made in the methods of production a large reduction in prices will be possible.

SPINNING FOR SELF.

The efforts made at Bijolia in Rajasthan and elsewhere to promote the idea of spinning for one's own requirements and individual and regional self-sufficiency as regards cloth are pregnant with great possibilities. The intensive work that was being carried on at Bijolia has been referred to in previous reports. This work has progressed still further during 1927-28 and it is expected that the task undertaken by the Karyalaya there under Sjt. Jethalal Govindji will be completed in 1928-29 and there will be no need for further propaganda. The cultivators in the area have understood the advantages of hand-spinning. Many families have taken to weaving. Propaganda has been carried on for home-dyeing also and a number of families have begun to print and dye their own clothes. About 1000 wheels are working in this area. During the year 1927-28 it is estimated that 5500 people got their clothing requirements produced out of yarn spun in their own homes. The total quantity of cloth woven is estimated at 66000 sq. yards. In addition to this there are a few families in this area who get yarn spun for their use by others. Out of such yarn about 20,000 sq. yards of cloth have been produced. This is a creditable record made possible only by the persistence and living faith of Sjt. Jethalal Govindji and his co-workers. The result is all the more remarkable because at the time when the work was started there was hardly any spinning going on in the centre.

The success of the experiment at Bijolia has encouraged the Rajasthan Branch to start a similar centre at Reenjus in Jaipur State. Work has only recently been started. Propaganda has been carried on among the cultivating classes in 25 villages round Reengus. The cultivating classes knew already spinning. Efforts are made to teach carding also to them and now about 500 persons have learnt carding also. Already a few families have started to get all their cloth requirements made out of

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their own yarn. It is expected that -·n the course of the year good results may be achieved.

Similar work in Gujarat among the Raniparaj people in the Bardoli, Mahua and Vyara taluks is progressing apace. Although the operations were to some extent interrupted by the floods in 1927 and the Satyagraha against revenue settlement in 1928, both of which drew away some of the workers from the Khadi work there has been no serious dislocation. The several Ashrams that were doing the work have recently been amalgamated into a federation called the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram Sangh with Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel as President. Sjt. Lakskmidas Purushottam is the chief director of all the Khadi activities. During the year 711 families got their cloth woven out of their own yarn. The total quantity of yarn produced was 5240 lbs. and the cloth woven was 14178 sq. yards.

In some other provinces also, although there has been no organised effort in this direction, the continuous khadi work carried on has fostered the idea of spinning for self. In Guravareddipalayam in Guntur district it is stated that the vast majority of the population habitually wear khadi made out of yarn spun in their own homes. In some of the villages in the Tirupur area in Tamil Nad spinning for self has become a primary domestic duty in some of the more well-to-do families of agriculturists. A purely spontaneous effort in this direction at Kasipalayam, a village in the Madura district, has met with a considerable measure of success and been referred to in a recent Government report.

In this connection may also be mentioned the arrangements made by the Punjab Branch of the A. I. S. A. at Khanewal and Montgomery for giving to spinners khadi in exchange for yarn. The total quantity of khadi thus exchanged during the year amounted to 20572 sq. yards.

MEMBERS.

The membership figures for the different provinces are as under:—

Province	*A. Class*	*B. Class*	*Juveniles*
Andhra	205	43	13
Assam	6	—	—
Behar	186	72	18
Bengal	171	43	6
Bombay	59	8	2
Burma	9	2	—
C. P. Hindi	14	2	—
Delhi	16	—	—
Gujarat	311	21	90
Karnatak	74	18	4
Kerala	19	2	4
Maharashtra	177	33	62
Punjab	40	8	—
Rajasthan	24	1	2
Sind	17	3	—
Tamil Nad	89	5	2
U. P.	70	10	1
Utkal	40	8	1
Total	1527	279	205

TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT

This Department in its present state of efficiency is mainly the creation of the late Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi. After his death Sjt. Narandas Gandhi was appointed Director of the Department.

The main lines of activity of this Department have been mentioned in the previous report and are as under:—

(1) Conducting the Technical School for the training of khadi workers:—

This is the most important branch of the Department's work. The adoption by the Council of the A. I. S. A. of a scheme for a regular khadi Service of trained workers has been referred to in the previous report. The period of training extends

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over three years including a three months' probation in the beginning and a nine months' apprenticeship at the end. The syllabus of studies framed includes a detailed knowledge of all the processes of khadi manufacture from cotton upto finished cloth. Hindi and simple accounts-keeping also form part of the prescribed course.

Under this scheme 37 students were receiving training at the school during the year under report. Of these 13 were from Maharashtra, 6 from Gujarat, 5 from Behar, 2 from Tamil Nad and 1 from Kerala. Most of these have practically finished their course and will be shortly going to their respective provinces for practical training at a centre of work.

Besides these 11 have been taken for training and are undergoing their preliminary probation of 3 months.

Besides the regular khadi Service students there were 48 others who took advantage of the school, 9 of these were from the Sabarmati Ashram. The rest came from different parts of the country and included some inspectors and students who were sent by the Education Department of the Hyderabad State for receiving the necessary training for khadi work.

The services of four of the students and of some of the teachers have been lent to the Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmedabad. Two of the students were sent to Bardoli to help the constructive work there at the time of the recent Satyagrah against Revenue Settlement.

(ii) Exhibitions :—The Department took part in a number of exhibitions during the year was the All India Khadi Exhibition organised by the A. I. S. A. at Madras at the time of the Congress in December 1927. The Department sent a fully equipped party to this exhibition to demonstrate all the processes involved in the production of khadi.

Demonstration parties were also sent to the Agricultural Exhibitions, held at Vijapur in Baroda State in Gwalior, Rajkot, Jamnagar and Rajpipla. The charts and graphs prepared by the Department and put up at these exhibitions proved very instructive and attracted much attention.

Exhibits of implements, tools, etc. were sent to the Exhibitions of Kapadvanj Ajmer, Cochin and Roha in Colaba District.

(iii) Experiments in implements :—The Sabarmati Ashram's carpentary workshop is placed at the disposal of the Department for carrying on experiments with a view to improve the implements. The improved handgins made by the Department have been found to be very useful and at the same time simple.

The Department keeps in stock the various implements required in khadi manufacture.

(iv) Receiving of Franchise Yarn :—The Department was receiving the yarn quotas from A. I. S. A. members as also the Congress membership yarn. The yarn that is being received from regular members of the A. I. S. A. is showing progressive improvement in respect of strength and uniformity. Altogether the total quantity of yarn received as subscription during the year was 1372 lbs. 34½ tolas. The receiving of franchise yarn has been recently transferred to the Head Office at Ahmedabad.

(v) Testing of cloth and yarn samples :—111 samples of cloth were received during the year for testing. All these were tested, the results noted and books of samples made out of them.

Besides the yarn received as subscription from members, there were 250 yarn quotas received for testing from spinning competitions held at the Gujarat Vidyapith and elsewhere.

(vi) Examination of Doubtful Khadi :—26 samples of cloth were received for being examined as to genuineness. 21 of them were found genuine and in the remaining five mill yarn was found to have been used.

General Administration

A few words may be added here about the general administration of the A. I. S. A. While there is undoubted need for expansion both of production and sale, the Council of the Association feels that all defects in efficiency in machinery should be

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removed and that the work should be put on sound business basis. This is necessary as a foundation for the further development of the work on proper lines.

The Council has adopted the general policy of running only such centres where the out-turn is likely to make the centre pay its own expenses. The provincial branches are asked to frame their budgets on this basis. It has been, however, not possible to avoid losses. Pioneer efforts at new centres often in the beginning involve losses which have necessarily to be incurred. Secondly, some centres have to be maintained, even though they be losing, in the interest of the movement from the point of view of general propaganda. Lastly, in some cases it is found difficult to make accurate estimates of production and sale, and the working results in consequence have varied and sometime widely from the budget estimates. Monthly returns of work and accounts are received at the central office from every centre, and every effort is being made to bring about conformity between the estimates and actual working.

For purposes of internal check, audit and inspection the central office has appointed an auditing inspector to go round the provinces and report. The inspector this year visited Karnatak, Punjab, U. P. and Behar and his report drew attention to many important points, both in the general administration as well as the details of the work in these provinces.

The Council at its meeting on 25th, 26th and 27th July 1928, by a resolution requested Sjt. Jerajani of the Bombay Bhandar to inspect the sale bhandars in all the provinces and make constructive suggestions for improvement wherever necessary. In pursuance of this resolution Sjt. Jerajani visited U. P. and Behar and made many important suggestions for the better organisation of sales in these provinces. Sjt. Mathradas Purshottam at the request of the Head Office went to Karnatak about July 1928, and greatly helped in reorganising the work of the Karnatak Branch.

One important point of general administration which the Council has adopted requires to be mentioned. From the past working of the Khadi organisations it has been found that credit sales have led to considerable losses which could have been avoided. Moreover credit sales lock up an appreciable part of the very limited funds that are at the disposal of khadi and reduce to that extent the effective investment. In view of these considerations the Council has by a resolution strictly enjoined upon all bhandars of the A. I. S. A. not to have any credit tales, whether by way of retail or wholesale transactions. Even in the case of registered hawkers, ii has been required that deposit of cash should be taken to cover the price of goods advanced to them. Some of the provinces felt that this rule might operate against extension of sales, but wherever it has been strictly followed the results have been wholly good and sales have in no case suffered permanently. Tamil Nad had stopped credit sales at its bhandars even before the rule was adopted. Rajasthan has now put this rule into effect. Other provinces also are trying to follow suit. It is hoped that the public would realise the need for such a rule in the case of an organisation like the A. I. S. A. which has to function over so large a field with very limited finances and would help khadi depots everywhere strictly to conform to instructions of the Council of the A. I. S. A.

INDIAN STATES.

Before concluding the report it is necessary to refer to two other matters. In the previous report reference has been made to the increased interest that is being evinced by the Indian States in the development of handspinning in their territories. The most noteworthy instance of such interest is the systematic effort made by the Mysore Government. In the last report the opening of a centre of work at Badanval by the Mysore Government has been mentioned. This centre has even in the first year given results far better than what was anticipted. The Government in view of the pioneer effort had made provision for some loss in the first year. But there was need to draw upon this provision. Within eight months of the start the number of working charkhas rose to 1000, and the yarn produced showed progressive improvement. By June 1928, 52 looms had been engaged and 9200 yards of khadi had been manufactured. The centre is now producing about Rs. 2000 worth Khadi per month and the goods have met with the approval of the State Stores Purchase Committee. About half the production of the

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centre is now being absorbed by the Government Departments. The Industries Department was fully satisfied with the results at Badanval. and the State Sub-Committee constituted to consider the question of hand-spinning resolved, after consideration of the Director's reports, that the work at Badanval should be continued and that similar work should be started at least in one centre in each of the districts. The Government of Mysore, it is understood, proposes to start early another centre on the lines of Badanval. The Director of Industries in Mysore is also trying to introduce improved Charkhas and a better variety of cotton to make fine spinning possible. Altogether the Mysore Department of Industries under its Director, Mr. C. Ranganatha Rao Sahib is devoting a great deal of systematic attention to the revival and development of handspinning.

No such systematic effort has yet been started by any other State, but there is evidence to show that others are also beginning to recognise the importance of handspinning. The Baroda and the Nizam's Governments are considering the question. Gwalior has introduced Takli-Spinning in all its schools in Ujjain and Shajapur districts.

LOCAL BODIES.

In the previous report the interest that was being shown by the Municipal and Local Boards in the movement has been mentioned. During the year under report Belgaum, Poona and Wardha Municipalities have abolished the octroi on Khadi. Wardha has also introduced spinning in its schools. So also Jalgaon. Dhulia, Poona and Ahmednagar Municipalities. The North Arcot District Board has allowed the Tamil Nad Branch motor van for hawking Khadi to operate toll-free in the district.

CONCLUSION.

The new year opens with good promise for Khadi work. The Congress programme for the boycott of foreign cloth has given a great impetus to the demand for Khadi. The resources of the existing khadi organisations will be strained to the utmost in producing all the Khadi that will be needed to meet the demand. But whatever development the coming year may bring by way of increased production and sale, it is obvious that the task of re-establishing the spinning industry in the millions of village homes scattered over so large an area as our country is too big a task to be essayed with success by any single non-official organisation. Other agencies must come into the field if the task is to be adequately fulfilled. The British Government may be indifferent about the matter but the Indian States can do a a great deal. If they can be persuaded to follow the example of Mysore and make systematic effort to introduce the Charkha in the homes of the poor within their territories, results of great magnitude may be expected. But whatever Governments may or may not do, great expansion in the work is possible, if more capital is placed at the disposal of the cause and if the Association's work is supplemented by well directed and patriotic private effort and enterprise. There is indeed limitless scope for expansion. There are millions of idle hands in our villages still waiting to be employed. It is to be hoped that the call of the hungry and semi-starved will receive prompt and adequate response from the educated and well-to-do classes in the country.

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Constitution of the All India Spinners' Association.

(Passed at Patna on the 23rd-24th September, 1925 and amended at Wardha from the 18th to 20th Dec. 1928 and Sabarmati. from 4th to 5th April 1929)

Whereas the time has arrived for the establishment of an expert organisation for the development of hand-spinning and khaddar and whereas experience has shown that such development is not possible without a permanent organisation, unaffected and uncontrolled by politics, political changes or political bodies, an organisation called the All-India Spinner's Association is hereby established with the consent of the All India Congress Committee as an integral part of the Congress organisation, but with independent existence and powers.

2. (a) The said Association shall consist of members and associates and donors hereinafter defined and shall have a Board of Trustees who shall also be the Governing Body of the Association.

(b) The said Board of Trustees, and Executive Council shall consist of the undermentioned twelve persons who shall hold office for life, provided they continue to be members of the Association. and three other persons who shall hold office for one year elected by the members of the Association from among other members annually, provided that for this purpose no one who has not been on the rolls continuously for two years at the time of election shall be entitled to vote.

Names of members of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council :—

(1) Mahatma Gandhi (2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. (3) Sjt C. Rajagopalachariar, (4) Sjt. G. B. Deshapande ; (5) Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya ; (6) Babu Rajendra Prasad (7) Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. (8) Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta. (9) Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel. (10) Sjt. Manilal Kothari and (11) Sjt. S. G. Banker. (12) kept vacant.

3. That the funds and assets now held by the All India Spinners' Association and its various branches shall vest in the Board of Trustees who shall also be the Executive Council of the Association, and they shall hold the same for the purposes of the Association.

4. The Council shall have the right to raise loans, to collect subscriptions, to hold immovable property, to invest funds under proper security, to give and take mortgage for the furtherance of hand-spinning and Khaddar, to give financial assistance to khaddar organisations by way of loans, gifts or bounties, to help or establish schools or institutions where hand-spinning is taught, to help or open khaddar stores, to establish a Khaddar Service, to act as agency on behalf of the Congress to receive self-spun yarn as subscription to the Congress and to issue certificates and to do all the things that may be considered necessary for the furtherance of its objects, with power to make regulation for the conduct of affairs of the Association or the Council and to make such amendments in the present constitution, as may be considered necessary from time to time.

5. Any vacancy in the Board of Trustees and Executive Council occuring by reason of resignation, death or otherwise, shall be filled up by the remaining members from amongst the members of the Association provided, however, the person appointed in place of a life-member will be a member for life ; while the person appointed in place of a member elected for the year will be member for the remaining period of the term.

6. Four members shall form the quorum for a meeting of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council.

7. All decisions shall be taken by majority of votes.

8, The Council shall keep an accurate account of all subscriptions, donations and fees, whether in cash or kind and of expenditure. The books shall be open to public inspection and shall be audited by competent auditors every three months.

9. The Board of Trustees and Executive Council shall have a central office. They shall elect a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer from among their number who shall each hold office for 3 years.

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10. All persons desirous of becoming member of the Congress shall send their yarn subscription to the central office with particulars in the following form :—

To

The Secretary,

All India Spinners' Association.

Sir,

I enclose herewith.....yards of yarn.....in weight spun by me, being my subscription to the National Congress.—$\frac{\text{I am}}{\text{wish to become}}$—a member of the .....Congress Committee. My age is.....My occupation is.....My address is.....

Signature.....(Please sign legibly and if a woman, State whether married or unmarried).

Dated.....

11. Upon receipt of the subscription the Secretary shall examine the quantity and quality of yarn and if found satisfactory shall send to the Congress Committee concerned a certificate in the following form :

"This is to certify that.....of.....has sent to the A. I. S. A.....yards of yarn being subscription for membership of the Congress for the year.....in.....Congress Committee of.....P. C. C."

A duplicate of the certificate with the signature of the Secretary shall be sent to the sender of the yarn.

12. The central office shall keep a separate ledger containing a list with full particulars of all yarn received by the A. I. S. A. for membership of the Congress.

13. Members of the Association shall consist of persons above eighteen years of age and habitually wearing khaddar, who deposit regularly from month to month with the treasurer or any agency duly appointed thereto by the Council 1000 yards of self-spun yarn, well-twisted and uniform.

14. Any yarn paid to the Association for membership of the National Congress shall be considered part of the subscription to the Association.

15. The duty of every member shall be to carry on propaganda for hand-spining and khaddar.

16. When in any area fifty members have been enrolled they may elect from their number an advisory committee of five to advise the Council about matters relating to the area.

17. Those who pay the All India Spinners' Association Rs. 12 per year in advance and habitually wear khaddar shall be entitled to be enrolled as Associate members of the Association.

18. Any person who wears khaddar habitually and pays in advance a consolidated amount of Rs. 500- shall become a Life Associate of the Association.

19. All Associates will be entitled to receive free of charge copies of statements, balance sheets, and minutes of proceedings of the Council.

20 Every person wishing to join the Association shall apply in the following form—

To

The Secretary,

All India Spinners' Association.

Dear Sir,

I have read the rules of the A. I. S. A. I desire to become$\frac{\text{a member}}{\text{an associate}}$and I forward herewith.....as my subscription for.....Please enrol me as$\frac{\text{a member}}{\text{an associate}}$

YOURS FAITHFULLY,

(Signature).....

(Full address).....

Date.....

21. If any member fails to send his yarn quota for six months he shall cease to be a member,

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Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at Patna on the 22nd & 23rd September 1925.

The All India Congress Committee resolves that Article VII of the Congress Constitution be repealed and replaced by the following ;—

Article VII.

(*i*) Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per yarn of his or her own spinning, shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by a provincial Congress Committee. Provided that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

(*ii*) The yarn subscription mentioned in sub-section (*i*) shall be sent direct by the spinner to the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association or to any person nominated by the Secretary in this behalf, and a certificate from the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association to the effect that he has received 2000 yards of evenly spun yarn of the holder's own spinning as his or her yearly subscription shall entitle the holder to the membership mentioned in sub-section (*i*) hereof, Provided that for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the returns made by the All India Spinners' Association or any subordinate organisation thereunder and provided further that in the event of any inaccuracy or error discovered by the inspecting body in the accounts, stock or vouchers examined, the certificates issued by the All India Spinners' Association in respect of persons with reference to whose membership the accounts have been examined, shall be declared cancelled ; provided that the All India Spinners' Association or the person disqualified shall have the right of appeal to the Working Committee. Any person wishing to spin for the membership of the Congress may, if he or she desires, be supplied upon due security with cotton for spinning.

(iii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to 31st December and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.

(iv) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of the representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee or any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation, or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with sub-section (i) hereof or does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business. The Congress expects congressmen to wear khaddar also on all other occasions and in no case to use or wear foreign cloth.

It is resolved that the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest of the country and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress, save and except such funds and assets as are specially earmarked and such funds and assets as belong to the All India Khaddar Board and Provincial Khaddar Boards which shall be handed over with all existing financial obligations to the All India Spinners' Association started by Mahatma Gandhi as an integral part of the Congress organisation but with independent existence and full powers to administer these and other funds for the fulfilment of its object.

Important Resolutions of the A. I. K. B. and Council of the A. I. S. A.

General Policy.

(*Resolution No. IV dated Bombay 31st January to 1st February 1924*)

Every province should endeavour to develop to the fullest extent its potentialities for the production of khaddar and aim at clothing its population as far as possible with khadi produced within the province itself.

Specially favourable areas should be fully worked so as to supply from their surplus production the khadi requirements of areas and provinces where there cannot be a sufficient production of indigenous khadi or where it is not yet fully developed.

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In the transitional stage before consumption and production reach their maximum and are duly co-ordinated the province shall help each other in supplying the requirements of the population but this distribution of surplus production from one province to another shall be done through the respective provincial khadi Boards and with due regard to the local needs and conditions.

(Resolution No. XI dated Sabarmati 12th November 1925)

Resolved that the following rules shall be observed in granting loans.

1. Loans shall as a rule be given only where spinning is to be developed amongst people who are starving or half-fed and in need of employment and therefore in cases where the highest wage paid for spinning including earning is not more than 3 annas per lb. (49 tolas) of 6 counts yarn.

2 Applications shall be entertained only from individuals making themselves personally liable, or from legally registered bodies.

3. Loans will be on pledge of assest or other proper contract. Loans will not exceed the value of the assets less debts already incurred.

4. Before granting loans proper inquiries should be made and documents, titles and values examined. On the loan being sanctioned a proper deed should be executed.

5. An interest of I per thousand per year should be usually charged on loans.

6. Applications from bodies who can show no surplus assets should be judged on the merit of the application. The applicant should have had experience of khadi business and show satisfactory record of past work. The organisation, if already existing, should be examined from the technical and business point of view and according to circumstances a loan on guarantee of the property (assets) to be created by the loan may be given, the amount of such loans depending on the merits of the case.

CREDIT SALES

Resolution No. 1 dated Wardha 13th to 16th December 1926.

Resolved that all sale depots conducted by the A. I. S. A, or through the Provincial Departments be instructed strictly to avoid all sales on credit whether they be retail sales or wholesale transactions with other depots.

BOUNTY.

(Resolution dated 6th June 1924, modified by Resolution No. XIV (23) dated Bangalore 29th June to 8th July 1927.

It is proposed that an annual bounty of 2 p. c. may be paid to private khadi bhandars on the value of the sales subject to the following conditions :—

(*a*) The value of only khadi sold at a price of Rs. 1-0-0 or below per yard shall be taken into account.

(*b*) Only goods sold at price of 6 p. c. over cost price plus freight or less shall be taken into account.

(*c*) Only retail sales shall be taken into account.

Note :—No stock of khadi sold will be entitled to the benefit of the bounty more than once.

(*d*) There should be a sale in the year of at least twice the amount of capital invested.

(*e*) The total amout of sale should be above 1000 a year.

(*f*) There should be no cloth offered for sale at the bhandar other than genuine cotton fabric, handspun and handwoven, both warp and weft.

(*g*) All accounts and sources of purchases of stock should be made available for inspection and audit.

(*h*) The payment of the bounty will in any case be at the discretion of the All India Spinners' Association.

(Aided institutions are entitled to the bounty subject to a deduction of 6% interest on the loans advanced)

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HAWKING

(Resolution No. XLV [24 (e)] dated Bangalore 29th June to 8th July 1927.

Hawking is of two kinds : Urban and Rural. The commission for urban hawking is one anna on every rupee of sale and the arrangement in this respect extends to all the provinces. The provisions in regard to rural hawking are applicable only to such provinces to which the Council expressly extends the same. The commission for village hawking is Rs. 15 for the first hundred of sale every month and thereafter one anna on every rupee. There should be a minimum sale of Rs. 100 per month by every rural hawker before he can be entitled to this rate of commission. For the purpose of this provision every place with a population of less than 5,000 shall be considered a village.

The hawking commission is payable only to certified hawkers who have been regularly appointed for the purpose by the provincial office concerned.

(Resolution 2 Dated Wardha 13th to 16th December 1926)

Resolved that cash securities be inserted from the hawker covering the amount of stock taken by them for sales before engaging them. In special case however where desirable hawkers are unable to furnish such security personal securities may be taken.

(Resolution 34 Dated Bangalore 29th June to 8th July 1927)

The Council is of opinion that institutions or private parties who have taken loans or grants from the Association or the employees of such institutions or parties are not entitled to hawking commission in respect of their goods.

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The All India Congress Committee

ALLAHABAD—26 & 27 JULY 1929

The second meeting of the All India Congress Committee for the year 1929 was held at Allahabad on the 26th and 27th July under the presidency of Pt. Motilal Nehru. Perhaps never in the annals of the Indian National Congress since the fateful non-co-operation movement was inaugurated nearly eight years ago, had the Committee been called upon to decide such a momentous issue as to consider and give its verdict on the recommendation of the Working Committee that members of the Congress party in all legislatures in the country, both central and provincial, should forthwith resign their seats. The question was, indeed, of such supreme importance that the majority of the members of the Congress executive body thought it necessary to come all the way from far-off places in the country to attend the meeting. All the Congress provinces in India were well represented, not excepting even the distant Burma and Madras.

Those seated on the platform included Pandit Motilal Nehru, President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Ansari, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs J. M. Sen-Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. B. C. Roy, Sardar Sardul Singh, Dr. Muhammad Alam, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Sachidananda Sinha, Mr. Aney, Mr. Chintamani and others. Mahatma Gandhi was present at the second day's meeting.

1. Condolence Resolution

After the minutes of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee were adopted on the motion of Mr. Harisarvottam Rao, Pandit Motilal Nehru moved a condolence resolution, making a very touching reference to the recent deaths of the hon. Justice Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, an ex-secretary of the Congress, and Mr. Bhaktavatsulu Naidu of Madras.

2. Welcome to Mrs. Naidu.

Pandit Motilal then accorded a hearty welcome to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu whom he described as the only official Ambassador sent out by the National Congress. She had done her work remarkably well and delivered India's message to the West as only she could do.

Mrs. NAIDU explained that she addressed all sorts of meetings in the West with audiences, white, brown and black, and brought back the message, "When India wants freedom, why does not India get her freedom?" This message was sent through her by Ministers in high places and great countries, and also by the peasantry and the workers of the world. The last message was from a great Egyptian statesman who declared: 'Tell India that there is only Egypt, and no religion dividing Egyptians and Egyptians." At an international peace meeting a reference was made by one speaker that peace had been enunciated in the land of Buddha. But, she regretted, that it was no longer that gospel which was being practised in this land of Buddha. Peace was nothing more than a mockery in the mouths of those who uttered the word. She asked that to an audience (in Berlin), where the Indian National Flag was in the collection of flags from every nation. She further told them that Indian bondage was a menace to the world and a perpetual repudiation of the word "peace" that the Christian people were uttering in the name of the Asiatic Christ, whom they had crucified. She also told the Berlin Conference "Give us our flag, and then India will be the deliverer of the whole world."

Imprisoned Members

The Secretary then read out the names of members of the Committee whom the "Foreign Government" had jailed. They were Messrs. Sambamurthi, Annapurniah, Joglekar, Dange, V. N. Mukherjee, Zafar Ali, Anand Kishore, Ghazi Abdul Rahman, K. N. Saigal, Joshi, Muzaffar Ahmad and Satyaranjan Bakshi.

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3. Punjab Govt's Repression.

Dr. Ansari next moved :—

"This Committee congratulates the people of the Punjab on the gallant way in which they are facing the arrests and convictions of their leaders and workers, brutal assaults, including assaults on undertrial prisoners, and the barbarous methods of repression of the British Government.

"In view of the fact that this terrorism appears to be aimed at crushing the spirit of the people and in preventing a successful session of the Congress in Lahore, the only adequate answer that the people of the Punjab can make is to redouble their efforts to make the forthcoming Congress a complete success to prepare themselves for the action contemplated in 1930."

In moving the resolution Dr. Ansari reminded the Committee of the arrests and prosecutions particularly of members of the Navajiwan Sabha in the Punjab.

Referring to forced feeding, Dr. Ansari, as a medical man, explained the processes adopted. Generally, it involved least exertion on the victim and the feeders, but the Punjab methods would shock the people even of a barbarous country, for there had come reports of exhaustion and nasal bleeding of the victims.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy of Calcutta described the conduct of the warders and also the doctors employed as inhuman.

Mr. Sardul Singh informed the House that Mr. Bhagat Singh was being forcibly fed by the brute force of ten men among whom were those sentenced for murder. Terrorism was behind the action of the Punjab Government, but the Punjab was behaving in such a way that the Province which came last under British rule, would be the first to declare independence.

Dr. Mahomed Alam (Lahore) declared that no amount of repression would avail the Government in their attempts to prevent the holding of the Congress. The Punjab would be ready to adopt whatever policy it was resolved to be followed after Ist January.

The resolution was carried.

Pandit Motilal Nehru at this stage adjourned the meeting till the next day intimating that the Working Committee members were still deliberating on the question of Council policy.

SECOND DAY—27TH JULY 1929

4. Withdrawal from Councils.

When the Committee re-assembled on this day Mahatma Gandhi moved a compromise resolution on the burning question of the resignation of Congress party members from all legislatures in the country, which was eventually carried by the Committee almost *nem con*, only four members dissenting.

The resolution postponed the decision of the All-India Congress Committee as regards the complete withdrawal of Swarajists from the central and provincial legislatures till the Lahore session of the Congress in the month of December and urged the necessity of concentrating all national efforts on the preparation of the country for a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation after December 31, 1929. The resolution at the same time gave full liberty to the Congress party in any legislature to resign their seats meanwhile, if they found it necessary to do so on any vital issue that might arise hereafter. The following is the text of the resolution :—

"In view of the general situation in the country this meeting of the A. I. C. C. is of opinion that the time has come when all national efforts should be concentrated on the preparation of the country for a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation after 31st December, 1929, and agrees with the Working Committee that all Congress members of the various legislatures, central and provincial, should resign their seats to give effect to this campaign ; but having regard to the views expressed by a considerable body of Congress members of the legislatures and some members outside them this Committee resolves that the question of withdrawal from the legislatures do stand over till the forthcoming Congress at Lahore.

"This Committee further desires the public in general and the members of the legislatures in particular to prepare for complete withdrawal from legislatures, should such a course be necessary, on and from the 1st January next.

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"Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the Congress party in any legislature from resigning their seats before the Congress is held at Lahore if they consider it necessary to do so on any new issue that may arise hereafter."

In moving the resolution Mahatma GANDHI in a Hindi speech explained the component parts of the resolution, and deplored that though there was not in sight even the Dominion Status embodied in the Nehru Report still there were Councillors who were anxious to carry on Council work and some who even loved to sit in the Council. He said that he knew that this resolution might cause surprise to some and pain to others. But it was the result of a prolonged and careful consideration of the various aspects of the present position.

The Mahatma explained the history of the Bombay and Delhi decisions against which there had been protests from several Swarajists. He for one was a man for compromises. He had made compromises with the late Mr. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru after their return from jail. Now it was not a question of compromise between him and Pandit Motilal Nehru but between them both on the one side and some of the Swarajists on the other

The Working Committee had given serious consideration to the views of those who thought that resignation from the legislatures at the present juncture was not a proper course to adopt. They should consider that the Congress organisation must go on. It was because he felt that the spirit behind the resolution would help them in this task that he had urged the committee to accept it. They had sometimes been accused of wanting in power and discipline of organisation. However right an individual might be in his own opinion, he must subordinate his opinion to the collective opinion of others, for otherwise there would be no organisation. Hence the speaker's appeal that, for the present, they should allow the Swarajists to work in the Council

But, let it be clearly understood, Mahatma Gandhi observed, that they must all withdraw from the legislatures on the 1st January if in the meanwhile the repressive policy was not abandoned and their demand not accepted. If, on the 31st of December the Congress adopted Independence as the creed then *ipso facto* all council work of Congressmen would cease, and there would be no need for compromises like the present after that. Between now and the Lahore Congress, there were five months: and he at least was hoping every moment that it might not be necessary for the Congress to adopt the Independence creed. At the same time, they could not forget that the Nehru report had been treated as a scrap of paper and that there was not even a sight of Dominion Status. But the underlying idea in the resolution was to organise the country and prepare it for non-violent non-co-operation after the 31st December. If they would in the coming five months, conduct this task efficiently, they would have achieved a great deal. Let them not forget that preparation and organisation themselves sometimes frightened the enemy and avoided a battle. From this point of view, therefore, they must not slacken their efforts at organisation. He therefore appealed especially to those legislators who wished to remain in the councils during the next few months to realise the responsibility that lay on them.

Mr. Subash Chandra BOSE, who seconded the resolution, said that as a compromise resolution and as a man-made formula, it had defects and short-comings. Yet,he commended it as it represented the maximum agreement in the Working Committee. There was no difference on the point that they could not afford to divide the Congress when their forces and resources were required to fight the foreign bureaucracy. The fundamental point of the agreement behind the resolution, was that, as things stood at present, the only method of achieving Swaraj was non-violent Non-Co-operation—Civil disobedience or non-payment of taxes or both.

There was hardly anyone, at any rate in the Congress, who would not agree to the suspension of Council work if that was required in the larger interests of the country. It might be argued that the preamble to the resolution was a repudiation of the Swarajist policy and programme. The Swarajist policy had always been, and would always be, to engage the enemy on all possible fronts till Swaraj was achieved. But, he realised that certain occasions might arise when the fight in a certain front might have to be suspended, in order to concentrate the fight at other fronts. If the Congress declared independence, then consistently with that ideal, it was not possible for the Swarajists to take the oath of allegiance in the legislatures. There [illegible] be no

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apprehension, as to the preamble of the resolution being a repudiation of the Swarajist policy. Between now and the Lahore Congress there would be time for stock-tacking as to the situation that was likely to arise,and at Lahore they might be able to form clear conception as to the step which should be taken from the 1st January. Acceptance of this resolution would not mean that the Congress policy had either been a folly or a failure. The Swarajists had made it clear that they were not enamoured of the Legislatures, for their object was merely to keep the enemy engaged at all possible fronts. The resolution avoided the division in the Congress ranks at this juncture.

AMENDMENTS.

After Mr. Subash Chandra Bose had seconded the resolution, Pandit Motilal NEHRU intimated that an amendment had been tabled by Mr. P. N. Chathurvedi for the immediate boycott of the Legislatures and that there was also opposition to the resolution from Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarthi. He appealed particularly to Mr. Chakravarthi not to strike a discordant note after the clear speeches of M. Gandhi and Mr. Subash Bose.

Mr. Chakravarthi said that he had duty to his constituents, from whom he had a mandate to oppose the motion.

Pandit Motilal smilingly remarked that it was a matter for congratulation that Mr. Chakravarti had a constituency that was consmopolitan in character. At any rate, Burma, which Mr. Chakravarthi represented, had not this resolution before them, and therefore that constituency could not have given him a mandate one way or the other.

Mr. Chakravarthi insisted on being heard. He said that it was a Hobson's choice with him to oppose the resolution. The Burma Provincial Congress Committee had enthusiastically supported the Delhi Working Committee's resolution for the boycott of the legislatures. He characterised the present resolution as one of procrastination and deplored that, instead of the future being in the lap of the Gods, it was in the hands of the All-India Congress Committee. Indecision had been the bane of those who were privileged to give a lead to the country. To those who thought with them, there was no more hope in appealing to such leaders, but only to God.

Mr. P. N. Chaturvedi moved an amendment that in view of the practical certainty of the Government's refusal to meet the Calcutta resolution and the policy of repression followed in the Punjab, the councils be immediately boycotted and the country organised for direct action. Mr. Chaturvedi protested against the policy of procrastination and feared that even in the Lahore Congress the same cry of the country being not ready might be raised.

Mr. Harisarvothama Rao, supporting the resolution, said that it was best to call truce and for all sections to work together.

The amendment was lost. The original resolution was carried, only four voting against.

5. Repression in Bengal.

The next resolution which was put from the Chair and which was unanimously carried, related to the Bengal Government's prosecution of Congress workers in Barisal district. It was worded in these terms :

"The A. I. C. C. condemns the policy of repression followed by the Bengal Government in Barisal district and in this connection, the arrest and prosecution of Syt. Satindra Nath Sen and his comrades under sec. 110, Cr. P. C., and congratulates them on their protracted suffering."

RESOLUTION DISALLOWED

The President disallowed as being contrary to the creed of non-violence of the Congress, motions tabled by Mr. Chatwai (Mahratta) appreciating the patriotic spirit of Messrs. Bhagat Singh and Dutt and sympathising with them in their hardships which they were forced to undergo by the alien Government.

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ENQUIRY INTO GOLMURI STRIKE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, general secretary, said that he had been authorised by the Working Committee to enquire into the grievances of the workers of the Golmuri Tinplate Company at Jamshedpur who had gone on strike for purely legitimate reasons. The strike had been conducted in a remarkably peaceful manner and the company which was very powerful was trying to crush the strikers into submission without redressing their grievances which were the ordinary demands of industrial labourers. The Working Committee, therefore, thought that the question was serious enough for them to institute a special enquiry and to secure such relief for the strikers at the hands of the management as was possible in the circumstances. *The meeting then terminated.*

LUCKNOW—28th SEPTEMBER 1929

The third meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for the year 1929 met at the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall, Lucknow on the 28th September in the afternoon. The principal item on the agenda was the election of the President of the Lahore Congress, Mahatma Gandhi having refused to reconsider his decision in spite of requests.

Previous to the meeting, the members met informally at the residence of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad and held a prolonged discussion on the election of President. Mahatma Gandhi, who took part in the informal discussions, patiently heard the views expressed but held strongly to his previous decision not to accept the Congress chair. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's election was, therefore, a foregone conclusion.

1. Tribute to Martyrs

When the A. I. C. C. met, Pandit Motilal Nehru, from the chair, put the following resolution :—

"The A. I. C. C. places on record its deep admiration for the great courage and steadfastness underlying the sacrifices of the late Jotindra Nath Das and Rev. Wizaya in having given up lives for ideals dearly cherished by them."

2. Next Congress Presidentship

The President next explained that the meeting had been called mainly to elect the president for the Lahore Congress. He said that Mahatmaji was elected President by a majority of votes, but as was known by all he had refused to accept the responsibility. Therefore, according to the Congress constitution, a meeting of the A. I. C. C. had been called to decide the issue.

On a request from the Chair Mahatma GANDHI explained the reasons which led him to refuse the presidentship. He said that in all earnestness they wanted to reach an amicable decision. During the last three hours they were occupied in an informal meeting of the A. I. C. C. in which he suggested that he was willing to listen to the views of all members and was quite ready to be convinced. He knew his name had been proposed by a majority of the provinces but he found himself unfit for such a heavy responsibility though it was a great honour. "I make this opportunity to explain that it is due to a consciousness of my weakness that I am shirking the responsibility And I have explained this many times through "Young India."

Mahatmaji in a touching tone said that he felt most for Pt. Malaviya who had no mind to come over here. His mission in coming over here was to persuade him but it seemed that he was already dejected.

"While I do not want responsibility it does not mean that I shall keep aloof from the programme that may be adopted by the Congress. Suggestions have come that if I do not accept the Presidentship I shall commit a great mistake; Anyhow I am not convinced and my conscience does not permit me to shoulder the responsibility. But I assure you that I shall whole-heartedly work any programme that may be adopted."

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Continuing Mahatmaji said :—"I assure you that in every programme adopted by you at the Lahore Congress I shall be with you. Further I feel I can do more work by not becoming the President of this year's Congress. I assure the house that I am firm on my words of responsibility that I said in Calcutta. This crown, a thorny crown, of the Congress is unacceptable to every one. Why—because it is a question of great responsibility. I would suggest to you to elect one forgiving all that so far happened. I shall be ever ready to assist him to my best capacity. I shall be prepared for worst if it comes. I am not to run away from the coming battle on January 1st, 1930. I shall willingly extend every help in formulating the programme and scheme for the Congress work. Who I wish, is from you to discard this futile mentality that if Gandhi is not on the Chair, or Motilal not in front, the Congress would collapse? You should stand boldly on your conviction of the heart and push the work ahead."

After the explanation of Gandhiji proposals of new names were invited.

Mr. Balakrishna from Cawnpore proposed the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Pandit Gaurishanker, intervened, saying that the A. I. C. C. should make a further attempt to persuade Gandhiji to accept the Congress chair.

Pandit Motilal Nehru pointed out that this was done jointly and severally by the A. I. C. C. members throughout the day. To propose a fresh attempt would have the same result.

Mr. Tasadduq Sherwani took objection to the proposition. He said Gandhiji was undoubtedly a great man but the Congress was decidedly greater. Gandhiji was offered the Congress chair—the National crown: He had refused to wear the Congress crown It should never go abegging.

After some parley, Pandit Gourishanker proposed Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, but Mr. Patel not consenting, the proposition fell through.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's name was accordingly duly proposed and seconded. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was declared elected *nem con* amidst loud cheers.

3. Hunger-Strikers in Jail

After the Presidential election, Dr. Gopichand moved:—

"Whilst deeply appreciating the motive of the hunger striking prisoners in the various provinces the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that hunger strikes should not be undertaken, except upon the gravest emergencies. The Committee advises those who have imposed the sacrifice on themselves to end their strike specially in view of the self-immolation of the late Jatindranath Das and Rev. Wizaya and the fact that the Government have at the eleventh hour yielded to most of the demands of the hunger-strikers and effort is being continuously made to secure full redress."

Dr. Gopichand made it clear that the members of the A. I. C. C. were not lacking in admiration of the courage of hunger-strikers. But, in view of the disastrous effect of hunger-strike on some of India's best sons, the A. I. C. C. did not feel inclined to put its seal of approval on hunger-strike on all occasions. It was a valuable weapon but must not be used too often, more particularly in view of the fact that the Government were likely to change their attitude regarding the treatment of political prisoners. The mover added that the resolution had been approved by the Working Committee of the A. I. C C.

Seth Govindas seconded and Sardar Mangal Singh supported the resolution which was passed without opposition.

4. Support to East Africa Indians

Mrs. Naidu next moved :—

"The A. I. C. C. congratulates the deputation, now in India on behalf of the Indian settlers in East Africa, on the sound national stand it has taken on questions of common franchise and settlement of land on terms of absolute equality and, while wishing it every success assures them all support that public opinion can render to Indians in East Africa. It strongly deplores the attitude taken by the Government of India, as disclosed in the debate of the 26th instant in the Assembly, when the Member-in-Charge declared the position

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of the Government of India as a mere advocate, instead of a high contracting party, to protect the interest of Indian Nationals overseas and records its considered opinion that the Governor-General in Council should make an early declaration of their definite policy in regard to protection of the rights of Indian nationals abroad."

Mrs. Naidu made a brief speech in support of the resolution, but Dr. Pandya, leader of the East African Deputation, who was present, spoke in detail about the grievances of the East African Indian settlers. The resolution was unanimously passed.

5. Ban on Ali Brothers Condemned

Mr. Tassaduq Sherwani moved the next resolution, running as follows :—

"The A. I. C. C. has viewed with deep regret the humiliating and irritating restrictions imposed by the Government of the Union of South Africa upon the contemplated visit to their country by the Ali Brothers, and regards these restrictions as a national insult. The Committee is of opinion that the Government of India has failed in its duty in vindicating national dignity by not insisting upon the Union Government removing of the objectionable restrictions and facilitating the entry of the Ali Brothers to South Africa, specially in view of the fact that they had voluntarily undertaken to refrain from all political discussions during their sojourn in that sub-continent."

After a very brief discussion, the resolution was adopted *nem con.* The following two resolutions were next put from the Chair and adopted without discussion :—

6. Provincial Membership Quota

"The A. I. C. C., while deploring the fact that the full quota of membership required in terms of the resolution passed by the Committee in Bombay on May 25th 1929 has been reached in some provinces, recognises the effort put forth by the provinces to fulfil the conditions laid down in the resolution and appreciates the difficulties brought to light by many members—difficulties owing to the repressive measures of the Government in some provinces and floods, famine and epidemics in various parts of the country. The Committee, therefore, waives the penalty contemplated in the resolution, specially in view of the approaching end of the year. But the Committee hopes that the defaulting provinces and districts will put forth redoubled effort and fulfil their obligation regarding the quota."

7. Affiliation of South African Indian Congress

"Resolved, in modification of the resolutions passed by the Congress in December 1922 at Gaya and by the Working Committee on the 4th February 1929 in Delhi regarding the affiliation of the committees in South Africa, that the South African Indian Congress be recognised and that it be authorised to return twelve delegates to the Indian National Congress and required to pay an annual affiliation fee of Rs. 3000. Resolved further that these delegates be considered members of the Subjects Committee of the Congress and be authorised to take part in the proceedings".

This brought the day's business to a close and the meeting adjourned *sine die.*

LAHORE—27th. DECEMBER 1929

The fourth and last meeting of the A. I. C. C. for the year 1929 was held at Lajpatrai Nagar, Lahore, on the eve of the Congress, on the 27th December and continued for the next three days. The following reports, the texts of which are given in the next few pages, were adopted by the Committee :—

1. General Secretaries' Annual Report for 1929 ; 2. Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee's Report ; 3. Anti-untouchability Committee's Report ; 4. Prohibition Committee's Report and 5. All India Spinners' Association's Report. (*See p. 241*)

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Annual Report for 1929

Presented by the General Secretaries to the A. I. C. C. in Lahore on the 27th December 1929.

The principal resolution passed by the Calcutta Congress last year dealt with the All Parties Committee's Report. In this resolution the scheme for an Indian constitution drawn up by this Committee was approved and the Congress expressed its willingness to adopt it, subject to the British Parliament accepting it in its entirety on or before the 31st December 1929. In the event of its non-acceptance by that date, or its earlier rejection, it was stated that the Congress would organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon. A further resolution laid down the constructive and organisational programme to be followed during the year. These resolutions have governed the activity of the Congress organisation during the year. It has been generally recognised that the next year would see a great national struggle and efforts have been made to prepare for it.

2. Another marked feature of the year has been the reaction of the Government to these resolutions, as well as to the general situation in the country and specially labour disputes. There has been an intensification of the policy of repression all over the country and Congressmen and labour leaders have been arrested and tried and convicted to long terms of imprisonment. Many important trials are still proceeding. House searches by the police have been of the most frequent occurrence and police charges on unarmed and peaceful processions and individuals, accompanied with the effective use of the baton, have taken place on several occasions.

3. Immediately after the Congress sessions in Calcutta the Working Committee appointed a number of sub-committees to give effect to the Congress programme. Committees were formed for the boycott of foreign cloth, prohibition, removal of untouchability, Congress organisation, volunteers, and the removal of disabilities of women. The last named sub-committee has apparently done no work and has submitted no report.

4. The Volunteer sub-committee made various recommendations, in particular recommending that the Hindustani Seva Dal be strengthened and should be fully utilised for training volunteers for national work.

5. The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and with Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram as its able and effective secretary, has functioned throughout the year and carried on ceaseless activity in favour of the boycott. Mr. Jairamdas resigned his membership of the Bombay Council in order to devote himself wholly to the work of the boycott and fixed the headquarters of his committee in Bombay. The Committee developed direct contacts with provincial and district congress committees and issued numerous pamphlets and leaflets. Early in the year numerous bonfires of foreign cloth took place. One of these in Calcutta resulted in the prosecution by government of Gandhiji and some Bengal leaders. There was a conviction and a small fine.

6 Mr. Jairamdas's work was hampered to a considerable extent by the lack of regular reports from local Congress committees. The office of the A. I. C. C. has itself to suffer from this reluctance to send reports. It is not sufficiently realised by local committees that the basis of organisational work is regular and detailed reporting. In spite of this difficulty, however, the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee succeeded in a large measure. Many municipalities and merchants and large number of individuals were induced by it to join the boycott movement. The demand for khadi has been so great that in spite of greatly increased production, it could not be wholly met.

7. The Prohibition Committee has been in charge of Syt. C. Rajagopalchar who has made the subject of prohibition his very own and has brought his great abilities to bear on the furtherance of this campaign. Work was carried on largely in

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South India and in Gujrat and the results achieved have been considerable. The campaign has attracted international attention. Mr. Rajagopalchar has become the secretary of the Prohibition League of India and is editing their quarterly magazine "Prohibition."

8. The campaign for the removal of untouchability has been in charge of Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj who has worked strenuously in its behalf. Public opinion is everywhere being roused in favour of the removal of the disabilities of the classes which have for long been suppressed. Many well-known temples, which would not admit these classes, have now been thrown open to them. The Committee has also succeeded in opening out numerous wells and schools to these suppressed classes. Many municipalities are co-operating in this work. The Secretary of the Committee, Syt. Jamnalai Bajaj, toured extensively, in Madras, Central Provinces, Rajputana, Sind, Kashmir, Punjab, and the N. W. Frontier Province.

The effect of the propaganda for the removal of untouchability has been twofold. The so-called higher castes have been induced in some measure to give up the exclusiveness which they had for long jealously kept, and the suppressed classes have become self-conscious and assertive of their rights. In some places, where the demand from the latter for a removal of their disabilities has not met with an adequate response, friction has arisen and "Satyagraha" or some kind of passive resistance has been threatened. The tension that prevailed for some time during the year has eased a little now. It is clear that untouchability and other social disabilities which certain classes have suffered from are doomed and cannot last much longer.

9. The Committee for Congress reorganisation submitted its report early in the year. In view of the action contemplated next year great importance was attached to the question of organisation and the subject was fully considered by the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C The Working Committee directed an audit and inspection of all Provincial Committees. This has been carried out in the case of nearly all the P. C. Cs.

10. The A. I. C. C. at its meeting held in Bombay in May last called upon Provincial Committees to respond to the campaign of repression which the British Government was carrying on all over the country by recognising the provinces and enrolling at least one quarter per cent of the total population as original members by the 31st August. At this meeting the A. I. C. C. also drew up a number of rules to enable disciplinary action to be taken against committees or individuals who deliberately act against the declared policy of the Congress.

11. Strenuous efforts were made by the provinces to fulfil the quotas of membership allotted to them under the A. I. C. C. resolution but many P. C. Cs. did not succeed. The success attained however was notable. Many provinces had to contend against extraordinary difficulties—famine conditions, unprecedented floods and epidemics—apart from the repressive measure of the government. In view of these difficulties the A. I. C. C. waived the penalty for non-fulfilment of the quota.

12. The membership figures for the different provinces with their quotas are given below :—

PROVINCE	QUOTA	MEMBERS ENROLLED
1. Ajmer	1,120	14,594
2. Andhra	35,923	29,685
3. Assam	8,337	———
4. Behar	72,588	90,525
5. Bengal	1,24,413	93,385
6. Berar	7,688	7,688 ?
7. Burma	2,000	1,904
8. C. P. Hindustani	20,505	28,827
9. C. P. Marathi	6,586	11,651
10. Bombay	17,000	12,689
11. Delhi	6,954	6,071
12. Gujrat	7,396	17,807
13. Karnatak	13,654	13,092
14. Kerala	7,747	3,380
15. Maharashtra	21,542	26,499

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16.	N. W. F.	2,000	2,000
17.	Punjab	51,718	29,122
18.	Sind	8,200	2,615
19.	Tamil Nad	51,784	36,087
20.	United Provinces	1,06,529	75,710
21.	Utkal	12,421	6,945
		5,86,105	5,10,276

13. It will be noticed that Assam has supplied no figures of membership. It is doubtful if any proper Congress organisation functions there. In Kerala also, according to the audit and inspection reports, there is very little of organised work. Sind is backward. Berar and the N. W. F. P. although they claim to have fulfilled their quotas have sent no detailed figures. The inspection reports of Berar and and C. P. Marathi show that the work done there is not satisfactory, but in the latter province a very satisfactory number of members have been enrolled.

14. Every effort was made by the A. I. C. C. office to get regular and detailed reports from provinces. These efforts were often misunderstood and criticisms were resented. It is clear however that a great and country wide organisation like the National Congress can only function effectively if it has a strong and alert central office in intimate touch with the provinces. There is always a tendency in a great country like India for the central authority to weaken and this must inevitably result in the weakening of our national movement. The disciplinary rules of the A. I. C. C. have helped in tightening the reins and the Congress organisation to-day is in consequence stronger. But much remains to be done in this respect. Several members of the Working Committee even have not the time or inclination to attend its meeting although such meetings should have precedence over everything. It would be desirable if members of any Congress Committee who do not attend some of its meetings should be considered to have automatically resigned from it. It is also highly desirable that members of Congress executive bodies do not criticise in public the decisions of such bodies so long as they remain members. No convention of corporate responsibility can arise if each member is a law into himself.

15. The disinclination of P. C. Cs to send reports may be judged from the fact that many of them have not even sent their annual reports. The provinces that have sent this report are : Andhra, Behar, Bengal, Bombay, Gujrat, Karnatak, Kerala, Maharashtra, North West Frontier Province, Punjab, United Provinces, and Tamil Nadu. Thus the following nine provinces have not sent their annual reports : Ajmer, Assam, Berar, Burma, C. P. Hindusthani, C. P. Marathi, Delhi, Sind and Utkal. Ajmer may be excluded from this list as there have been election troubles throughout the year. It should be added that various interim reports have been received from all these provinces, except Assam which has not sent any kind of report during the year. Reference is here being made only to the annual report.

16. Reports have also been received from some of our affiliated committees. The membership figures given in these are as follows :

London	125
New York Branch	350
Kobe (Japan) Branch	51
Goa Branch	386

The Kabul committee has long ceased to exist. In South Africa the various separate affiliations have now been consolidated into one—that of the South African Indian Congress. No report has so far been received from it.

17. A beginning was made this year to realise contributions from provinces under article IX of the constitution. The amount was left to the provinces. There was some delay in paying even the amount of their own choice but ultimately all provinces, except Ajmer where there were election troubles, paid up. Some of the major provinces paid very small sums. The following payments were made :

1.	Andhra	Rs. 500
2.	Assam	,, 30
3.	Behar	,, 250

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4.	Bengal	"	500
5.	Berar	"	50
6.	Burma	"	200
7.	C. P. Hindusthani	"	100
8.	C. P. Marathi	"	25
9.	City of Bombay	"	1,000
10.	Delhi	"	50
11.	Gujrat	"	500
12.	Karnatak	"	100
13.	Kerala	"	25
14.	Maharashtra	"	50
15.	N. W. F. Province	"	50
16.	Punjab	"	100
17.	Sind	"	50
18.	Tamil Nad	"	100
19.	United Provinces	"	300
20.	Utkal	"	105

18. The following affiliation fees were received from committees abroad :

London Branch	Rs.	100
New York Branch	"	100
Kobe Branch	"	100
Goa Branch	"	25

The South Africa Indian Congress has not yet sent its affiliation fee.

19. Early in the year the Working Committee recommended the observance throughout the country of special programmes on Sundays. Sunday March 10th was to be observed as Swaraj day and subsequent Sundays were to be devoted specially to the boycott of foreign cloth, prohibition and physical culture. March 10th was celebrated throughout the country and for many weeks the Sunday programmes were observed.

20. It has been stated earlier in this report that the increased political and labour activity in the country resulted in widespread repression on the part of the government. Syt. B. Sambamurti, a member of the Working Committee, was arrested early in the year and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. A very large number of Congressmen and labour leaders have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in the course of the year. Punjab and Bengal have specially suffered in this respect.

21. On March 20th there were wholesale arrests in Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and the United Provinces under Sec. 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and hundreds of houses were searched. Those arrested included eight members of the All India Congress Committee. All the arrested persons were brought to Meerut where their trial began in what has come to be known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. This case has attracted widespread attention not only in India but in foreign countries. A central defence committee, chiefly consisting of prominent Congressmen, was formed to help the accused. The Working Committee, contrary to its usual practice, made a grant of Rs. 1,500 towards the defence. The preliminary enquiry in the case dragged on for many months and was concluded a few days ago.

22. Another case,which has attracted considerable attention in India, is the Lahore Conspiracy Case in which a large number of young men are being tried on various charges. Owing to the bad treatment given to the accused, the undertrial prisoners went on hunger strike in protest. Many political prisoners in other jails in the Punjab and the United Provinces went on sympathetic hunger strikes. The hunger strikes went on for an extraordinarily long period, forcible feeding being resorted to. Syts. Bhagat Singh and Dutt, who started the hunger strike in Lahore, continued it for thirteen weeks. One of their fellow prisoners, Jatindra Nath Das, succumbed on September 13th on the 64th day of his hunger strike. His death, although long expected, came as a great shock to the country. No event for many years past had touched the people so much and all over the country vast demonstrations were held. Soon after, on September 19th another political prisoner, the Rev.

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Wizaya, died in a Burma jail after the amazing period of 164 days of hunger strike.

23. These deaths concentrated the country's attention on the treatment of political prisoners. The Government, which was contemplating special legislation against hunger strikers, had to give this up and promises were held out of better treatment. On the strength of these promises the A. I. C. C. requested the remaining hunger-strikers to give up the strike and this request was acceded to. The government has however not fulfilled its promises yet.

24. Another group case is at present going on in Calcutta in which Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose, a member of the Working Committee, and several other prominent Congressmen are being tried.

Arrests of Indians for political reasons have also been reported from Shanghai and the Malay States.

25. Apart from numerous trials and convictions of political and labour workers, methods of repression have been used by the police which were described by the A. I. C. C. as "barbarous". On one occasion seven young men collecting funds for the defence of the Lahore under-trial prisoners were beaten by the police, in the presence of the District Magistrate, till some of them were senseless and all had received severe injuries. Their offence was their crying "Down with Imperialism" and "Long Live Revolution." Even more barbarous treatment was resorted to in Lahore in the case of the under-trial prisoners in the conspiracy case. They were beaten in open court in the presence of the trying magistrate, and, it was stated, that they were ill-treated in a variety of ways, outside the court house.

26. Apart from the recent trials and convictions it should be remembered that there are a large of number of long term political prisoners in various jails in India and the Andaman Islands. These include detenus under Regulation III of 1818 and martial law prisoners who were sentenced by special tribunals during the martial law regime in the Punjab ten yeas ago in 1919. Besides these there are twenty seven political prisoners in jails who were sentenced to transportation for life in 1914-15 during war time. They were tried and sentenced by special commissions and not by the ordinary law courts. They have now been in prison for 15 years.

27. Labour troubles and strikes have continued during the year and have come to ahead. There was another general strike in Bombay textile mills involving 1,50,000 workers. The strike demonstrated that Indian labour was developing a new militant and class-conscious outlook. The strike was a great success to begin with and showed that there was considerable organising ability behind it. But after six months or more it failed. Another general strike took place in the Jute areas in Bengal involving about 2,50,000 workers. The Jute workers were badly organised but they succeeded. Sporadic strikes however continued and partly undid the work of the general strike.

28. Another strike which has attracted widespread attention and sympathy has been the strike of the Tinplate workers in Golmuri near Jamshedpur. This strike involved 3,000 workers, mostly skilled, and it has continued for eight and a half months now. The demands of the strikers were very moderate but the employers and the Behar Government have persistently refused even an enquiry. The Legislative Assembly censured the attitude of government and passed a resolution for the withdrawal of the protection given to the Tinplate industry. But, as often happens with the resolutions of the Assembly, this resolution also has been ignored by government. No enquiry even has yet taken place and the strike continues. Sympathetic strikes have taken place in Budge Budge and elsewhere.

29. The South Indian Railway strike of 1928 was followed by the arrest and trial for conspiracy of many persons. The Judge of Trichinopoly sentenced fifteen of these to ten years' rigorous imprisonment in April last. Appeals from these convictions have been filed.

30. During the year the Trades Disputes Bill was passed by the Assembly in spite of strenuous opposition from labour. The Public Safety Bill met a sudden check when the President of the Assembly ruled that it could not be proceeded with so long as the Meerut trial was going on. This objection was easily overcome by the Viceroy issuing the bill in the form of an Ordinance by executive decree.

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The Bombay Government has recently passed a Goonda Bill ostensibly aimed at the lawless elements in the community, but in the opinion of labour and others, really aimed at the labour movement.

31. The Royal Commission on Labour presided over by Mr. Whitley has been received with mixed feelings by Indian Labour. Some Tra le Unions declared in favour of boycott, others were for co-operation. The All India Trade Union Congress which met recently declared by a majority in favour of a boycott of the commission. This has resulted in a split in the ranks of labour and some unions have seceded from the All India T. U. C.

32. Proscriptions of books, said to be seditious by Government has been a feature of the year. Special attention was drawn to the proscription of Syt. Sundarlal's "History of British Rule in India," a book in Hindi embodying several years of research. Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage" was also proscribed. Even before the proscription however Syt. Ramananda Chatterji, the editor of the "Modern Review" and the publisher of the book was tried for sedition in publishing the book and sentenced to pay a heavy fine. A large number of eminent writers and public men in the United States of America protested vigorously against this suppression of books which proved unpalatable to the British Government.

33. Passport facilities have again been denied this year to persons desiring to attend the Lahore Congress. Mr. S, J. Saklatvala was elected the delegate of the London branch of the Congress and Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose of the New York branch. Both have been refused visas.

34. Election disputes have absorbed a great deal of time and energy during the year. Soon after the Calcutta Congress the Working Committee superseded the Ajmer P. C. C. on account of a number of grave irregularities. Fresh elections were ordered under the supervision of the nominees of the president. These elections were delayed and ultimately took place in October. The Working Committee however had to set aside these elections also on account of false personation and other practices which, in the opinion of the committee, were corrupt. New elections were ordered and these have just taken place.

A major election dispute has also arisen in Bengal, in which both the P. C. C. and some District Committees are involved. The matter was referred to the President A. I. C. C. for decision. He has been unable to give a final decision but he has issued an interim order staying the election of the new A. I. C. C. members from Bengal and recommending to the Working Committee that the old A. I. C. C. members from Bengal should function till the final decision in January.

35. The A. I. C. C. met four times during the year and the Working Committee nine times. If the increased number of meetings is a test then there was greater activity this year than for many years past. One of the meetings of the A. I. C. C. however had to be convened for a special and unprecedented reason. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who had been elected the president of the next Congress by a majority of provinces expressed his inability to accept the office and the A. I. C. C. had to meet to choose another.

Two of the members of our Working Committee have been absent in foreign countries for the greater part of the year. Srimati Sarojini Naidu returned from America after a very successful tour in August. In November she went to East Africa to preside over the East African Indian Congress. One of our treasurers, Syt. Shiva Prasad Gupta, has been in Europe for many months.

36. Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta attended the second World Congress of the League against Imperialism at Frankfurt in July last on behalf of the National Congress. His report of this Congress was placed before the Working Committee.

37. In may last it was announced that the Government had extended indefinitely the life of the existing legislatures in the country. This rai ed the council controversy again. Previous to this announcement the Tamil Nad P. C. C. had put forward a proposal in favour of the acceptance of ministerships. In view of strong opposition, however, this proposal was withdrawn. The Working Committee recommended, in view of the extension of the life of the legislatures, that Congress members should abstain from attending councils till the committee decided otherwise. The Committee later referred the matter to the A. I. C. C. and recommended resignation from Councils. The A. I. C. C. meeting in Allahabad in July approved

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of this recommendation but decided that the question of withdrawal from the legislatures do stand over till the Lahore Congress.

38. An important resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed in Bombay in May dealt with social and economic changes. It stated that in order to remove the poverty and misery of the Indian masses it was necessary not only to put an end to foreign exploitation but also to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities.

39. Immediately after the Calcutta Congress the Working Committee made a grant of £30 per month for the establishment of a Students' Information Bureau in Berlin. This Bureau was opened soon after under the supervision of Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar and it has fully justified itself by the help it has given to numerous Indian students and visitors. Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta inspected it during his European tour and he wrote in terms of high appreciation of its work. On his recommendation the Working Comm ttee increased the grant by £2 per month for a reading room. The Bureau is run efficiently and sends full reports and accounts monthly. Its success is largely due to the honorary services of Mr. Nambiar.

40. The Calcutta Congress directed the A. I. C. C. to open a foreign department and the Working Committee authorised the working secretary to take the necessary steps in this behalf. The secretary has been in personal charge of the foreign work of the A. I. C. C. and has endeavoured to develop contacts with organisations and individuals in other countries This is not particularly easy as numerous difficulties are placed in the way of foreign correspondence by the government censorship.

41. The Calcutta Congress also directed the Working Committee to take steps to summon a meeting of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India. The Committee called upon Mr. S. Satyamurti and the secretary to take the necessary steps and to report. In this report it was pointed out that if the meeting was to be held in 1930 it should take place at the time of the Congress in December, 1930. Further various difficulties in the way of holding such a Pan-Asiatic Conference were pointed out.

42. The Rev. Ottama represented the Indian National Congress at the State funeral of Dr Sun Yat Sen in Nanking in May last. His report of this function was published in the press.

43. Indians abroad, settled in British colonies or dependencies, have had to face numerous difficulties. In Fiji the motion of the Indian members of the Council to have a common franchise was not accepted. Thereupon these Indian members resigned from the Council.

In East Africa there is a continuing crisis and no solution has yet been found. Indians there have taken their stand on a common franchise and on settlement of land being on terms of absolute equality. An Indian deputation from East Africa, led by Mr. J. B. Pandya, came to India in September and visited a number of important centres. The A. I. C. C. meeting at Lucknow on September 28th had the advantage of hearing Mr. Pandya and it congratulated the deputation on the sound national stand it had taken.

44. In compliance with the decision of the A. I. C. C. a Labour Research Department was opened, as a branch of the A. I. C. C. office, and Mr. Bakar Ali Mirza was put in charge of it. The department has established contacts with various national and international labour organisations, including the International Labour Office, Geneva ; the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam ; the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam ; the Research and Information Department of the I. L. P, London ; the Fabian Society, London ; and the International Co-operative Alliance, London. Valuable publications are being received from these organisations.

Mr. Mirza has visited the industrial areas in Bombay, Jamshedpur and Calcutta. He has prepared a monograph on Jute. During the general strike in the Jute areas he went to study the situation on the spot but he became involved himself in the local troubles and this has led to his absence from headquarters for a considerable period.

45. The A. I. C. C. in Bombay in May last called upon the Working Committee to take steps to have a Congress Manual prepared embodying authoritative chapters

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on the various political, administrative, economic and cultural problems comprised by the Swaraj movement. The Working Committee authorised Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to take steps to have such a manual prepared. It is not known if any progress has been made in this work.

46. The Hindustani Seva Dal have carried on their work of training volunteers in various parts of the country. Most of this work has been done in the Karnataka province where the head office of the Dal and their Academy of Physical Culture are situated. But many camps have been held in other parts of the country and the demand for trainers has been greater than the supply. The Dal has helped greatly in enrolling members for the Congress and in the boycott of foreign cloth. They are now fully co-operating in organising an efficient volunteer corps for the Lahore Congress.

47. The Hindustani Seva Dal have succeeded beyond expectation in organising a national flag day every month. At Calcutta last year they decided that the national flag be hoisted all over the country at 8 A.M., on the last Sunday of every month. This monthly flag unfurling is becoming very popular. The national flag is being more and more displayed on public buildings and many municipalities have had it unfurled with solemn ceremony.

48. The All India Spinners' Association has made marked progress in the production and sale of khadi, but even so they have not been able to keep pace with the increased demand for it. Production has gone up 32% and sale by 50%. In Rajasthan production increased by 100% ; in Punjab by 66% ; and in the U. P. and Bengal by over 50%. The actual figures for production are :

For 1927-28—Rs. 24,16, 382 ;

For 1928-29—Rs. 31,88,000.

Sale in 1927-28—Rs. 33,08,634 ; in 1928-29 Rs. 49,84, 170. These figures for sales involve some duplication. After allowing for this the net sale in 1928-29 amounts to Rs. 39,45,713.

There are at present 364 khadi depots, of these 155 are production centres and 209 sale depots. The A. I. S. A. owns and runs 176 depots ; the others are in charge of aided and independent organisations.

49. Although the work of the A. I. S. A. is expanding rapidly, it is not increasing as rapidly as its Council and members would desire it to. The difficulty of funds has been, for the moment, got over as Mr. Gandhi's very successful tours in Andhra, Burma and the U. P. have resulted in substantial collections. A greater difficulty is the lack of trained and efficient workers.

50. The Working Committee has written off a large number of old outstandings. The only ones that remain are the following :

Tamil Nad P. C. C.	3,335	4	10
Punjab P. C. C.	1,500	0	0
Mr. T. Prakasam	500	0	0
Mr. K. M. Panikkar	249	1	11

There is also a large sum which has long been due from Mr. Badrul Hassan and the Hyderabad (Deccan) Congress Committee. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya still holds the balance of the Punjab Relief Funds which must now amount to about Rs. 50,000.

51. The voluntary income tax which was imposed on Congressmen by a resolution of the Calcutta Congress has not been a success. Some contributions have been received in the A. I. C. C. office and some have been paid to provincial and local committees. On the whole however only a small percentage of Congressmen have paid it.

52. The last Congress added a paragraph to article XXIII of the constitution laying down that there should be a permanent fund of the Congress. No steps have bowever been taken so far to start this fund. Nor has any decision been arrived at regarding the permanent location of the A. I. C. C. office.

53. On the 31st of October a statement was made by the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, suggesting a conference between representatives of the Indian people, the Indian States and the British Government, to consider the future constitution of India. A meeting of prominent Congressmen and leaders of other political parties held in Delhi on November 1st and 2nd issued a manifesto in which they ex-

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pressed their willingness to co-operate but stated that certain conditions were vital and must be fulfiled. There were four conditions mentioned : the discussion at the conference must be on the basis of full dominion status for India, there should be a predominant representation of Congressmen, a general amnesty of political prisoners and an immediate change in the manner of carrying on the existing government so as to approximate it to a dominion government. The Working Committee subsequently confirmed this action taken by Congressmen at Delhi but made it clear that this confirmation was till the Lahore Congress only.

54. The Secretaries regret to record the deaths during the year of Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, who was for some years the working General Secretary of the Congress ; Prof. S. M. Paranjpe, an ex-president of the Maharastra P. C. C. and Syt M. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, a member of the A. I. C. C. from Madras.

Report of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee

The Working Committee of the Congress at its meeting in New Delhi on the 17th and 19th February 1929 appointed the following persons with power to co-opt, to constitute the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee : Mahatma Gandhi (Chairman) Pandit Motilal Nehru ; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Committee was required to carry out the following item of the Congress programme :

"Inside and outside the legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of handspun and handwoven Khaddar."

The Committee commenced its work on 1st March 1929. A report of its work up to 30th April was submitted to the Working Committee at its meeting in Bombay on 23rd May. At that meeting the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee co-opted the following members :

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj ; Sjt. Vallabbhai J. Patel, Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta ; and Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram.

The following paragraphs briefly describe the main work done by the Committee in the period since then up to the middle of December.

It is not necessary in this report to refer again to the methods of work employed by the Committee to carry out the Congress programme through the agency of Congress Committees and with the co-operation of local bodies. These have been described in the last report.

Propaganda Tours

It was felt as a result of the first two months' experience that the organisation of propaganda tours would speed up the progress of the Boycott movement. With that end in view propaganda tours were arranged by the Committee. In all seven provinces were covered and the following 25 towns visited during the months of June, July, September and October :—

SIND :—Karachi ; Hyderabad ; Sukkur; Larkana ; Shikarpur ; Rohri. PUNJAB :—Multan ; Amritsar ; Lahore ; Ferozepur. DELHI :— Delhi. N. W. FRONTIER :—Rawalpindi ; Peshawar. GUJRAT :—Ahmedabad ; Surat. MAHARASHTRA :—Poona. KARNATAK :—Dharwar ; Hubli ; Bellary ; Gadag ; Bagalkot ; Bijapur ; Athani ; Belgaum ; Gokak.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram Secretary of the Committee toured in Sind, Punjab and the Frontier Provinces. During the Sind tour Pandit Malaviya also addressed a public meeting at Karachi on the question of boycott of foreign cloth. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj though alone

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undertook visits to Ferozepore and Delhi on the completion of the tour in the Frontier Province. The presence of Seth Jamanlal Bajaj in the above provinces had very good effect on the people and the workers. The tour to the Karnatak province was undertaken by Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande and Sjt. Jairamdas Daulatram. As a result of the former's special effort a fairly extensive tour programme was gone through in the Province covering nine towns. Sjt Jairamdas also visited Poona, Ahmedabad and Surat in the intervals. In addition to the abovementioned 25 towns Sjt. Jairamdas, while in Bombay, addressed about 30 meetings on the Boycott question including meetings organised at the undermentioned 5 villages in the neighbourhood of Bombay :

Khar ; Vile Parle ; Santa Cruz ; Ghatkopar ; Andheri.

During the visits to various towns in the above mentioned seven provinces the programme always included a public meeting, a meeting of the cloth merchants and a talk with the Congress workers and the response of the people was, on the whole, encouraging though its full fruits could only have been secured by subsequent sustained activity by local Congress organisations.

REPORTS FROM CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Despite the Committee's best endeavours, it has not been possible to get the Congress organisations of the various provinces to keep in regular touch with the Committee. Though no doubt many Congress Committees have been fairly active and they and other organisations put forth special effort on Mahatma Gandhi's Jubilee day, the Committee is unable to assess in concrete figures the work done by Congress organisations in regard to the Boycott programme. In order to stimulate sustained activity by Congress Committees and secure a reasonable measure of regularity in reporting the work done, our Committee issued early in June printed forms for weekly reports. This too has had very little effect and only a small minority of the Congress Committees in the country have been sending weekly or monthly reports of boycott work done by them. Roughly about 27% of the District Congress Committees addressed by our office have sent in their reports, and several of these too none too regularly. Only about 4 p. c. of the total number of reports due have reached the office of the Committee.

ACTION BY LOCAL BODIES.

The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee had approached all the Municipalities and District Local Boards in India,

To exempt Khadi from tax,

To increase the tax on foreign cloth and

Purchase only Khadi for their use.

The following are the local bodies which have taken one or more of the above steps :

MUNICIPALITIES.

Arvi (C. P.) ; Akola (Berar) ; Ahmedabad (Gujarat) ; Bhusaval (Maharashtra) ; Belgaum (Karnatak) ; Bijapur (Karnatak) ; Ballia (U. P.) ; Bogra (Bengal) ; Bezwada (Andhra) ; Burhanpur (C. P.) ; Benares (U. P.) : Bhandara (C. P.) ; Chanda (C. P.) ; Drug (C. P.) ; Dhulia (Maharashtra) ; Gadag Betgiri (Karnatak) ; Gondia (C. P.) ; Guntur (Andhra) ; Haliyal (Karnatak) ; Howrah (Bengal) ; Hinganghat (C. P.) ; Hyderabad (Sind) ; Jhansi (U. P.) ; Karachi (Sind) ; Kumbakonam (Madras) ; Katol (C. P.) ; Kamptee (C. P.) ; Larkana (Sind) ; Lucknow (U. P.) ; Malwan (Maharashtra) ; Marwara (C. P.) ; Mowar (C. P.) ; Nipani (Karnatak) ; Patuakhali (Bengal) ; Pulgaon (C. P.) ; Ramtek (C. P.) ; Sirsi (Karnatak) ; Solapur (Maharashtra) ; Shahada (Maharashtra) : Tiruppur (Madras) ; Tumsar (C. P.) ; Umreth (Gujrath) ; Ujhani (U. P.) ; Umrer (C. P.) ; Wardha (C. P.) ; Yeotmal (Berar).

DISTRICT LOCAL BOARDS.

Amaroti District Council ; Farukhabad District Board ; Kolaba District Local Board.

The following Municipalities according to this Committee's information have resolved to impose a discriminative tax on foreign cloth :

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Malvan (Bombay) ; Tirupur (Madras) ; Murwara (C. P.) ; Nipani (Bombay) ; Benares (U. P.).

It is quite likely that several more local bodies may have taken some action, but no information is available to the Committee about them.

The U. P. Legislative Council has recently passed a resolution recommending to Government that as far as practicable all Government Departments should make their purchases of cloth in Khadi.

Effect of Propaganda

It is desirable to form an idea of the effect of this year's propaganda on the consumption of foreign cloth in the country for the period during which the Congress took up the Boycott programme. It is impossible, however, to know by how much the internal sales of foreign cloth in India have been effected. A reliable index of the effect of the propaganda, however, is the imports of foreign cloth at the various ports of India. The boycott propaganda assumed a vigorous form from the months of February and March 1929, and as orders placed by India with foreign importers always take about 2-3 months before they are executed, the proper way to measure the effect of the country's efforts since February will be to calculate the fall in the imports of foreign cloth from May 1929 as compared with the previous years. The latest figures available are those up to October 1929. The following table gives the figures of imports of all kinds—textile fabrics and yarns between May and October of each of the undermentioned years.

Value of yarns and textile (in lakhs of rupees.)

1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
47,47	38,02	42,06	41,28	39,77	35,58

The result of the comparison between the figures of 1929 and the earlier years indicating the net effect of the forces in operation during the above-mentioned six months is given hereunder :—

	Extent of reduction in 1929	P. C. of reduction in 1929
Compared with average of 1925-28 ...	6,19 lakhs	14·8%
Compared with 1928 ...	4,19 „	10·5%

Taking thus all kinds of fabrics and yarns—cotton, wollen, silken and mixed. the fall in the imports during the months of May to October 1929 as compared with the same period of last year, has been nearly 4¼ crores of rupees and as compared with the average of the last five years it is over 6 crores of rupees.

Taking however only cotton piecegoods the figures in lakhs of rupees are as under :—

1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
34,15	26,22	39,02	27,62	26,15	23,69

The result of the comparison between the figures of 1929 and the earlier years indicating the net effect of the forces in operation during the above mentioned six months is given hereunder :—

	Extent of reduction in 1929	P. C. of reduction in 1929
Compared with average of 1925-28 ...	4,94 lakhs	17·2%
Compared with 1928 ...	2,46 „	9·4%

The above table shows that there has been a fall of 2½ crores of rupees in cotton piecegoods during the last six months.

It is of course true that many factors have combined to reduce the imports of foreign cloth during this year, but the comments in the Lancashire manufacturing circles on the condition of Lancashire trade with India have clearly shown that the boycott movement has had a share in reducing the imports of foreign cloth in India.

Sales Of Khadi.

The progress of the Boycott movement can also be measured, to some extent, by

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the figures of the consumption of Khadi. The All India Spinners' Association has this time also very kindly furnished this Committee with the figures of sales of Khadi during this and the preceding years. The following table shows the sudden rise in the sales of Khadi during the year October 1928 to September 1929 :—

1927-1928	1928-1929
Rs. 33, 08,634	Rs. 49,84,170

Percentage of increase between 1927-1928 and 1928-1929...50·6%

The following table gives the sales of Khadi during the preceding years :—

1925-1926	Rs. 28,99,143
1926-1927	,, 32,88,764
1927-1928	,, 33,08,634

Thus while the total sales of Khadi were more or less in the neighbourhood of 20 lakhs during each of the years from 1925-26 to 1927-28 they have jumped up to nearly half a crore during the current year.

The sales of Khadi during the period of March to September when the Boycott propaganda affected the sales were as under :—

	1928	1929
March ...	Rs. 2,64,821	Rs. 4,81,309
April ...	,, 3,28,249	,, 4,89,735
May ...	,, 2,69,631	,, 4,31,616
June ...	,, 2,36,354	,, 3,96,370
July ...	,, 2,48,881	,, 3,97,656
August ...	,, 2,45,876	,, 3,90,682
September ...	,, 2,60,964	,, 4,91,215
Total ...	,, 18,54,776	Total ... ,, 30,78,583

Thus while the sales of khadi during the above period was about 18 lakhs of rupees in 1927-28, they rose by about 13 lakhs of rupees in the current year, the increase being to the extent of 66 per cent.

The production of Khadi has increased in the following manner :

1925-26	...	Rs. 23,76,670
1926-27	...	,, 24,06,370
1927-28	...	,, 24,16,382
1928-29	...	,, 31,86,295

The production was about 24 lakhs in each of the years from 1925-26 to 1927-28 and in the current year it has risen to nearly 32 lakhs, that is an increase of 33 p. c. It is understood that the Boycott propaganda began to have effect on the production during the months of April to September 1929 exceeded the production during the same period of the previous year to the extent shown by the following table :—

	1928	1929
April ...	1,59,850	2,17,494
May ...	1,64,365	2,60,739
June ...	1,90,285	2,85,836
July ...	2,01 995	3,29,875
August ...	2,06,428	,50,526
September ...	2,32,493	3,63,007
Total ...	11,55,416	18,07,477

The increase in the production of Khadi during the above months of concentrated agitation was thus over 6½ lakhs of rupees, i.e. 56%.

The various tables given above indicate the measure of the boycott of foreign cloth and the production and adoption of Khadi during the current year.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

The Committee received a grant of Rs. 5,000 from the All India Congress Committee and had a further income of Rs. 1,236-9-3 from collections and donations. The expenditure incurred by the Committee from the commencement to 14th December 1929 amounted to Rs. 2,726-12-6, leaving a balance of Rs. 3,509-12-9. The audited statement of accounts of the Committee from 1st March to 14th December 1929 is appended.

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The Anti-Untouchability Sub-Committee Report.

This Sub-Committee was appointed by the Working Committee at its sitting at Delhi on 29th March 1929, consisting of Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj, the latter to work as Secretary.

The Committee commenced work from April with its office at 395, Kalbadevi, Bombay, and with a programme for (1) getting temples, wells and schools, freely opened to untouchables, (2) instructing them in sanitary living.

The Immediate Programme.

It was also resolved that efforts should be concentrated for the time being on the first item in the programme viz., getting the temples thrown open, as constituting the most effective means of eliminating untouchability. With this end in view special meetings were held in Bombay in April where Pandit Malaviyaji spoke on the temple entry question exhorting the caste Hindus to freely admit the so-called untouchables in all Hindu Temples. He spoke on the same theme emphasising the necessity of broader interpretation of Hinduism at almost every meeting during his extensive tour in Southern India which followed his visit to Bombay.

Bandra, Bombay And Poona Conferences.

A resolution in terms identical with the programme of the Committee was moved and passed at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference held at Bandra on 4th and 5th May 1929 and an informal Conference of workers was held under the auspices of the Committee at Bombay on 23rd May when the working programme for the districts was chalked out. Another conference of workers in the field of untouchability was convened by the Asprishyata Nivarak Mandal of Poona in June at which the Committee sent its representatives. The Secretary also attended. Both the organisations undertook to work out in close co-operation an intensive programme of persuading temple-owners and trustees to throw open the temples under them to untouchables. Every worker attending personally pledged himself to get at least one temple opened in the near future by his efforts. Three Pracharaks were appointed to carry on propaganda work in the districts one of them from the untouchable class itself. The Conference was attended by some of the foremost Shastries versed in Hindu Dharma-Shastras. Some of these who wield considerable influence among the orthodox caste Hindus are actively working in our field of reform.

Secretary's Work During Tours.

The Secretary during his tours in Madras Presidency, C. P., Rajputana, Sind, Kashmir, Punjab and Frontier Provinces collected information regarding the conditions under which untouchable classes lived, and discussed the problem with local workers everywhere. He met Municipal members, trustees and owners of temples, wells, etc., and exhorted sympathisers to make concerted efforts for throwing open temples, wells and schools. He found the atmosphere favourable everywhere and an eagerness on the part of the caste Hindu workers and leaders in charge of public organisations or local bodies to do their duty for alleviating the lot of the untouchable classes. Municipalities and local boards in most places have officially no ban against untouchables, in schools, wells, Dharmashalas, etc. under them, but efforts are needed still to enable the untouchables to enjoy the benefits of the same in actual practice.

Bombay Central Office.

The Central Office of the Committee in Bombay put itself in communication with the District Congress Committees, issued circulars and collected information regarding conditions prevailing in their respective areas. Lists of principal temples in every district with particulars as regards forms of worship, history, endowments, etc., were invited and made and the trustees or owners concerned were addressed.

Publicity Work.

Bulletins were issued to the press from time to time detailing accounts of work in

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the districts and other relevant information regarding the progress of propaganda. A general appeal addressed to the Trustees of Hindu Temples was issued by the Secretary and circulated through press and in pamphlet from in English, Marathi, and Hindi all over the country. Prominent workers and eminent leaders in other provinces were approached to issue similar appeals. These appeals, it appears, had good effect upon the mind of most people whose attitude in matters of internal reform of Hindu society had been markedly favourable during recent years. For a variety of reasons every thinking Hindu, belonging to whatever school of thought, appears to realise to-day the supreme need of a complete overhauling of social life in order to effect a re-adjustment that would answer all the pressing needs of the day and bring about social solidarity.

RESPONSE

The first temple opened through the Committee's efforts was the big Datta Durbar temple at Ellichpur in Berars. Influential Hindu organisations besides the Congress had been vigorously working towards the same end and a very good response was beginning to be made without any opposition worth the name almost everywhere. About half-a-dozen temples in the mofussil towns and villages were announced to have been declared open and the trustees of some of the biggest temples in Bombay were being successfully moved. Sjt. Bhopatkar, President, Poona Asprishyata Nivarak Mandal issed a closely reasoned appeal addressed to the trustees of the historical Parvati Temple of Poona exhorting them to open the doors of the famous temple to all Hindus including untouchables.

SECOND STAGE

Our appeals were vigorously supported by a number of leading caste H ndus and it seemed for a while to promise rich fruition when suddenly the movement of direct action under the title of "Temple Entry Satyagraha" was launched by certain leaders of the untouchable communities in Poona to force an entry into the Parvati Temple.

AN ANXIOUS SITUATION

With the broadcasting of moderate ideas of freedom and self-assertion in the matter of birth-rights and as a result of years of earnest efforts of the reforming sections among Hindus, a sudden self-consciousness has swept over the depressed classes during recent years. To their leaders the existing disabilities are too galling to be tolerated for a moment longer and they are naturally impatient with the pace of reform which even their accredited sympathisers among caste Hindus would deem acceptable for the moment. They attacked the caste Hindu leaders and workers, questioned their bonafides and attributed all their efforts for the uplift of the untouchables to sheer jealousy of Mussalmans or Christians. In Bombay they openly talked of equality of status not only in all out-door dealings but in the matter of inter-dining and inter-marriage. They endorsed the action of those who gave up Hindu Religion and embraced Islam as the most effective method of teaching a lesson to the Hindus. The "Satyagraha" which the Bombay untouchable leaders proposed to resort to was naturally different from the well-known methods of Mahatma Gandhi inasmuch as they did not make too much of a fetish of non-violence. All these upset the Hindu population in Bombay and Poona almost entirely and an atmosphere of increasing good-will that had prevailed was completely marred for the time being. Acute tension prevailed both in Bombay and Poona for weeks and the news and the controversies raging in the city proved equally disastrous to the atmosphere in the districts. The alarmist and die-hard elements among the class Hindus got a unique opportunity to raise the cry of "religion in danger" and setting up a bitter opposition among the caste Hindus and representing the temple entry agitation as only the thin end of the wedge. The signboards at the entrance of most temples "for Hindus only" were substituted in hot haste for new ones bearing the words "admission restricted to High Caste Hindus only" and legal authorities were ransacked to unearth judicial decisions in support of maintaining intact the customary bans. Most trustees now realised for the first time that there were legal difficulties in the way of removal of customary bans in Temples. Difficulties which could hardly have arisen in an atmosphere

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of universal good-will now loomed large and insurmountable and barred the way of further progress.

Remedies Suggested

The tension however is now slowly subsiding and the trustees in many places have begun to reconsider their position. Steps are under consideration to approach the courts for a fresh judicial pronouncement that may take full cognisance of the religious and the socil out-look for the modern Hindu. Eminent counsel like Mr. Jayakar who is regarded as one of the foremost authorities on Hindu Law, Customs and Tradition have opined that a favourable judicial pronouncement is within the range of possibility despite previous decision. Legislation on the lines of the removal of the Caste Disabilities Act has also been suggested and Mr. M. R. Jayakar has published a draft bill which he intends to introduce during the next session of the Legislative Assembly.

Suspension and Resumption of Parvati Satyagraha

Poona Satyagraha was suspended for a fortnight on the leaders of the local Asprishyata Nivarak Mandal and Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar and Jamnalal Bajaj offering to mediate with the trustees. They all tried to move the trustees but unfortunately failed to persuade the latter under the atmosphere of bitterness and distrust that prevailed. The "Satyagraha" was thereupon resumed and is still continuing, batches of untouchables, aided by some caste Hindu sympathisers who have cast in their lot with the Satyagrahis from the start, daily visit the Parvati temple and sit waiting at the foot of the temple which is kept closed and bolted since the commencement of the Satyagraha. The Poona Satyagrahis have till now observed exemplary non-violence inspite of provocation and actual violence on one or two occasions on the part of caste Hindu opponents or by the guards specially appointed by the trustees.

The Committee had to work hard during these months of acute tension. The Brahmin Non-Brahmin bitterness already existing in Poona and the Deccan contributed to aggravate the tension.

The Committee and the Satyagraha

The Committee's attitude on the question of Satyagraha had to be determined even before the Poona and Bombay situations developed. The president of the Hindu Mission, Calcutta, under date 12-9-29 wrote to Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj intimating him of Satyagraha having been started in respect of the Kali Temple at Munshiganj "to assert the inherent right of every Hindu to enter and offer Puja irrespective of caste and creed in that place of public worship" and soliciting his opinion and help in that connection. Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj wrote in reply that the existing conditions did not warrant starting Satyagraha at once, and that the question of entering into temples was a delicate matter needing special handling. There was danger of creating internal jealousy among the various Hindu communities and jeopardising unity. He started it as his opinion that if Satyagraha should be resorted to the caste Hindus should take the initiative.

The conditions indicated in the reply represented the situation in Bombay and in Deccan perhaps to a much greater degree than in Bengal. Half-a-dozen temples were already thrown open, people who spontaneously lifted the ban but had not announced their act in the press were coming forward and informing the organisations concentrating on this question of their having already admitted untouchables to their temples, schools or wells. Appeals were issued by prominent orthodox Hindus wielding considerable influence in the Society to lift the ban and take these little brethren closer. Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj in the extensive tours he made during the year had everywhere evinced an atmosphere of good-will and of earnestness which would have surprised the most sanguine reformer a few years ago. During Ganpati, Navaratri and Dussarah festivals the caste Hindus fraternised with untouchables on an absolutely unprecedented scale, organised processions, meetings, Bhajan parties and special occasions to admit them or mix with them and went out of their way to take them closer in a variety of ways. Under these hopeful conditions the launching of Satyagraha by untouchable leaders coupled with the declarations they made regarding the reasons that prompted them to take the initiative was

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regrettable, however unobjectionable or justifiable it might be in theory. Our Committee had therefore to disapprove of the Satyagraha in Poona as in the case of Munshiganj, though it congratulated the Satyagrahis for the non-violence they maintained in spite of the injuries they sustained during the first approach to the temple. It also offered to help them in moving the trustees to come to settlement. The negotiations unfortunately proved of no avail as did also the Committee's efforts to induce the Satyagrahis to postpone a resumption of Satyagraha.

The Secretary's statements regarding the Poona situation, the negotiations with the trustees and with Satyagrahis were published in the press from time to time and in order to further allay the situation a manifesto calling upon the Hindu community as a whole to realise the urgency of doing away with untouchability was issued by the Committee. It warned the Hindus of the dangers involved in delaying to solve the problem and allowing spasmodic attempts to be made by various people to solve it in their own way and appealed to all caste Hindus and their organisations to take speedy action for the extinction of untouchability in all public places and outdoor dealings. The appeal was signed by almost all the prominent Hindus of Bombay, a large number of them well-known for their orthodox style of living. The manifesto was published in the press and circulated all over the country and similar appeals were issued in Ahmedabad, Karachi and many other cities, signed by foremost local Hindu citizens and Hindu leaders, lesser people signing in thousands.

The Committee is confident that if sustained and vigorous efforts are made by Hindu Congressmen on proper lines, the problem of untouchability is capable of being solved for all practical purposes without recourse to direct action which may involve the Hindu society in an internecine struggle at a most critical juncture in the history of the nation. If, however, this is not accomplished soon, we may be unable to avoid a vast and embarrassing domestic struggle for which the Hindus may have to thank none but themselves. For "it is impossible" to quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "to avoid an exhibition of inpatience and worse, if after having awakened them (i. e. the so-called untouchable classes) to a sense of their awful position, we do not succeed in easing it for them before it becomes too late."

TEMPLES AND WELLS OPENED.

The following is the list of temples declared opened under the auspices of the Committee or through the efforts of its members, workers and sympathisers :

1.	Datta Darbar Temple	Ellichpur (Berar)
2.	Muruti "	Akola.
3.	Koteshwar "	Wai (Dt. Satara)
4.	Rama's "	Gulal Wadi, Bombay.
5.	Fakirchand's "	Jubbulpore.
6.	Byahorji's Radhakrishna Temple	"
7.	Naramadaji's Temple	"
8.	Purnani Khair Mai Temple	"
9.	Bilaiya's Radhakrishna Temple	"
10.	Bade Mahabir's Temble	"
11.	Rama's Temple	"
12.	Dikshitpura Shiv Temple	"
13.	Shankar and Mahabir Temple	Tumsar (C. P.)
14.	Ekveera Devi Temple	Kinai (Oudh State)
15.	Maruti Temple	Satara.

(Seth Jamnalal Bajaj had opened his own temple of Laxmi Narayan before this Committee was formed.)

Temples declared opened through the efforts of other origanisations or individuals working on similar lines are—

1.	Ekbote's	Temple	Umerkhed (Berars)
2.	Ganpati	"	Pimpalner (Khandesh)
3.	Yamai Devi	"	Aundh (Dt. Satra)
4.	Kirloskar's	"	Kirloskar Wadi, Satara.
5.	Maruti	"	Poona (Camp)

Untouchables are freely admitted and allowed to worship at Kailadevi's

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ancient temple owned by the State of Karauli in Rajputana. They are allowed to take the Darshan and sit to listen to religious discourse on occasions at Rama's temple, Sholapur.

Through the efforts of the Secretary all the 27 Municipal wells were thrown open to the untouchables at Wardha. A number of wells were also thrown open during the Secretary's visit at Tumsar and Gondia in C. P. Municipalities and local boards are being moved to lift the ban over schools, water wells, Dharmashalas, etc. wherever it still exists and to see that the benefits conferred are enjoyed by the untouchables wherever it has been lifted. These bodies are also being moved to withhold exemptions from tax in respect to all temples, etc., which persist in maintaining the ban against untouchables.

It must be noted that in all parts of the country temples are being opened to untouchables by caste Hindus on their own initiative many of whom often do not announce the fact or the local events are not reported to wider public. Many District Congress Committees do not function though they exist in name and no information is collected or furnished by them in response to repeated requests made by this Committee.

No sort of ban exists against untouchables on the Kirloskar Industrial Settlement at Kirloskar Wadi (Dt. Satara) and untouchables numbering 80 live and work and deal with fellow residents on the colony without any distinction whatever, including in the temple. It is also understood that no untouchability exists in most part of the district of Purulia (Bihar) and in Gwalior State villages. A resolution had been passed throwing open 3 more temples in Bombay and its vicinity but the trustees have not yet formally declared the temples open in the press owing to the necessary arrangements not having been yet completed.

Through the efforts of the Committee a Conference of some of the Bombay Temple Trustees and the leaders of untouchables was brought about at Mr. Jayakar's house in Bombay with a view to discuss the legal aspect of the temple-entry question and to find if possible a *Modus Operandi* to cut the gordian knot of the legal barrier. A procedure was found under which Temple Trustees could approach the Court for direction and the Trustees agreed to proceed upon that line of procedure as soon as cause for action had arisen the untouchables co-operating.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held this month a Conference of leading Hindus and sympathisers of the Anti-untouchability movement which was attended by Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj and representatives of various organisations including those of the depressed classes, as also by a fair number of Temple Trustees. Suggestions were invited and made for effectively carrying on the Anti-untouchability propaganda in various spheres and a sub-committee was formed to execute the programme of work laid down.

The Committee's special thanks are due to Mr. M. R. Iayakar, M. L. A., Bar-at-Law and Sjt. B. G. Kher, Solicitor, Bombay, for the most valuable assistance they have rendered to the Committee at a great sacrifice of their time and personal convenience, in the most delicate and trying task of negotiating with the trustees of various Bombay Temples in the midst of a most difficult situation. With Sjt. Kher the cause of the untouchables is a passion. There is hardly an organisation for the uplift of untouchables in Bombay with which he is not closely connected. His zeal and sweetness of temper coupled with his undoubted abilities in the legal profession makes him irresistible and his influence is discernible everywhere. It is difficult to thank him adequately for all that he has done for the Committee and for the cause generally.

Swami Anand took charge of the Committee's Central Office in Bombay from the commencement and did all the work for the Secretary whose absence at the Bombay Central Office of the Committee was almost continued savela few day flying visits occasionally. Sjt. Pundalikji Katagade's services were lent by Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande for propaganda work in the districts for which Sjt. Pundalikjee is eminently fitted. He continually toured in Berars, Bombay and Maharashtra districts and most of the temples opened in these provinces are the fruit of his efforts. Both Swami Ananda's and Sjt. Pundlikji's services have been honorary.

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The Prohibition Committee Report

The following report on Prohibition was submitted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the All India Congress Committee :—

The Indian National Congress at Calcutta adopted the following as Clause I of the resolution on "Future Programme" :—

"In the Legislature and outside every attempt will be made to bring about Total Prohibition of Intoxicating Drugs and Drinks, picketting of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible."

In pursuance of this, the Working Committee of the Congress adopted the following resolution on 3rd January :—

"Resolved that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari be authorised on behalf of the Committee to suggest a scheme and appoint a Committee to carry out the programme of Prohibition mentioned in Clause I of the resolution on Future Programme."

I accordingly formulated a scheme and suggested names for the Committee. The scheme was adopted and the following Central Committee for Prohibition was appointed : Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sjt. Vallabhai J. Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and myself.

A meeting of this Committee was held at Ahmedabad on 4th March 1929. All the members were present except Dr. Ansari. I was appointed Secretary and was authorised to act in the name of the Committee and take all steps to carry out the scheme.

It was resolved further to start work only in such areas where satisfactory workers were forthcoming and where facilities for carrying on the Campaign were available and to co-operate with other bodies working towards the same end, including caste and communal panchayets.

Circulars were sent to the Secretaries of several Provincial Congress Committees to form sub-committees in their respective provinces and appoint a special Secretary for this work. The following provinces appointed special secretaries for Prohibition whose names are given below :

Andhra : Sjt. A. Govindacharyulu, Ellore.
Assam : Dr. Harekrishna Das, Gauhati.
C. P. Hindustani : Mr. D. P. Misra, 174, Civil Lines, Jubbulpore.
Gujrat : Sjt. K. V. Mehta and Miss Mituben Petit.
Maharashtra : Stj. N. R. Gunjal, M. L. C., Kasba Peth, Poona city.
Tamilnad : Sjts K. Santanam, Gandhi Ashram, and M. Bhaktavatsalam 1/14 Sannadhi Street, Mylapore, Madras.
Punjab : Dr. Parashuram Sharma, Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.
U. P. : Sjt Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma, Kalabhairava, Benares City.
In Bihar, Babu Rajendra Prasad himself is doing the work.

Towards the end of the last year I was approached by Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla through Mahatma Gandhi to take over charge of the Hon. Secretaryship of the Prohibition League of India from Rev. Herbert Anderson who was going away to England. After some correspondence I accepted the office and formally took charge of it on 1st April, 1929. This has in no way hindered but has rather helped the work. I have not found any difficulty in inducing them all to help and co-operate in the Congress Campaign.

My tours have been so far restricted to Tamilnad. As the work of Prohibition propaganda lies more among the illiterate, it has been necessary to restrict my movements in this matter. I did an intensive tour and propaganda in three districts in the South,—North Arcot, Chingelput and Salem. Altogether I have addressed 60 meetings up till now on the subject.

Several thousands of handbills and other literature on the subject of Drink have been distributed.

A valuable booklet on "Foreign Liquor in India" written by Rev. Herbert Anderson and published by the Prohibition League has been distributed. It has drawn considerable attention. The quarterly magazine of the Prohibition League, "Prohibition" which is now edited by me is drawing much more public

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attention than before. A Tamil monthly journal "Vimochanam" is published by me dealing with the subject of Prohibition in a popular manner.

In order to mobilise public opinion I printed and circulated a Total Prohibition Pledge Form among the various Provincial Secretaries with a request to print it in the form of books in the language of their respective provinces and distributed them for taking signatures. I got books printed myself for use in Tamilnad, circulated them among workers available in the various districts. I distributed 261 pledge books in Tamilnad and most of the books are yet unreturned. As far as returned they number about 8000 signatures.

Individual pledge forms were sent with covering letters to members of the Council of State, Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Central Provinces. I omitted names obviously unsuitable for the purpose of approaching in this Campaign. But a preponderating number of those approached have not cared to reply. Replies were received from only 64 legislators. These replies however do not exhaust the number of people pledged to support Total Prohibition as a large number of those who have not replied are already pledged to it on their party tickets.

Local Bodies in Tamilnad and Andhra have been specially circularised and in response to this a dozen Municipal and Local Boards have adopted resolutions recording their opinion in favour of Total Prohibition and calling upon the Government to prohibit all intoxicating Drinks and Drugs and offering their services in enforcement. Other Boards in the province are following.

The Andhra Local Bodies Conference which met in Bezwada in the first week of September adopted an emphatic resolution for Total Prohibition and appealed to all Local Bodies in Andhra Desha to record their opinion in the same manner.

The Hindu Religious Endowments Board, Madras, a statutory body has issued a memorandum strongly advising Temple Committees and trustees throughout the Presidency (Andhra and Tamilnad) not to lease out their trees for manufacture of liquor. This is a great step as there are many temple trees in South India used for toddy tapping.

After taking up this work I may say without exaggeration that all my time is being taken up by it. There is voluminous correspondence to be carried on besides tours and meetings and personal propaganda and the publication of written literature.

As a result of the agitation in regard to Prohibition, the Madras Government has been compelled to undertake a step which though by itself is not satisfactory and is probably only a dilatory measure, is yet a symptom of the pressure of public opinion. They have allotted 4 lakhs of rupees for the carrying on of official propaganda for Total Abstinence among the people. This step has drawn considerable attention abroad. The United Provinces Government is also taking a similar step, and it is probable that other provinces may follow. Though the Government propaganda is directed only to preaching Total Abstinence, maintaining its liquor shops and its traffic in drugs, the propaganda carried on in its name will necessarily lead in spite of itself to an increased agitation for Total Prohibition.

PROVINCES.

Tamilnad.—The Provincial Congress Committee appointed a sub-committee with Sjts. K. Santanam and M. Bhaktavatsalam as Joint Secretaries and allotted a sum of Rs. 500 for its expenses. They have enrolled the League of Youth and the Hindustani Seva Dal branches in Madras as their workers for Prohibition. The League of Youth is carrying on good work and is organising Prohibition demonstrations and exhibitions. The sub-committee has also printed and distributed some literature.

Karnatak—The Secretary, Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee informed me on the 10th June that their Council resolved to appoint a whole-time organiser and that Mr. R. R. Diwakar, one of the Secretaries, was authorised to select a worker. On account of Mr. Diwakar's illness the work was delayed. On 14th November however the Assistant Secretary of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee reported that no special sub-committee or whole-time worker was appointed but that two districts of Dharwar and South Canara were carrying on the Campaign with special workers.

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Mr. R. S. Hukkeriker was in charge of the Campaign in Dharwar and Mr. K. S. Karanth in South Canara. Mr. Karanth has been doing propaganda and staging some dramas in his district.

Prohibition Pledge Books were printed in Canarese and were distributed. They have not yet been returned.

Andhra.—Mr. A. Govindacharyulu, the Prohibition Secretary, has been carrying on the Campaign through the press and platform. He toured in Kistna, West and East Godavari districts and addressed nearly 20 meetings personally. Other members of the sub-committee also addressed several meetings. Mr. Govindacharyulu has kept himself in touch with local bodies in his province in regard to this matter. The Taluk Boards of Ellore, Bheemavaram, Rajahmundry, Ramachandrapuram and Cocanada and the District Boards of East and West Godavari have to be congratulated for their unanimous resolutions not to lease out their trees for toddy even though it meant considerable loss of revenue. It is hoped that the initiative of the Andhra Provincial Local Bodies Conference will be taken up by all local bodies throughout India.

Maharashtra.—Mr. N. R. Gunjal, M. L. C., writes that the work is being carried on fairly well.

Gujrat.—The Secretary, Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee, reports that the Prohibition Campaign is carried on in a limited area systematically. The area selected is Surat district and a Taluka of Broach District. Village organisation and caste Panchayets whole-heartedly support the movement. In spite of opposition from the Excise Department and license-holders much progress has been made. Consumption of liquor is repored to have been reduced by 50 per cent. Rigid picketting is going on in a number of villages. The total number of volunteers working in the Campaign is more than 350. There were no bidders for about 266 toddy shops out of 956 put up for auction. The Excise Revenue of the district of Surat has fallen by 3½ lakhs this year. Last year there had been a fall of 6 lakhs already.

There is a strong Prohibition movement carried on among the Raniparaj people and Kolis of Bardoli, Jalalpur, Mandvi and Olpad talukas. It has also spread into the neighbouring Baroda territory. In Jalalpur picketting has been resorted to by 400 Koli volunteers under the supervision of a Parsi Sanyasi and Sjt. Ravishanker Vyas. Twelve liquor shops are being picketted round Karadi village. Caste organisations are helping the Campaign. The Surat District Campaign is being organised by Sjt. K. N. Desai. Caste organisations have made the Campaign their own. There are more than 100 bhajan mandals and at least a thousand individuals actively working in this campaign. The latest phase of the movement is the voluntary rooting out of the date-trees by their owners. These trees had been utilised only for drawing toddy, and the villagers taking vows of abstinence and picketting toddy shops naturally came to this logical conclusion of their attitude. One Raniparaj village in Bardoli has chopped of more than 300 trees and the movement is spreading.

C. P. Maharashtra.—Mr. Poonamchand Ranka reports that 10 meetings and 6 demonstrations were conducted and a thousand pledges taken.

Punjab—In Punjab a Committee consising of Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Sh. Siraj-ud-Din Pracha and Dr. Parashuram Sharma was appointed for the Prohibition Campaign. Temperance Societies were approached for co-operation. The Punjab Temperance Federation and the Amritsar Temperance Society are reported to be doing good work.

No reports have been received from other Congress Committees.

ACCOUNTS

There is a statement of accounts appended. I have requested Rev. Herbert Anderson to purchase and send a good lantern and slides for which I have not yet received the estimates. I anticipate a good deal of expenditure in the near future.

GENERAL

The public agitation in regard to Total Prohibition of intoxicating Drinks and Drugs has considerably increased in volume and intensity. The Campaign has drawn international notice and sympathy. The press as well as politicians devote

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considerable attention to the subject far more than they ever did before. The Government also exhibits increasing anxiety to satisfy the public in this matter and appears to feel that Prohibition is coming. I hope greatly to increase the scope of my work in the course of the next year.

Finally, I take the liberty of saying that in case the constitutional Conference talked about comes off, it is hoped that the Congress delegation will remember to press the Prohibition Clause, XVIII of Article 4 (Fundamental rights) of the draft Constitution unanimously adopted at the All-Parties Convention. It would be fatal to frame a new Constitution scheduling Excise and Excise Revenue as a Provincial subject. If a due sense of proportion in regard to the poverty of the country is realised and the monstrously high salaries and excessive establishments now maintained in all the services are cut down as they must be when we come to our own, the financial difficulties in the way of Total Prohibition will easily disappear and the resources of the lowest strata of the population will be conserved to the advantage of the Nation in every way.

The Bengal Election Dispute

Before the reports given above were adopted by the All India Congress Committee Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (Bengal) moved that as the duly elected members of the A. I. C. C. from Bengal were not allowed to take part in that meeting the house be adjourned. Thereupon the President Pt. Motilal Nehru made a statement explaining the position in regard to the Bengal election dispute and ruled out of order the adjournment motion of Mr. Bose. Further discussion then ensued on the Bengal dispute. General Secretary Pt. Jawharlal Nehru suggested at this stage that as the matter was important technical objections might be waived and the A. I C. C. might go into the dispute if an appeal was submitted in a proper form. Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rau (Andhra) however insisted that the house must adjourn in order to decide the question whether the Committee was properly constituted and it could not transact any business until that question was decided. The adjournment motion was disallowed by the President. Mr. S. C. Mitra then gave formal notice of appeal against the Working Committee's decision on the Bengal dispute. The President stated that the appeal would be taken up the next day after due notice was given to the other side. Thereupon Mr. Harisarvottama Rau and many of the members from Bengal walked out in protest.

Thereafter the Committee resolved itself into the Subjects Committee.

The A. I. C. C. met again on December 28, 1929.

The President Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru stated that in view of the special circumstances of the case the appeal preferred by Mr. S. C. Mitra (Bengal) be taken into consideration by the A. I. C. C. The Subjects Committee accordingly reconverted itself into the A. I. C. C.

At this stage Dr. B. C. Roy (Bengal) stated that as a matter of compromise, the appeal should not be proceeded with, and that in addition to the old A. I. C. C. members from Bengal present, six members of the new A. I. C. C. be allowed to take part in the Subjects Committee provided the total of these members did not exceed the number allotted to Bengal.

It was stated that the parties agreed to this and it was stated also that Pt. Motilal Nehru had approved of this procedure. The President pointed out that this was a breach of the constitution, but as it was a compromise the house, if it so chose, might agree to the proposal.

Mr. Nariman (Burma) suggested that this might be taken as a variation of the interlocutory order passed by the then president, Pt. Motilal Nehru.

After some discussion Dr. Roy's suggestion as varied by Mr. Nariman was accepted and the Committee resolved itself into the Subjects Committee.

The A. I. C. C. met again on December 29, 1929.

Mr. Sen-Gupta (Bengal) complained of the publication of the press statement which appeared in the Lahore morning papers on December 29, over the signatures of 28 members of the A. I. C. C. from Bengal and which attacked the impartiality and

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integrity of the then president Pt. Motilal Nehru in regard to the Bengal election dispute and also impugned the authority of the Working Committee. Mr. Sen-Gupta stated that he had agreed to the arrangement of the previous day in the interests of peace but in view of the attitude of the other party he was compelled to withdraw his consent to that arrangement and requested the house to go into the whole question and give its verdict. M. Subhas Chandra Bose supported by Dr. B. C. Roy (Bengal) and Mr. Abdur Rahim (Bengal) explained that their statement had been supplied to the press on the 27th inst., that is, soon after their walk-out on that day and that therefore they were not responsible for its late publication and consequent misunderstandings. Mr. T. Prakasam (Andhra) objected to reopening of the Bengal question. The President Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru strongly objected to his *bona fides* or his predecessor's or the Working Committee's *bona fides* being questioned and wanted the house to go into the whole matter. Pt. Motilal Nehru also stated that under the circumstances he must claim an open enquiry, for, his own honour had been questioned. The house accordingly agreed to enquire into the Bengal election matter the next day, the 30th December. The Committee then resolved itself into the Subjects Committee.

The A. I. C. C. met on December 30, 1929.

After some preliminary discussion Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who as General Secretary had dealt with the files concerning the Bengal dispute read to the house the whole correspondence tracing the history of the case. Pt. Motilal Nehru also spoke. After some more discussion Mr. S. C. Bose explained that his statement had been issued before the compromise had been arrived at and though he told the Free Press to withhold it, it unfortunately found its way in the papers.

He further said that there certainly had been misunderstandings and he had been under a misapprehension regarding several matters. He regretted this. He had full faith in Pandit Motilal Nehru's fairness and had never wished to attack his *bona fides*. He was still prepared to leave the decision of the dispute to Pandit Motilal Nehru and to abide by it whatever it might be.

Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of himself and the Working Committee accepted the expression of regret and hoped that there would be no repetition of such occurrences.

The President announced that in view of what had taken place the compromise arrived at on December 28, would hold good and that the additional six members from Bengal would participate in the Subjects Committee.

The Committee then resolved itself into the Subjects Committee.

After the termination of the Congress the A. I. C. C. met again on January 1, 1930.

Mahatma Gandhi stated that in accordance with the established convention the house should ratify the personnel of the Cabinet selected by the President, and read out the following 10 names chosen by the President in consultation with a few others :

Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Shri Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Shri J. M. Sen-Gupta, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Dr. Satyapal and Shri Jairamdas Doulatram.

Mr. Abdur Rahim objected to this procedure and wanted that individual names should be put before the house and voted upon. Mr. Satyamurti also opposed the procedure and proposed following additional names for the Working Committee :

Mr. S. Shrinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. T. Prakasam.

Mr. R K. Sidhva (sind) proposed the names of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Dr, Ansari. The President explained that it was always a pleasure for anyone to co-operate with persons like Mrs. Naidu and Dr. Ansari, but both of them had expressed their unwillingness to be on the Working Committee and hence their names were not included. Dr. Alam (Punjab) supported Mr. Satyamurti's suggestion and further added Mr. Satyamurti's name for the Working Committee but the latter withdrew his name. Mr. Harimohan Chatterjee (Punjab) suggested Swami Govindanand's (Sind) name. At this stage Seth Jamnalal Bajaj (*ex-officio*) suggested that the official list should be put to the house *en-bloc*. Mr. Satyamurti wanted that each name should be voted upon,

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The President stated that he would take the sense of the house as regards the procedure and would then give his decision. On votes being taken as to whether the list proposed by Mr. Gandhi should be voted upon as a whole or not, 78 votes were in favour of taking it *en bloc* and 62 were against this procedure. As the President was announcing these figures, Mr. S. Satyamurti walked out in protest. He was followed by about 30 other members. The President stated that the walk-out was hasty as he had not yet announced his decision in regard to the procedure he chose to adopt. Indeed in view of the close voting he had decided to put the names individually to vote in order to avoid all possible dissatisfaction or misunderstanding. But Mr. Satyamurti and others acted in a precipitate manner. Mr. K. Punniah (Sind) moved adjournment of the house till next morning with a view to allowing the walkers-out an opportunity to come back. The adjournment motion was seconded by Mr. Abdur Rahim but on being put to the vote was declared lost.

A ballot was taken for the election of members to the Working Committee and the official list of the ten names given above was declared carried by an overwhelming majority.

The Indian National Congress

OPENING DAY—29th DECEMBER 1929

The Forty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress commenced its sitting on Sunday, the 29th December 1929 at 5 p. m. amidst unique enthusiasm at Lajpat Nagar, Lahore. The huge pandal, which could accommodate about fifteen thousand men was taxed to its utmost capacity.

With tri-coloured *National flags* and inspiring mottos placed here and there, with hanging wreaths and loud speakers, with its high ornamental rostrum the Pandal presented a spectacle at once imposing and inspiring.

Punctually at 5 p. m. amidst thundering cheers and shouts of *Bande Mataram* the President-elect accompanied by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Chairman of the Reception Committee, entered the Pandal in a procession consisting of ex-Presidents of the Congress and other prominent leaders.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of *Bande Mataram* by a band of ladies in pin drop silence, the whole House standing in reverence. Another song extolling the self-immolation of martyr *Jatindra Nath Das* drew enthusiastic cheers from the audience.

The Welcome Address.

Then Dr. Kitchlew read his address welcoming the delegates. After this Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his presidential address in Hindi which was a masterly analysis of problems that the nation would face in their march towards the goal of Freedom.

Dr. Kitchlew, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech, after giving an elaborate history of what he called the economic and political exploitation of India by Britain referred to the non-cooperation movement of 1921 and said that the people as a whole gave a splendid response to the call of revolution. "The leaders and workers, men and women, young and old, without any distinction of castes and creeds gladly filled the jails in their thousands and paid the penalty of deliberately violating the laws of the foreign bureaucratic system of Government. Something untoward happened at Chauri Chaura and one or two other places and there was a dead stop to our movement at the most psychological moment of its struggle for existence."

He said that the Hindu-Muslim differences were only transitory. They were the result of a tremendous reaction and if left alone would have died their natural death, but goaded by the taunts of bureaucrats they tried to solve them. The All-Parties Conference had done them no good ; on the contrary by giving a status to rank communalists they had done immeasurable harm to the political movement. The Nehru Committee appointed by the Congress did all in its power to bring about an amicable settlement of inter-communal questions but their report had not brought them any real solution of those questions. Dr. Kitchlew felt that there

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was something fundamentally wrong about their conception of religion in connection with the political life of the country. "Let us realise that religion is after all only a matter of opinion, of faith, of conviction which can be changed at any moment in one's life. Let us therefore get rid of this notion of having religion as the basis of our political rights and political demands and divisions. The cries of religion in danger or religious culture in danger, are the result of distrust and suspicion created by the policy of divide and rule."

MASSES WOULD FOLLOW THEM

He urged them to have a good fighting programme based on a truly national and economic basis. He was sure that the masses would immediately follow their lead. During the Satyagraha and non-cooperation days they and the petty bourgeoisie did not cry to halt. In fact they felt annoyed at the retreat at Bardoli. The masses even today were organising themselves on a politico-economic basis and by their strikes and demonstrations were already showing wonderful signs of unity. He reiterated that no religious culture was in danger. If they must have a provision in the future constitution let there be a general provision to the effect that any question relating to religion or religious culture should not be decided in the case of objection unless a fixed number of members professing that religion and present in the meeting gave their support. That in his opinion would afford better protection than the vicious and barbarous system of separate representation on communal lines.

Passing on to the question of political status Dr. Kitchlew said that after the passage of the Madras resolution declaring independence as the goal we stand pledged as honourable men to declare independence not only an ideal for our country but our immediate objective. Two days more and the stipulated period of twelve months would pass. Hitherto the charter has not arrived (from His Majesty.) It may be still in transit or it may not have been sent at all. Therefore let us make our preparations in haste and prove to the world that we are really honest and serious-minded patriots, dreadfully in earnest, and we mean business."

REPRESSIVE MEASURES

The speaker next referred to what he called repressive measures—the Trades Dispute Bill, the Safety Bill. They attacked their elementary rights, the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and began to send Indian patriots to the lock-up and jails in great numbers. Then it was suddenly discovered that India was becoming the hotbed of revolutionary conspiracies of the most violent type and prosecutions were launched on a scale that baffled imagination. Cases cropped up as if by a touch of the magic wand. In Ireland as late as 1924 an amnesty was granted to downright cold-blooded murderers and their political status was recognised. This was not being done in India. Canada and South Africa, he said, had to fight hard before they got Dominion Status; Ireland after centuries of repression won their Free State only when the Sinn Feiners and Republicans came into the open with their parallel Government and the Irish volunteers by successfully carrying out a programme of guerilla warfare made things rather hot for the Black and Tans and the horde of English and Irish spies and reactionaries.

MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

He had no faith in the sincerity of the Labour Government. The latter would not make Dominion Status their party question and risk their reputation and chances of holding office for the sake of India. No self-respecting people could entertain even the idea of making the future of a nation dependent on the goodwill and fortunes of an alien political party of a domineering nation. India's freedom could be attained only through India's own efforts. The history of the nations that had attained freedom as well as the history of the Indian political struggle told them that self-reliance, sacrifice and suffering were the only aids to Swaraj. He suggested the following programme for the country: (i) The Congress should declare complete independence as its immediate objective; (ii) complete boycott of the legislatures; (iii) the organisation of a national army of workers with a view to co-ordinate and combine different workers and peasants' organisations; (iv) the organisation of a permanent body of full-time national workers, paid as well as

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honorary; (v) the organisation of mass civil disobedience as well as individual civil disobedience in selected areas under the direction of a compact and small central committee of action with full powers of control.

Concluding he said: "Today we are once again on the eve of a period of dynamic action. I appeal to Mahatmaji, pray come and lead us. We are ready but let there be no repetition of Chauri Chaura and turning back once we get our feet onward. Let the slogan be onward, onward until the goal is reached."

The Presidential Address

The following is the English rendering of the Presidential Address, delivered in Hindusthani by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru :—

COMRADES,—For four and forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this period it has somewhat slowly, but surely awakened national consciousness from its long stupor and built up the national movement. If to-day we are gathered here at a crisis of our destiny, conscious of our strength as well as of our weakness and looking with hope and apprehension to the future, it is well that we give first thought to those who have gone before us and who spent out their lives with little hope of reward so that those that followed them may have the joy of achievement. Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day standing on an eminence of their creation may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them, or the great work they did in laying the foundations of a free India. And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who without reckoning the consequences have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination. Many of their names even are not known to us. They laboured and suffered in silence without any expectation of public applause and by their heart's blood they nursed the tender plant of India's freedom. While many of us temporised and compromised, they stood up and proclaimed a people s right to freedom and declared to the world that India even in her degradation had the spark of life in her, because she refused to submit to tyranny and serfdom. Brick by brick has our national movement been built up, and often on the prostrate bodies of her martyred sons has India advanced. The giants of old may not be with us but the courage of old is with us still and India can yet produce martyrs like Jatindas and Wizaya.

This is the glorious heritage that we have inherited and you wish to put me in charge of it. I know well that I occupy this honoured place by chance more than by your deliberate design. Your desire was to choose another—one who towers above all others, in the present day world of ours—and there could have been no wiser choice. But fate and he conspired together and thurst me against your will and mine into this terrible seat of responsibility. Should I express my gratitude to you for having placed me in this dilemma ? But I am grateful indeed for your confidence in one who strangely lacks it himself.

You will discuss many vital national problems that face us to-day and your decisions may change the course of Indian history. But you are not the only people that are faced with problems. The whole world to-day is one vast question-mark and every country and every people is in the melting pot. The age of faith, with the comfort and stability it brings, is past, and there is questioning about everything, however permanent or sacred it might have appeared to our forefathers. Everywhere there is doubt and restlessness and the foundations of the state and society are in process of transformation. Old established ideas of liberty, justice, property and even family are being attacked and the outcome hangs in the balance. We appear to be in a dissolving period of history when the world is in labour and out of her travail will give birth to a new order.

No one can say what the future will bring, but we may assert with some confidence that Asia and even India will play a determining part in future world policy.

EUROPEAN DOMINATION COMING TO END

The brief day of European domination is already approaching its end. Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future is with

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America and Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated over the rest of the world and Asia has always let the legions of the West thunder past and has plunged in thought again. We have forgotten that for millennia the legions of Asia overran Europe and modern Europe itself largely consists of the descendants of those invaders from Asia. We have forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and specially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun continents again. We have all had enough of them.

India to-day is a part of a world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, but also Russia and the countries of the West are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it. We have our own problems, difficult and intricate, and we cannot run away from them and take shelter in the wider problems that affect the world. But if we ignore the world we do so at our peril.

Civilisation to-day, such as it is, is not the creation or the monopoly of one people or nation. It is a complete fabric to which all countries have contributed and then have adapted to suit their particular needs. And if India has a message to give to the world, as I hope she has, she has also to receive and learn much from the messages of other peoples.

WHY INDIA FELL

When everything is changing it is well to remember the long course of Indian history. Few things in history are more amazing than the wonderful stability of social structure in India which withstood the impact of numerous alien influences and thousands of years of change and conflict. It withstood them because it always sought to absorb them and tolerate them. Its aim was not to exterminate but to establish an equilibrium between different cultures. Aryans and non-Aryans settled down together recognising each other's right to their culture, and outsiders who came like the Parsis found a welcome and a place in the social order. With the coming of the Moslems the equilibrium was disturbed, but India sought to restore it and largely succeeded. Unhappily for us, before we could adjust our differences, the political structure broke down, the British came and we fell.

Great as was the success of India in evolving a stable society she failed in a vital particular and because she failed in this she fell and remains fallen. No solution was found for the problem of equality. India deliberately ignored this and built up her social structure on inequality and we have the tragic consequences of this in the millions of our people who till yesterday were suppressed and had little opportunity for growth.

And yet when Europe fought her wars of religion and Christians massacred each other in the name of their Saviour, India was tolerant, although, alas, there is little of this toleration to-day. Having attained some measure of religious liberty, Europe sought after political liberty and political and legal equality. Having attained these also she finds that they mean very l ttle without economic liberty and equality. And so to-day politics have ceased to have much meaning and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality.

India also will have to find a solution to this problem and until she does so her political and social structure cannot have stability. That solution need not necessarily follow the example of any other country. It must, if it has to endure, be based on the genius of her people and be an outcome of her thought and culture. And when it is found, the unhappy differences between various communities, which trouble us to-day and keep our freedom, will automatically disappear.

DISTRUST AND SUSPICION

Indeed the real differences have already largely gone, but fear of each other and distrust and suspicion remain and sow seeds of discord. The problem before us is not one of removing differences. They can well remain side by side and enrich our many sided culture. The problem is how to remove fear and suspicion and being intangible they are hard to get at. An earnest attempt was made last year by the All Parties Conference and much progress was made towards the goal. But we must

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admit with sorrow that success has not wholly crowned its efforts. Many of our Muslim and Sikh friends have strenuously opposed the solutions suggested and passions have been roused over mathematical figures and percentages. Logic and cold reason are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust. Only faith and generosity can overcome them. I can only hope that the leaders of various communities will have this faith and generosity in ample measure. What shall we gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country? And what can we lose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breathe the air of freedom? Do we want outsiders who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges, when they deny us the very right to freedom! No majority can crush a determined minority and no minority can be sufficiently protected by a little addition to its seats in a legistature. Let us remember that in the world to-day almost everywhere a very small minority holds wealth and power and dominates over the great majority.

I have no love for bigotry and dogmatism in religion and I am glad that they are weakening. Nor do I love communalism in any shape or form. I find it difficult to appreciate why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community. I can fully understand the right to freedom in religion and the right to one's own culture, and in India specially, which has always acknowledged and granted these rights, it should be no difficult matter to ensure their continuance. We have only to find out some way whereby we may root out the fear and distrust that darken our horizon to-day. The politics of a subject race are largely based on fear and we have been too long under subjection to get rid of them easily.

I was born a Hindu, but I do not know how far I am justified in calling myself one or in speaking on behalf of Hindus. But birth still counts in this country and by right of birth I shall venture to submit to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity. Generosity is not only good morals but is often good politics and sound expediency. And it is inconceivable to me that in a free India the Hindus can ever be powerless. So far as I am concerned I would gladly ask our Moslem and Sikh friends to take what they will without protest or argument from me. I know that the time is coming soon when these labels and appellations will have little meaning and when our struggle will be on an economic basis. Meanwhile it matters little what our mutual arrangements are, provided only that we do not build up barriers which will come in the way of our future progress.

All Parties Report to be Put Aside

The time has indeed already come when the All Parties Report has to be put aside and we march forward unfettered to our goal. You will remember the resolution of the last Congress which fixed a year of grace for the adoption of the All Parties scheme. That year is nearly over and the natural issue of that decision is for this Congress to declare in favour of independence and devise sanctions to achieve it.

That year has not brought Dominion Status of the All Parties Constitution. It has brought instead suffering and greater repression of our national and labour movements and how many of our comrades are to-day forcibly kept away from us by the alien power! How many of them suffer exile in foreign countries and are refused facilities to return to their Motherland! The army of occupation holds our country in its iron grip and the whip of the master is ever ready to come down on the best of us who dare to raise their heads. The answer to the Calcutta resolution has been clear and definite

Recently there has been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the subject of India's future constitution. The Viceroy means well and his language was the language of peace. But even the Viceroy's goodwill and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us.

Devious Ways of British Diplomacy

We have sufficient experience of the devious ways of the British diplomacy to beware of it. The offer that the British Government made was vague and there

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was no commitment or promise of performance. Only by the greatest stretch of imagination could it be interpreted as a possible response to the Calcutta resolution. Many leaders of various political parties met together soon after and considered it. They gave it the most favourable interpretation for they desired peace and were willing to go half way to meet it. But in courteous language they made it. clear what the vital conditions for its acceptance were.

Many of us who believed in independence and were convinced that the offer was only a device to lead us astray and create division in our ranks suffered bitter anguish and were torn with doubt. Were we justified in precipitating a terrible national struggle with all its inevitable consequences of suffering for many when there was even an outside chance of honourable peace ?

With much searching of heart we signed that manifesto and I know not to-day if we did right or wrong. Later came the explanations and amplifications in the British Parliament and elsewhere and all doubt, if doubt there was, was removed as to the true significance of the offer. Even so your Working Committee chose to keep open the door of negotiation and left it to this Congress to take the final decision.

'Dominion Status in Action' a Snare

During the last few days there has been another discussion of this subject in the British House of Commons and the Secretary of State for India has endeavoured to point out that successive British Governments have tried to prove not only by words but by deed also the sincerity of their faith in regard to India. We must recognise Mr. Wedgwood Benn's desire to do something for India and his anxiety to secure the goodwill of the Indian people. But his speech and the other speeches made in Parliament carry us no further. 'Dominion Status in action' to which he draws attention has been a snare for us and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this 'Dominion Status in action' and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London and representatives on the League of Nations and the purchase of stores and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office. Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given us a record of the achievements of the past decade. He could have added to it by referring to martial law in the Punjab, and the Jallianwala Bagh shooting and the repression and exploitation that have gone continually during this period of 'Dominion Status in action.' He has given us some insight into what more of Dominion Status may mean for us. It means the shadow of authority to a handful of Indians and more repression and exploitation of the masses.

What will this Congress do ? The conditions for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there are guarantees that real freedom will come to us ? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues ? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us ? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

The Goal Of Independence

If the Calcutta resolution holds we have but one goal to-day, that of independence. Independence is not a happy word in the world to-day for it means exclusiveness and isolation Civilization has had enough of narrow nationalism and gropes towards a wider co-operation and interdependence. And if we use the word independence we do so (not ?) in the sense hostile to the larger ideals. Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

The British Empire to-day is not such a group and cannot be so long as it dominates over millions of people and holds large areas of the world's surface despite the will of their inhabitants. It cannot be a true commonwealth so long as imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance. The

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British Empire to-day is indeed gradually undergoing a process of political dissolution, it is in a state of unstable equilibrium. The Union of South Africa is not a very happy member of the family nor is the Irish Free State a willing one. Egypt drifts away. India could never be an equal member of the commonwealth unless imperialism and all it implies is discarded. So long as this is not done India's position in the Empire must be one of subservience and her exploitation will continue. The embrace of the British Empire is a dangerous thing. It is not and cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that it will be what it has been in the past, the embrace of death.

Grievous Burden on Masses.

There is talk of world peace and pacts have been signed by the nations of the world. But despite pacts armaments grow and beautiful language is the only homage that is paid to the Goddess of Peace. Peace can only come when the causes of war are removed. So long as there is the domination of one country over another there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order and no stable equilibrium can endure. Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come. And it is because the British Empire stands for these and bases itself on the exploitation of the masses that we can find no willing place in it. No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses. The weight of a great empire is heavy to carry and long our people have endured it. Their backs are bent down and their spirit has almost broken. How will they share in the commonwealth partnership if the burden of exploitation continues? Many of the problems we have to face are the problems of vested interests, mostly created or encouraged by the British Government. The interests of Rulers of Indian States, of British officials and British capital and Indian capital and of the owners of big zamindaris are ever thrust before us and they clamour for protection. The unhappy millions who really need protection are almost voiceless and have few advocates. So long as the British Empire continues in India, in whatever shape it may do so, it will strengthen these vested interests and create more. And each one of them will be fresh obstacle in our way. Of necessity the Government has to rely on opposition and the symbol of its rule is the secret service with its despicable and contemptible train of provocateurs, informers and approvers.

We have had much controversy about independence and Dominion Status and we have quarrelled about words. But the real thing is the conquest of power by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us therefore concentrate on these and the rest will follow easily.

We stand, therefore, to-day for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dicate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and conscience of the world and to them we shall demonstrate, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. To-day or to-morrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will.

We are very conscious of our weakness and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one, least of all England, mistake or underrate the meaning or strength of our resolve. Solemnly, with full knowledge of consequences I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If to-day we fail and to-morrow brings no success, the day after will follow and bring achievement.

We are weary of strife and hunger for peace and opportunity to work constructively for our country. Do we enjoy the breaking up of our homes and the sight of our brave young men going on strike and losing even his miserable pittance and starving? He does so by sheer compulsion when there is no other way for him.

Perilous Path of National Strife

And we who take this perilous path of national strife do so because there is no other way to an honourable peace. But we long for peace and the hand of fellowship

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will always be stretched out to all who may care to grasp it. But behind the hand will be a body which will not bend to injustice and a mind that will not surrender on any vital point.

With the struggle before us the time for determining our future constitution is not yet. For two years or more we have drawn up constitutions and finally the All Parties Committee put a crown to these efforts by drawing up a scheme of its own which the Congress adopted for a year. The labour that went to the making of this scheme was not wasted and India has profited by it. But the year is past and we have to face new circumstances which require action rather than constitution making. Yet we cannot ignore the problems that beset us and that will make or mar our struggle and our future constitution. We have to aim at social adjustment and equilibrium and to overcome the forces of disruption that have been the bane of India.

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican and am no believer in kings and princes or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of old feudal aristocracy. I recognise, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress and in the present circumstances of the country to adopt a full socialistic programme. But we must realise that the philosophy of socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over and almost the the only point in dispute is the pace and the methods of advance to its full realisation. India will have to go that way too if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality though she may evolve her own methods and may adopt the ideal to the genius of her race.

We have three major problems—the minorities, the Indian States, and labour and peasantry. I have dealt already with the question of minorities. I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and our deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

THE INDIAN STATES.

The Indian States, even for India, are the most curious relics of a by-gone age. Many of their rulers apparently still believe in the divine right of kings—puppet kings though they be—and consider the state and all it contains to be their personal property, which they can squander at will. A few of them have a sense of responsibility and have endeavoured to serve their people, but many of them have hardly any redeeming feature.

It is perhaps unjust to blame them, for they are but the products of a vicious system and it is the system that will ultimately have to go. One of the rulers has told us frankly that even in case of war between India and England he will stand for England and fight his mother country. That is the measure of his patriotism. It is not surprising then that they claim, and their claim finds acceptance with the British Government, that they alone can represent their subjects at any conference and no one even of their subjects may have any say? The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India and their rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them. And the only people who have a right to determine the future of the Sta es must be the people of those States including the rulers. This Congress which claims self-determination cannot deny it to the people of the States. Meanwhile the Congress is perfectly willing to confer with such rulers as are prepared to do so and to devise means whereby the transition may not be too sudden. But in no event can the people of the States be ignored.

PEASANTRY AND LABOUR.

Our third major problem is the biggest of all. For India means the peasantry and labour and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants will we succeed in our task. And the measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherence to it. We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause which is really the country's cause. The Congress has often expressed its good-will towards them but beyond that it has not gone. The Congress it is said must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and

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zamindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighed on one side and to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another. The All-India Congress Committee accepted this ideal of social and economic change in a resolution it passed some months ago in Bombay. I hope the Congress will also set its seal on it and will further draw up a programme of such changes as can be immediately put in operation.

In this programme perhaps the Congress as a whole cannot go very far to-day. But it must keep the ultimate ideal in view and work for it. The question is not merely of wages and charity doled out by an employer or landlord. Paternalism in industry or in the land is but a form of charity with all its sting and its utter incapacity to root out the evil. The new theory of trusteeship, which some advocate, is equally barren. For trusteeship means that the power for good or evil remains with the self-appointed trustee and he may exercise it as he wills. The sole trusteeship that can be fair is the trusteeship of the nation and not of one individual or a group. Many Englishmen honestly consider themselves the trustees for India, and yet to what a condition they have reduced our country !

We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produce food. To-day the abundance that the land produces is not for the peasant or the labourer who work on it ; and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionaires. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

Our economic programme must therefore be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort, and human hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All-Parties Committee accepted the principle and included it in their recommendations. I hope the Congress will also do and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further that it will adopt the well-known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organise itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis.

THE CRY OF THE PEASANTRY.

But ndustrial labour is only a small part of India although it is rapidly becoming a force that cannot be ignored. It is the peasantry that cry loudly, piteously for relief and our programme must deal with their present condition. Real relief can only come by a great change in the land laws and the basis of the present system of land tenure. We have among us many big landowners and we welcome them. But they must realise that the ownership of large estates by individuals, which is the outcome of a state resembling the old feudalism of Europe, is a rapidly disappearing phenomenon all over the world. Even in countries which are the strongholds of capitalism the large estates are being split up and given to the peasantry who work on them. In India also we have large areas where the system of peasant proprietorship prevails and we shall have to extend this all over the country. I hope that in doing so we may have the cooperation of some at least of the big landowners.

It is not possible for this Congress at its annual session to draw up any detailed economic programme. It can only lay down some general principles and call upon the All-India Congress Committee to fill in the details in cooperation with the representatives of the Trade Union Congress and other organisations which are vitally interested in this matter. Indeed I hope that the cooperation between this Congress and the Trade Union Congress will grow and the two organisations will fight side by side in future struggles.

All these are pious hopes till we gain power and the real problem therefore before us is the conquest of power. We shall not do so by subtle reasoning or

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argument or lawyers' quibbles, but by the forging of sanctions to enforce the nation's will. To that end this Congress must address itself.

THE CONGRESS ORGANISATION.

The past year has been one of preparation for us and we have made every effort to reorganise and strengthen the Congress organisation. The results have been considerable and our organisation is in a better state to-day than at any time since the reaction which followed the non-co-operation movement. But our weaknesses are many and are apparent enough. Mutual strife even within Congress Committees, is unhappily too common and election squabbles drain all our strength and energy. How can we fight a great fight if we cannot get over this ancient weakness of ours and rise above our petty selves? I earnestly hope that with a strong programme of action before the country our perspective will improve and we will not tolerate this barren and demoralising strife.

What can this programme be? Our choice is limited, not by our own constitution which we can change at our will, but by facts and circumstances. Article one of our constitution lays down that our methods must be legitimate and peaceful. Legitimate I hope they will always be, for we must not sully the great cause for which we stand by any deed that will bring dishonour to it and that we may ourselves regret later. Peaceful I should like them to be for the methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence. Violence too often brings reaction and demoralisation in its train, and in our country specially it may lead to disruption. It is perfectly true that organised violence rules the world to-day and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training for organised violence and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is bettet to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice.

PEACEFUL MASS MOVEMENT

Any great movement for liberation to-day must necessarily be a mass movement and mass movement must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt. Whether we have the noncoperation of a decade ago or the modern industrial weapon of the general strike, the basis is peaceful organisation and peaceful action. And if the principal movement is a peaceful one contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it. It is not possible to carry on at one and the same time the two movements side by side. We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of this Congress is likely to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

Should we repeat the programme and tactics of the non-cooperation movement? Not necessarily, but the basic idea must remain. Programmes and tactics must be made to fit in with circumstances and it is neither easy nor desirable for this Congress at this stage to determine them in detail. That should be the work of its executive, the All-India Congress Committee. But the principles have to be fixed.

The old programme was one of the three boycotts—Councils, Law Courts and Schools—leading up to refusal of service in the army and non-payment of taxes. When the national struggle is at its height I fail to see how it will be possible for any person engaged in it to continue in the courts or the schools. But still I think that it will be unwise to declare a boycott of the courts and schools at this stage.

The boycott of the legislative councils has led to much heated debate in the past and this Congress itself has been rent in twain over it. We need not revive that controversy for the circumstances to-day are entirely different. I feel that the step the Congress took some years ago to permit Congressmen to enter the councils was an inevitable step and I am not prepared to say that some good has not resulted from it. But we have exhausted that good and there is no middle course left to-day between boycott and full co-operation. All of us know the demoralisation that these

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sham legislatures have brought in our ranks and how many of our good men, their committees and commissions lure away. Our workers are limited in number and we can have no mass movement unless they concentrate on it and turn the backs to the palatial council chambers of our legislatures. And if we declare for independence how can we enter the councils and carry on our humdrum and profitless activities there? No programme or policy can be laid down for ever, nor can this Congress bind the country or even itself to pursue one line of action indefinitely. But to-day I would respectfully urge the Congress that the only policy in regard to the councils is a complete boycott of them. The All-India Congress Committee recommended this course in July last and the time has come to give effect to it.

This boycott will only be a means to an end. It will release energy and divert attention to the real struggle which must take the shape of nonpayment of taxes and, where possible, with the cooperation of the labour movement, general strikes. But non-payment of taxes must be well organised in specific areas, and for this purpose the Congress should authorise the All-India Congress Committee to take the necessary action wherever and whenever it considers desirable.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

I have not so far referred to the demonstrative programme of the Congress. This should certainly continue but the experience of the last few years shows us that by itself it does not carry us swiftly enough. It prepares the ground for future action and ten years' silent work is bearing fruit to-day. In particular we shall, I hope, continue our boycott of foreign cloth and the boycott of British goods.

Our programme must therefore be one of political and economic boycott. It is not possible for us, so long as we are not actually independent, and not even then completely, to boycott another country wholly or to sever all connection with it. But our endeavour must be to reduce all points of contact with British Government and to rely on ourselves.

We must also make it clear that India will not accept responsibility for all the debts that England has piled on her. The Gaya Congress repudiated liability to pay these debts and we must repeat this :repudiation and stand by it. Such of India's public debt as has been used for purposes beneficial to India we are prepared to admit and pay back. But we wholly deny all liability to pay back the vast sums which have been raised so that India may be held in subjection and her burdens may be increased. In particular the poverty-stricken people of India cannot agree to shoulder the burden of the wars fought by England to extend her domain and consolidate her position in India. Nor can they accept the many concessions lavishly bestowed without even proper compensation on foreign exploiters.

I have not referred so far to the Indians overseas and I do not propose to say much about them. This is not from any want of fellow-feeling with our brethren in East Africa or South Africa or Fiji or elsewhere, who are bravely struggling against great odds. But their fate will be decided in the plains of India and the struggle we are launching into is as much for them as for ourselves.

For this struggle we want efficient machinery. Our Congress constitution and organisation have become too archaic and slow moving and are ill suited to times of crisis. The times of great demonstrations are past. We want quiet and irresistible action now and this can only be brought about by the strictest discipline in our ranks. Our resolution must be passed in order to be acted upon. The Congress will gain in strength, however small its actual membership may become, if it acts in a disciplined way. Small determined minorities have changed the fate of nations. Mobs and crowds can do little. Freedom itself involves restraint and discipline, and each one of us will have to subordinate himself to the larger good.

The Congress represents no small minority in the country, and though many may be too weak to join it or to work for it, they look to it with hope longing to bring them deliverance. Ever since the Calcutta resolution the country has waited with anxious expectation for this great day when this Congress meets. None of us can say what and when we can achieve, We cannot command success. But success often comes to those who dare and act ; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes ; and if we seek to achieve great things it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late,

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none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule, and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and it may be death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient, but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

In concluding his address the President himself cried "Long live Revolution" and he was followed with continued cries of "Up with National Flag", "Down with Union Jack", and "Long live Revolution." Much excitement prevailed in the House when these cries were going on all around.

Proceedings and Resolutions

The following two condolence resolutions were then moved from the Chair and passed by the Congress, the whole House standing in reverence :—

1. Jatin Das and Wizaya

"This Congress expresses its appreciation of the supreme self-sacrifice of Jatindra Nath Das and Phoongi U. Wizaya and offers its condolence to their families and is further of opinion that the foreign Government in India is responsible for their self-immolation."

2. Condolences

"This Congress expresses its sorrow at the death of Pandit Gokarannath Misra, ex-General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee and Prof. S. M. Paranjpaye and Messrs. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, Rohinikanta Hatibarua, R. K. Lahiri and Byomkesh Chakravarti."

The President then announced that there would be no open session of the Congress on the next day which would be resumed after the sitting of the A. I. C. C. on the day after next, *i.e.*, the 31st December. Before concluding the day's proceedings the President expressed his surprise and regret at the publication of his presidential address by some papers contrary to the understanding.

SECOND DAY—31st DECEMBER 1929

On this day after the 'Bandematram' song was sung, all standing, Dr. Ansari General Secretary read messages of sympathy from foreign countries.

Dr. Ansari first summarised a message from the League against Imperialism which expressed the hope that India's fight for independence would be successful. Cheers were accorded to messages from Mr. Rashbehari Ghose from Japan and Sadhu Singh from Nanking.

Among the messages read or mentioned by Dr. Ansari as having been received from outside India, were those of the Kabul Congress Committee, the American Branch of the Indian Congress, the Fiji Congress, the Socialist Party of Persia, the South African Indian Federation, the Indian National Association, Cape Province, the South African Indian Congress and the Indian Oppressed Peoples' Association, Nanking, China.

The message from Mr. Mahendra Pratap, Kabul, stated : "The Congress Committee, Kabul, specially requests the Congress to sympathise with Afghanistan and accept the principle of world federation and push on organisation and activity to achieve independence."

Among the messages from several parts of India was one by Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, ex-President, hoping that wisdom and long-sighted statesmanship would characterise the discussions and decisions for on both depended how well a free India shall be started in the year 1930.

Mr. Mahendra Pratap, in his letter from Kabul, said : "We must quite openly

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sympathise with Soviet Russia, accept the principle of pan Asian unity, and solemnly agree to work for the complete freedom of all nations and federations of the world."

3. Delhi Bomb Outrage.

After the messages had been read, Mahatma GANDHI moved the first resolution of the day which ran as follows :—

"This Congress deplores the bomb outrage perpetrated on the Viceroy's train, and reiterates its own conviction that such action is not only contrary to the creed of the Congress but results in harm being done to the national cause. It congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the poor servants on their fortunate and narrow escape."

The Mahatma spoke as follows in English after his speech in Hindustani :—

"I have been asked to give you the substance of what I said in English. In my opinion, it is or it will be a good beginning with our resolutions dealing with the duty of the Congress, if we begin by passing this unanimously. In coming here to propose it, I have realised my responsibility fully. My certain conviction is that the Congress will fail in its obvious duty if it does not record this resolution. You find the reasons stated in the resolution itself. So long as the Congress creed remains what it is, namely, we want to attain Swaraj not by any means, but by peaceful and legitimate means, it is our bounden duty to take note of anything that happens in India in breach of that creed. You might be told, as I dare say you will be told, that when people who do not belong to the Congress organisation, and are not connected with it in any shape or form, do particular acts which may be contrary to our creed, we are in no way and in no sense responsible. Those who think like that have, I say in all humility, little sense of the tremendous responsibility that rests on their shoulders, and they have little sense also of the great status that belongs to the Congress. We either claim to represent the thirty crores of Hindustan or we do not. If we claim to represent them as I, a humble Congress worker do, and as I hope you also do, then it is our duty to consider ourselves responsible for anything that a single person in Hindustan may do, if he is born in Hindustan. It does not matter to me in the least whether that person is a responsible human being or whether he belongs to the C.I.D. Department. I hope you consider C. I. D. Indians also to be our kith and kin. Everyone we expect to convert to our creed, and use his services in the attainment of our goal."

"Not only that but the resolution stated and I hope you believe it, that such acts do great harm to the National cause.

"I do not wish to take up your time by drawing your attention to the various landmarks in the history of the Congress which would enable me to prove to your own satisfaction that each bomb outrage has cost India dear. You may say, if you wish, that the reforms that were obtained could not have been obtained without bomb outrages or without violence. Let me tell you, that every one of these reforms have cost far more than you would care to face. You have paid in millions in exchange for your toys.

"The Congress resolution also congratulates the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party including the poor servants. In my humble opinion, it is a natural corollary to what has been said in the previous part of the resolution. We lose nothing by showing common courtesy. Not only so, we would be guilty of not having understood the implications of our creed if we forget that those Englishmen, whether in authority or not in authority, who choose to remain in India are our charge, that we who profess this creed of non-violence should consider ourselves trustees for the safety of their lives. We have a tremendous military burden which is crushing the starving millions who are living in the seven hundred thousand villages in India. That burden is not due to the necessity of our Frontier. That is due, let me assure you to the fact, that thirty crores of people are held bond slaves by a few thousand Englishmen coming all the way from England. If we would get rid of this military burden at any stage, it would be the necessity of the case that we hold the life of those whom we may even consider our enemies as a sacred trust. That is the clearest possible implication, in my humble opinion, of the creed of non-violence in the political salvation of India. If you hold with me, it is not only not a matter of courtesy on your part to tender our congratulations to the Viceroy and Lady Irwin and their party, including their ser-

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vants, and tender congratulations if you will to ourselves also. I hope that you, after having listened to everything that might be said against this resolution, pass it unanimously and heartily." (Applause).

Dr. ANSARI seconded the resolution in Urdu. His first remark, that freedom was never won by such outrages, roused a protest from certain sections in the pardal, while little red flags were waved from one enclosure along with shouts of protest. This enclosure was occupied by students for two hundred of whom the Reception Committee had issued tickets. Dr. Ansari retorted : "Even those who are waving the red flag should remember that Communist people do not believe in individual violence, but believe in mass violence (applause). So, even the Communist creed does not permit such an outrage (some voices : no no). Let me emphasise that India's whole history and culture is against this cowardly outrages (applause). I hope you will not say one thing and do another. The world will trust you. On the other hand consider the resolution cooly, and adopt this righteous course" (applause).

Swami GOVINDANANDA opposing the resolution said that the creed of non-violence should not be forced on those who were not Congressmen and believed in different means to achieve the freedom of the country. The Congress should not therefore condemn those who did not believe in the Congress creed. It was very difficult to-day to say which party was serving the country better. The time for pronouncing any judgment would be when India was free. He further deplored that while the resolution condemned the outrage it did not say a word against the Government for having arrested several innocent young men at Lahore who had nothing to do with the outrage.

Dr. ALAM, opposing, appealed to the delegates not to vote out of regard for any personality. A new era was dawning and so they should see that their vote followed the dictates of conscience. It had been said that the non-violent method was the best. Indeed, if that was not to be so he himself would not have followed it for ten years. The question however was not whether the method of violence or non-violence was to be preferred. The later was indeed preferable, but that had nothing to do with the present resolution. The resolution was unimportant, improper and harmful, and hence needed rejection. Where was the need of repeating the declaration of belief in non-violence ? Was it due to their having lost faith in their belief in non-violence ? By such resolutions, the hands of the administration were strengthened, so that several innocent persons were harrassed. Again, did the administration at all express any grief at the death of Lalaji which had been medically declared to have been precipitated by the beating by the police officials. Indeed, the Government had not even agreed to hold any enquiry into the affair in spite of his efforts in the Council.

Mr. Abdur RAHAMAN, supporting the resolution, said that he honoured every one who worked for the cause of the country, yet, as the perpetrator of the outrage in question had gone against the Congress creed, it was the duty of the Congress to maintain its dignity by passing this resolution. He therefore supported the resolution. (Cries of "Sit down. Go back"). Concluding, the speaker said that if any one of those who made such cries and considered himself capable of leading the country in place of Gandhiji would come forward to lead them, then the speaker would oppose the resolution.

Mr. RAJA declared that the resolution was contrary to the anti-Imperialist outlook of the Congress. What mattered it to them whether the bomb hit the Viceroy or any other ?

Mr. Purushotamdas TANDON did not agree that the bomb thrower was a coward, for he played upon his life. The question was whether such brave acts were in the country's interest. He felt that the resolution was truthful, and also politically expedient.

Baba Gurdit SINGH of "Komagata Maru" fame felt that by this resolution they were deceiving Englishmen, and provoking young men to greater acts of violence. Even old men, he thought, did not dislike such outrages, but also did not like to see young men go to the gallows. He asked, if a man had a right to do Hijarat to another

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country, had he not the right to sacrifice himself in order not to live under conditions of slavery ? (applause). Moreover, so long as the Lawrence and Outram statues showed the sword by which they won India, young men would be provoked to draw the sword (cheers).

Mahatma GANDHI replying to the debate did not agree about the interpretation put on young men's mind. He came into touch with them by thousands either personally or by correspondence, but even if young men were of a different view, he must fight for the creed he believed in. "Indian National Congress cannot say one thing and act another", he observed.

Voting then proceeded and the task of judging which side had won by a show of hands was impossible owing to the almost balanced strength of both sides. Tellers were then appointed to undertake the counting.

4. Complete Independence

Introducing next the Independence resolution as adopted by the Subjects Committee, Mahatma Gandhi characterised it as the root of the future Congress work. The resolution declared complete Independence as the meaning of Swaraj for the purposes of the Congress creed and resolved on the complete boycott of the legislatures as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence.

In a short Hindi speech, Mahatma Gandhi explained the various parts of the resolution emphasising the Independence and boycott clauses. He reserved arguments till the reply to the debate. The following is the text of the resolution :—

"The Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders, including Congressmen, on the Viceregal pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards the settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened, and the result of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress therefore in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year declares that the word "Swaraj" in Article I of the Congress Constitution shall mean Complete Independence and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's report to have lapsed and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of Complete Independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed, this Congress resolves upon complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and committees constituted by the Government and calls upon the Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the Legislatures and Committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, wherever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary."

PANDIT MOTILAL'S APPEAL

Pandit Motilal NEHRU emphasised the importance of the resolution as one by which the present session of the Congress would be known. So far as his experience and observation told him he felt that if they changed even a word of the resolution as passed by the Subjects Committee, they would be failing in their duty to the Congress. If they wished to maintain the dignity of the Congress and stand by their undertaking, they would adopt the resolution in the given form. He divided the resolution into three parts, one dealing with the past happenings, the other with their duty at present and the third with their programme in future.

Reiterating the terms of the Calcutta resolution, Pandit Motilal described the circumstances under which, he said, the talk of the Congress participation in the

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Round Table Conference had broken down owing to the Congress representatives' terms for the same not being accepted by the Viceroy. The resolution meely asked them to endorse the Working Committee's action which had been entirely within the scope of the Calcutta resolution. The appreciation of the Viceroy's efforts was a mere act of human courtesy. Undoubtedly, by granting Dominion Status to India Britain stood to gain more than India, as the only other alternative for Britain was to wash her hands clean in India. As the talk of Dominion Status and Round Table Conference had ended the present resolution declared Independence as the goal as the only alternative left.

Dealing with the boycott of Councils, Pandit Motilal confessed that their attention had been diverted from their real goal by joining the Councils. Indeed the Government had entrapped most public workers in one Committee or other. And they had failed to achieve the object which they hoped to. Moreover, if they were declaring Independence as the creed, then going into the Councils would be entirely inconsistent with that creed. Those who insisted on the triple boycott he counselled to benefit by past experience and move forward step by step. Perhaps it might be said that 'because he had himself restarted the practice of the law, he desired to exempt the boycott of law-courts'. But he had no mind to take any further briefs. The third part of the resolution empowered the All-India Congress Committee to launch on further steps of the campaign which could all be taken in 1930 if the country wholeheartedly helped it forward. He exhorted the Congress to accept the resolution, without which there was no other course left for work for freedom.

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S AMENDMENT

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA moved an amendment for postponing the change in the creed till after an All-Parties' Conference in March or April next. He reiterated the arguments used in the Subjects Committee, and narrated the developments that led to the announcement of the Round Table Conference and held that the Government had shown a clear intention of fulfilling the national demand. He drew attention to the sympathy exhibited by the British Parliament on Mr. Brockway's motion. Then, again, both the Butler report and the Simon Commission had been put on the shelf. Pandit Malaviya advised them not to be hasty in taking a revolutionary step. He asked, could the Viceroy give any promise regarding Dominion Status at this stage? It was premature to say that they would not participate in the Round Table Conference. (Voice : Is there no time-limit ?)

MR. KELKAR'S AMENDMENT

Mr. N. C. KELKAR, in moving his amendment to delete the words in the resolution relating to the boycott of legislatures, said :—

"It is unfortunate that the flood-gates of the miserable controversy as to entry into Councils have been re-opened. No one need introduce any heat or feeling in this matter. I am a cool and collected man, but I am a man all the same with the firmest convictions. I think definitely that it is politically unwise to boycott the Councils. The resolution merely seeks to renew the exploded stunt, and I predict it is not going to get much support in the country. The situation in 1920 was quite different. Standing on this platform, Gandhiji spoke words in depreciation of Council work, and said that so far as work for independence was concerned, not one inch of ground was covered. In reply to that, I will say, measure the other peoples' work by the same foot-rule, and you will find they also have not covered one inch of ground. In this demand for boycott of the legislatures, there is nothing more than party vendetta, political unwisdom and mental perversity. Congressmen in the Councils have not given any cause for complaint. There may be quarrels here and there and lack of discipline, but such quarrels and lack of discipline are to be found in the other departments of the Congress as well. Congressmen in the Councils have carried on obstruction and assisted in the constructive programme That Congressmen outside the Councils devote their whole time and energy to the constructive programme is a fallacy. All along they had been showing a sneaking kind of partiality for Council work, and for receiving assistance from Council friends. They did interfere in elections and seized any public advantage that could be got from the Councils. Was

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this not against the discipline of the Congress? This sort of boycott, I say, is useless. After all, in this world there are workers and shirkers. Workers will always work, and shirkers will always shirk whether they go into Councils or stand outside. But the legislatures are the supreme power-house of the Government and if you want to organise against the Government and lead an attack on it, you must capture the legislatures. Take the simple example of a dacoity. When the dacoits want to enter a house and commit a loot, some of them enter into it and the others keep outside on watch, both serving a common purpose. Similarly, Congress work in the Councils and outside is co-related and linked for achieving freedom for the country. Follow the example of Ireland, and settle a programme which will suit the capacities of the people. I plead for an all-round understanding Let me do what I can. You do what you can, and and let us all work for the common cause of the Motherland."

Mr. Afzal HAQ also wanted the postponement of the decision till April and was surprised at the change of attitude of Pandit Motilal compared with the opinions held six years ago.

Mr. S. C. Bose's Counter-Proposition

Mr. S. C. BOSE next moved the counter resolution which he had placed before the Subjects Committee for a parallel Government. The following is the text of his resolution :—

"In pursuance of the resolution passed at the last session of the Congress held in Calcutta, this Congress now declares that 'Swaraj' in Congress creed means full independence implying thereby complete severance of British connection.

"In order to bring about the overthrow in India of British Imperialism and its Indian Allies and achieve complete independence, this Congress resolves on the one hand to carry on ceaseless campaign in favour of independence with a view to establishing parallel Government in India and on the other hand launch the campaign of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes and general strikes wherever and whenever possible.

"With a view to give effect to the above twofold programme, this Congress calls upon the people of the country to under-take at once the task of organising the youths, workers and the peasants and other oppressed sections of the Indian people.

"In order to ensure concentration on the above programme and in conformity with the new Congress creed, this Congress declares complete boycott of the central and provincial legislatures, committees appointed by the Government, local bodies including the institution like Port Trusts and law courts and calls upon the Congressmen to abstain from participation in future elections, upon the present members of the legislatures, committees and local bodies to resign their seats, and upon the lawyers to suspend their practice forthwith.

"This Congress further authorises the All-India Congress Committee to give effect to the above programme according to the circumstances prevailing in the country and to meet any situation that may arise while executing the above programme".

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in moving his resolution said : "Before I proceed to lay my case I take this opportunity of conveying my cordial and hearty thanks to Mahatma Gandhi for coming forward to move a resolution which declares Swaraj to mean complete Independence. But I move this amendment because I believe that the programme laid down in his resolution is not such as to carry us towards the goal of complete Independence. My amendment is consistent with the goal and in keeping with the spirit of the times. I have no doubt it will find favour with the younger generation in this country, if not now, at least in the next Congress.

"Mine is a programme of all-round boycott and I do not think it will be of any use to take up one item in the programme of boycott and leave out others. It will not be consistent with our creed of independence to go and practise in the law courts. It will not be consistent either to enter local bodies, some of which, like the Calcutta Corporation, require the oath of allegiance to be taken. There is another reason why you should give them all up. The task before us is so arduous and the responsibility on our shoulders is so great that we shall have to concentrate our

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whole time and energy on the programme of work. I should like to submit, at this stage, that if you are not prepared to go in for complete boycott, it will be no use for you to boycott the Councils only.

"After all, let us be consistent. Let us be for complete boycott or none at all. I am an extremist and my principle is—all or none. If I am to advocate a policy of the capture of public bodies I would like to capture every public body. If we are to boycott at all, why not boycott completely and concentrate our attention and energy on some other programme? Therefore, I would earnestly plead for the acceptance of my amendment, because I know public opinion in India to-day requires it.

"Now a word or two on Mahatmaji's resolution. In the preamble, you are asked to endorse the action of the Working Committee in subscribing to the Delhi manifesto. It is for you to consider whether on the 31st December 1929 you are prepared to endorse it. I am not prepared to advise any one to do it. Again, are you prepared to accept reference to the Round Table Conference? I would not call it a round table. It is certainly not round. I would call it square. A Round Table Conference is a conference between two belligerent parties, between plenipotentiaries representing opposite sides. I ask you whether the people in India are invited to send any of their representatives with full powers to negotiate with the representatives of the British Government Or, are we assured that the conclusions arrived at at this conference are to be ratified by both parties? Are we sure that the conclusions of the conference are not to go up for the reconsideration before the British Parliament? You know, when the treaty was drawn between Britain and South Africa the conclusions arrived at at the conference of both parties were regarded as sacred by both the parties. I know for a fact that in the case of the South African constitution drawn up at the conference, in spite of its grammatical errors, it had to be ratified by the British Government, and the British Parliament could not even correct those grammatical errors. That is what a round table conference means. What is the character of the conference that has been offered to India? The Simon Commission and its paraphernalia are to be there and the conclusions of the conference are to go before the Parliament. It is not merely the people of India that should send representatives to the conference but the European Chambers of Commerce and the Ruling Chiefs. Is there a fight between the British Government on the one hand and the European Chambers and Ruling Chiefs on the other? Is there any fight proceeding between Government and loyalists? I know of no such fight. When there are these bodies to send in their representatives to this conference, I say it is not a round table conference. But, unfortunately, people in this country insist on calling it so and Britishers are equally insistent in not calling it a round table conference. One argument more and I have done. The resolution refers to the constructive programme as a method whereby we have to achieve the political emancipation of India. I would like the House to consider whether the constructive programme, which the Congress has been pursuing for the last few years, is something which is sufficient to enable us to reach the goal of complete independence. No doubt there is a reference to civil disobedience in the resolution. But I submit that the civil disobedience will never come until we can organise the workers and peasants and depressed classes on their specific grievances. If my programme is adopted it shall be sufficiently effective to march on the road to Independence. I appeal to the supporters of the resolution to note the altered circumstances and feeling of the people, particularly the younger generation, and accept my motion." (Applause.)

DR. ALAM OBJECTS TO REFERENCE TO VICEROY.

Dr. Alam objected to the appreciative reference to the Viceroy because on the day they were handing down to posterity the Charter of Liberty the same resolution should not bear the trace of slavery. This amendment had been defeated in the Subjects Committee by only one vote. He hoped the Congress would reserve that vote.

OTHER AMENDMENTS.

Mr. H. O. Raja (Madras) moved an amendment that besides civil disobedience, the Congress should organise labour in order to bring about a general strike. Hardly had Mr. Raja begun his speech when he was greeted by shouts of "No, go back".

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The President intervened and silenced the audience.

Mr. Raja said that a dynamic programme with the help of Labour and the Peasantry was necessary to rid the country of slavery.

Mr. Madhavan Nair (Kerala) moved for the elimination of the boycott of the legislatures.

Mr. Govindachar (Andhra) moved for the boycott of law courts besides the legislatures, as it was dishonest and inconsistent to boycott only the legislatures.

MR. SATYAMURTI'S AMENDMENT.

Mr. Satyamurti moved an amendment to omit the words indicative of non-co-operation with the proposed Round Table Conference and the boycott of legislatures. He said :—

"I whole-heartedly subscribe to the ideal of independence. I believe no self-respecting nation can have any goal other than complete independence. But the history of the countries like Ireland, Egypt and South Africa, who fought for Independence, showed that they accepted Dominion Status as a compromise. The fourth sentence of the resolution is, however, most mischievous and I ask you to reject it. For it asks you to repeat history and the tragic mistake committed of a futile boycott of legislatures. I wish Desabandhu Das and Lalaji were here to fight this resolution for Council boycott.

"The reasons given for the boycott are wholly unconvincing. It is stated that this is a preliminary step towards organising a campaign of Independence. I emphatically say 'no' to it. You can fight elections and win them, God willing, on the issue of complete Independence. Is it nothing that you get sixty lakhs of voters to vote in favour of those who are for complete independence? I say that the fight for independence may be carried on both inside and outside the legislatures. I say again that the experience of countries like England. Egypt and South Africa must convince us that we lose considerably and gain nothing by the boycott of legislatures. We are told that the oath of allegiance cannot be taken by those who are pledged to Independence. May I ask how these estimable gentlemen agreed not to the boycott of law courts administering the law which the legislatures make? How can you take part in local bodies which are statutory creatures of legislatures in most of which you have to take oath of allegiance? Then it seems to me if you are not going to have a complete programme of immediate civil disobedience for achieving Independence, the boycott of legislatures is a great mistake.

"Another reason given is that the Congress policy should be as consistent as possible with the change of creed. I agree, but beginning with the boycott of legislatures is beginning at the wrong end. What about insurance companies and co-operative societies which are creatures of Government statutes and ought to depend on Government assistance? Gandhiji himself admitted that it is impossible to have complete non co-operation to-day. Therefore I say that Congressmen capturing the legislatures is perfectly consistent with the Congress declaration of Independence.

"You are told that the legislatures absorb too much of the time of the Congressmen. After all you want only about six to seven hundred men for about fifty days in the year in those bodies. Is the country so bankrupt in her resources as not to be able to give the necessary number of men to work inside the Councils and outside? Can anybody deny that President Patel has done something to take the nation along the path of Swaraj? Mahatmaji himself has spoken in praise of the work of the Swarajists, in the columns of 'Young India', in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. Experiences of countries which have won freedom recently convince me, and must convince you also, that you have to capture the strategic positions of power and give battle to those arrayed against you from every platform. I suggest that we ought to synthesise our national activity. We must act on the maxim that those who are not with us are against us and those who are not against us are with us. There is no immediate programme alternative to the boycott of legistatures. Those who have been asked to come out of the legislatures, what are they to do? It is impossible to accept the boycott with contingent civil disobedience and with no other programme before you. I suggest it is a most suicidal step".

MR. PRAKASAM'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Prakasam, speaking on his amendment to postpone the change of creed, boycott of legislatures and the starting of civil disobedience, said : "It is a matter

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of great thankfulness for the country that two great leaders have at last given the right lead to the country by refusing to send in any representative from the Congress to the so-called Round Table Conference. Sir John Simon, when he was here with his Commission, hinted that all those who did not give any evidence before him would be called for some conference there. That is the conference which is now developed by Mr. Wedgwood Benn. It is not the Round Table Conference at which our constitution would be settled but it is one to which the different warring elements would be invited. They would be made to quarrel and then they would say: "You are quarrelling here and therefore not fit for self-Government. The Englishmen are so clever and they put their case in such a way as to make the world believe that they have made a gesture to India and it is for India to respond. With that object Mr. Benn laboured hard and made a fallacious speech that India is already enjoying Dominion Status. That is how the trap was laid. The Congress leaders discovered it and declared that it would be an ignominy and humiliation to send any representatives across the waters to London on behalf of the Congress."

Having next pleaded for the postponement of the decision on the questions referred to by him till after the results of the Conference were known, Mr. Prakasam said that the boycott of the legislatures took his breath away. "I cannot understand," he proceeded to say, 'how Gandhiji has reconciled himself to put in the boycott of the legislatures when the boycott of courts is more important when you are having an Independence resolution. Independence means complete severance of the British connection. A lawyer goes to the court and swears loyalty. If we pass a resolution for the boycott of legislatures without the boycott of courts we will make ourselves ridiculous. This means independence on the one hand and loyalty on the other. Have complete boycott by all means, whether there is response or not. Response will come in due course. I have faith in the leaders and the followers. If you do not have all boycotts do not have any boycott at all. Lord Irwin was touring Southern India a couple of weeks back and all the time he was anxiously enquiring in his interviews with non-officials whether, if the Congress refused to attend the Round Table Conference, there would be any other strong party. I am an admirer of parties in the legislatures, but still in India where once it was not possible to have party Government it was left to the Congress to send candidates into the legislatures and declare to the world that they would make a party on the lines on which Pandit Motilal Nehru was able to do it."

MR. ANEY'S AMENDMENT

Mr. ANEY moved an amendment proposing the postponement of the question of change of creed to a special session of the Congress and permitting participation in the Round Table Conference, provided adequate representation on it was given to the Congress and the political prisoners were released and enjoining Congress representatives to place before the conference an approved scheme of Dominion Status. He argued that nothing had happened to show that the Indian leaders' terms would not be accepted. The presence in Gandhiji's resolution of the clause appreciating the Viceroy's efforts was itself a certificate of the change of heart. If that were granted, there was evidently cause to give more time for settlement of the matter.

MAULANA ZAFAR ALI'S AMENDMENT.

Maulana ZAFAR ALI moved an amendment which proposed to remove the preamble, and to set up arbitration courts to administer justice in the place of law courts, and asked the Congress definitely to take upon itself the duty of organising Labour and Peasants. He was developing his argument when the bell rang to which he replied: "When Pandit Malaviya lectured on slavery, he was given fifty minutes, but I who am teaching liberty get only five minutes." (Laughter). The Maulana succeeded in getting more time, and pleaded that the preamble be removed. He asked, what did this cry of Dominion Status mean ? England was hardly of the size of the Punjab. Therefore, it was for England to become a Dominion of India and not for India to work for becoming England's Dominion (cheers).

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MR. ABHYANKAR SUPPORTS DR. ALAM'S AMENDMENT

Mr ABHYANKAR supported Dr. Alam, and held that the reference to the Viceroy was a symptom of hypocrisy or cowardice. Could they appreciate the acts of a Viceroy whose Government was responsible for killing Lalaji or showering lathis on Pandit Jawaharlal at Lucknow ? (Cheers and cries of "shame, shame".) Mr. Abhyankar continued : "I wonder why Pandit Jawaharlal is sitting there dumb-founded to-day. (Laughter). Gandhiji has told you to pass this resolution as something which would be manly. My definition of a man is one who will give sweet words for a kind act, but kick for kick and blow for blow (loud cheers). I warn you against being deceived."

The President at this stage announced that Mr. Nariman and Mr Raja were not duly elected delegates, and could not take part in the voting.

MR. SEN GUPTA SUPPORTS GANDHI'S RESOLUTION

Mr. J. M. SEN GUPTA said that he would give Gandhiji's resolution whole-hearted support which perhaps no other speaker had done. He said : "This resolution goes as far as the Calcutta resolution expected us to go, and as far as the present political conditions warrant us to go. (Applause.) The main point is : Do you have in India to-day another commander who can lead the country to victory than Gandhi ? (Loud cheers). You have not. You know that to-day Gandhiji has come out of his seclusion to lead us again. He has given you his programme."

After referring to the Delhi manifesto, Mr. Sen Gupta said : "It was necessary for the Congress leaders before the Congress met to see whether this Viceroy's offer was a hoax or not. Most of us knew it was a hoax. Now that the Viceroy has given a clear answer we have a clear duty under the Calcutta resolution to declare Swaraj which means complete independence. As for the appreciation of the Viceroy's service, the feelings expressed by Dr. Alam are probably in my breast, but I am not going to quarrel with my commander whom the nation has selected for that little piece of appreciation of the Viceroy. (Cheers and applause). The Mahatma says that he found the Viceroy sincere in this matter, and that does not apply either to other past acts or to the future. As for the boycott of councils I stood for council work in 1923, but to-day the circumstances have changed. We must change means as circumstances change. We, in the Bengal Council, have been entirely successful in our Congress creed of obstruction ; but now boycott is necessary, when we are going to change our creed. As regards local bodies, the Subjects Committee omitted them from the boycott. For myself, I feel that so far as Bengal is concerned, it will be a good thing if there is a proper boycott of local bodies also." (Applause).

MR. JAMNADAS MEHTA SUPPORTS RESOLUTION

Mr. Jamnadas MEHTA supported the resolution of Gandhiji although it was good only in parts. He opined that the boycott of the legislatures was a great blunder because he feared some good legistation like Mr. Haji's Coastal Reservation Bill before the Assembly would not be passed and the Government would be enabled to impose a fresh burden of taxation on India. He asserted that not all the men on the dais of the Congress platform could jointly do as much work as President Patel had done in the Assembly. Indeed, barring the Congress platform, there was no better place in the country to carry on national propaganda.

GANDHIJI'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Closure was successfully applied and Mahatma GANDHI replied to the debate which lasted over seven hours. He first spoke in Hindi and later in English. He spoke with much warmth and feeling commending his resolution for the acceptance of the Congress session without change of even a comma. He said :

"This resolution has to be considered as a whole. Even if a part of the picture is destroyed, the whole of it is destroyed. To this picture, which I have presented to you, was given by the Working Committee all the skill that it is capable of in the framing of it and after a hot discussion it has come to you. It is for you either to reject it in toto or to accept it in toto but not to interfere with it or disturb it. The four words, "in the existing circumstances," have their definite place and if you want to show wisdom you ought really to understand and realise that some day or other,

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we shall have to meet in conference with even our enemies. Before that we want to be able to establish independence here. But in the existing circumstances it is enough protection for you and for the nation and enough hint to the whole world. It does presuppose that your representatives will not, dare not and cannot go into the conference where Dominion Status is a matter for consideration. They can only go to a conference where independence is the matter for consideration. Similarly, there is the appreciation of the efforts of the Viceroy in connection with the Swaraj settlement. Either you believe the testimony of your chosen representatives or you reject it. If you really believe that your representatives have told you the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, when they say that the Viceroy seemed to mean well, he was courteous throughout and he patiently went through the whole matter as if two friends had met, does it not behove you—it is not a matter of common courtesy merely but it is your bounden duty—to appreciate it ? If you do not believe then you must hound us out of the committee and out of the Congress pandal. You would have to say, 'we don't believe what you are saying under the influence of the Viceroy who, being an Englishman and representative of the Government, is incapable of being courteous and of meaning well." If that is your opinion you must certainly accept the amendment to delete the words Whereas if you accept our testimony that the Viceroy did mean well or seemed to us to mean well, then it is your duty to adopt the resolution. This is a matter of courtesy.

"It is not a sign of courage that a man should be afraid of saying what he feels. It is a sign of decided courage when a man shows even to an enemy that which he believes to be good. This is what we believe to be good and we have placed it before you. So far in connection with the amendment that has been so hotly debated. As a matter of fact, people who are pledged to the creed of non-violence and truth will always go out of the way to perform an act of delicate courtesy to think well of the enemy, to see hope where there seems to be utter darkness, because a man, truth-loving and non-violent, is always filled with hope, and also courage for decisive action. Therefore, pledged to a creed of this character, it is your bounden duty to accept this response in the general resolution and reject the amendment.

"Then there is the question of boycott of legislatures with reference to which I can only give you the testimony of those who went into the legislatures with high hopes and on the top of it all is Pandit Motilal Nehru. He speaks of the Assembly with bitter experience. He says it is no good for him now. He regrets having gone to it. He has discharged his duty, as even a critic admitted, in the noblest manner possible. He says : "My work I have done there. I shall not be able to carry on the battle of Swaraj even a step further by being there." That testimony is conclusive for me. I do not go in search of any other testimony and may it be conclusive for you also. I have no such personal experience to decide, but I have got that conviction now even greater than I had in 1919 and 1920. Friends ask why not add boycott of law courts and schools. It is certainly a consistent and logical proposition, but mankind is not always governed by logic and by consistency either. Sometimes mankind or a nation vindicates its weakness as also its strength by being frankly inconsistent. Wisdom lies in understanding our limitations and the Working and the Subects Committees have come to the conclusion that we may no longer go to the legislatures and we have to get strength enough to be outside the legislatures.

"There is one stock argument viz., we will keep our places vacant. It is not the idea of the resolution that the places should remain vacant. Imagine an opium den to which fifty thousand went, amongst whom we also counted ourselves. Shall we hesitate to empty that den because somebody else will go and occupy it ? I am quite certain that we will not. If we believe the legislatures are played out, it does not matter to us who are likely to occupy them. The relevant consideration is this : "Can we or can we not in terms of complete independence go to those legislatures and hasten progress towards Independence ?" If you feel that could be done by going to the legislatures, by all means go there. I won't speak now about oath-taking, though for a man like me it is a conclusive argument.

"As for boycott of law courts and schools I do not see the needed atmosphere. If there is no atmosphere, what is the use of putting a clause which is not going to be acted up by the very people to whom it is addressed ? Hence this

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reservation. There is next the question of civildisobedience. It is a thing for which I live and move. Civil disobedience I swear by, because I cannot possibly conceive India vindicating her freedom by criminal disobedience. Criminal disobedience means bomb violence, the sword and the rifle. I can only conceive of freedom and independence being achieved by and on behalf of the starving millions scattered over the length and breadth of India in seven hundred thousand villages exclusively by legitimate and special means Hence disobedience to be peaceful and effective has got to be always civil and always non-violent. If you want that civil disobedience in the very near future inside of a few months, you will have to transform yourselves. You will not then deceive yourselves and, unconsciously may it be, deceive the nation that bomb and non-violence can run parallel and side by side.

"If you believe in your creed of non-violence and civil disobedience that is wanted then you must observe stricter discipline and patch up quarrels. There should be no passion and running in against ourselves and no ugly demonstrations that we have seen in the Subjects Committee meeting during the past few days. We must be calm, cool, collected and brave. We must speak to the point and never obstruct. So if you really want civil disobedience in the near future, then it becomes necessary for you to conduct the proceedings of the Congress, the Subjects Committee and also yourselves in every walk of life in a manner behoving peaceful men, truthful men and above all nationalists pining for freedom who in season and out of season nay, every minute of the twenty-four hours of the day, are determined upon regaining their lost freedom in the quickest manner possible. If you get that passion for freedom, there is no room for irritation, for jealousy or quarrels and there is room for unity and brave, calm and collected action. Hence I ask you with all the strength I can possibly command to carry this resolution with acclamation, because it is the central resolution. Let it not be said in the world that divided counsels prevailed on the question of independence. Let it go forth to the world that we rose to a man to vindicate our freedom and pledged ourselves to attain that absolute freedom in the quickest manner possible. Therefore, I ask you to reject the motion of Mr. Subash Bose I know he is a great worker in Bengal. He was the General Officer Commanding of our force at Calcutta. But his proposition, though it is no doubt a good one, suggests parallel government. Do you think you can establish a parallel government when the Congress flag does not fly even in a thousand villages? It is not bravery or wisdom and you cannot establish freedom by merely passing resolutions. We are not declaring independence, mind you. In Madras, we declared independence as our goal. Here we go a step further and say it is not a distant goal, but it is our immediate objective towards which we are moving. Mr. Subash Bose however seeks to go a step further. I should like to follow him through and through and bring myself to believe that it is possible to-day to establish parallel government. That means complete declaration of independence. Have we got our organisations to which to go for adjusting our quarrels and have we national schools? No. What then are we going to do after declaring complete independence? Heaven alone knows. That is why the Working Committee did not suggest it and recommended just the longest possible step that we can take under the existing circumstances. A step further will land us in a pitfall. That is my certain conviction. I urge you therefore with all the strength I can command to accept the resolution without a change of a comma even, and to reject the amendments.

"I thank you all for the patient hearing. I don't know how long I spoke. I feel, I have taken long enough of your time, but wait yet awhile, whilst I live on this earth." (loud and continued cheers and cries of Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai).

All Amendments Rejected.

All the fourteen amendments were then put to the vote, and those of Pandit Malaviya and others were rejected summarily amidst shouts of Gandhi-ki-jai. Mr. Subash Bose's amendment received some support but the opposition was so overwhelming that a count was not demanded. The only division that took place was on Dr. Alam's amendment for deleting the appreciative reference to the Viceroy's efforts.

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The President declared the amendment defeated by 664 against 763 votes. Mahatma Gandhi's resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried with only a dozen voting against it, out of about 1,500 delegates subject to the result of Dr. Alam's motion. The pandal was then cleared of visitors and also of pressmen, and a poll was taken by tellers. Thus the Congress got through the main part of its programme, and held on this day one of its longest sittings which ran to ten hours.

The Congress dispersed exactly at midnight, when at one minute past 12, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced the result of the poll which ended in the victory of Mahatma and defeat of both the motions against the Viceroy. That relating to the bomb outrage was defeated by 897 to 816 votes, while the amendment objecting to the appreciative reference to the Viceroy in the Mahatma's resolution was rejected by 990 votes against 765. Thus both resolutions of Mahatma Gandhi were passed without any alteration. The announcement of the result coincided with the hour when the year's ultimatum given at Calcutta ended and Pt. Jawaharlal wished the Congressmen a happy new year and wished them all an Independent India.

THIRD DAY—1st JANUARY 1930

The Congress re-assembled on this day to conclude its session.

The pandal was again full and though the proceedings were not contentious, public interest in the session sustained itself.

After the national songs were sung, Pandit Jawaharlal put from the chair resolutions regarding East Africa, the refusal of passport to Mr. Saklatwala and others, and fixing February or March for the future sessions of the Congress. The latter resolution was subjected to considerable criticism by many delegates.

The opposition speakers emphasised that in February and March it was harvest time for the peasants and they would be placing a definite handicap in the way of their attending the Congress which was supposed to be working for the masses. Secondly, it was pointed out that there would be no railway concession in February or March like the Christmas concession, and volunteers could not be obtained from the student community in large numbers as they would be on the eve of the annual examination and fourthly, pleaders would be busy in the courts. On the other hand, Pandit Jawaharlal said that only four days ago over 1700 persons were suffering from illness due to cold. That was the information of the Chief Medical Officer in the Congress camp. Surely the number must have grown since then

The resolutions were carried. The following are the texts :—

5. East Africa.

"The Congress congratulates Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who went to East Africa at considerable inconvenience to herself, and also the Indians in East Africa on the clear national stand they took upon the Indian problem in that sub-continent. This Congress is of opinion that no solution of the question can satisfy the nation that accepts communal electorates and is based on a discriminate franchise or that imposes disqualification on Indians holding property".

6. Refusal of Passports.

"This Congress condemns the refusal of passports for return to India to Syt. Shapuriji J. Saklatvala, ex-M. P. and others who are living in England and other foreign countries".

7. Congress Dates.

"Inasmuch as the Congress is intended to be representative of the poor masses and inasmuch as the holding of the Congress at the end of December involves very considerable expense to the poor people in providing for extra clothing for themselves and is otherwise inconvenient to them, the date of holding Congress session is hereby altered to some date in February or March to be fixed by the Working Committee in consultation with the provincial committee of the province concerned.

"The Congress authorises the Working Committee to make all necessary consequential changes in the constitution".

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8. Financial Burdens and their Repudiation.

Pandit Jawaharlal also put from the chair the following resolution :—

"This Congress is of opinion that the financial burdens directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as a free India cannot bear and cannot be expected to bear. This Congress, while re-affirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1922, records its opinion for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be inherited by independent India will be strictly subject to investigation by an independent tribunal and every obligation and every concession, no matter how incurred or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such a tribunal to be just and justifiable."

Pandit Jawaharlal said that the repudiation included debts which England had incurred for the purpose of enslaving India and carrying on England's imperialistic designs. The resolution was carried.

9. Indian States.

The following resolution urging the Rulers of Indian States to confer responsible government was moved by Mr. Manilal Kothari :—

"In the opinion of this Congress the time has now arrived for the Ruling Princes of India to grant responsible government to their people and to enact laws or issue proclamations safeguarding the elementary and fundamental rights of the people such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom to hold public meetings and security of person and property."

Mr. Manilal Kothari said that at a time when they declared independence as the goal for British India, they could not omit to take note of the miserable position of the subjects of Indian States. Indian Princes considered their raj as personal property. There were States in which one could not take a typewriter or a cyclostyle machine. The Princes had spent one crore on the Butler Committee's work to establish direct relations with the Crown. The Congress was therefore right in taking up the case of the Indian States' subjects and demanding responsible government for them.

Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao was glad that the Congress had, for the first time, undertaken to deal adequately with the case of the Indian States' subjects who were under unblushing, undiluted autocracy.

Mr. Satyamurti wished the Congress had gone further. He said that no permanent or satisfactory solution of the political future could be arrived at without the active co-operation of the Indian States' subjects. The resolution declared that hereafter the people of British and Indian India were linked together, for better or for worse, to secure freedom. (Applause.) To their shame the Indian States' administration in many places was worse than that of British India. The claim of Maharajas to be spokesmen of their people was historically unsound, constitutionally incorrect and politically dangerous. A self-governing India would be much more friendly to the States than the present Political Department. The disputes regarding customs and others affected the Indian States' subjects as much as the Princes and there must therefore be the subjects' voice in having a fair and equitable settlement.

The resolution was passed.

10. Communal Settlement.

The Congress also passed without discussion, a resolution moved from the chair about communal settlement and giving assurances to the Sikhs. The following is the text :—

"In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general,

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had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of commual questions proposed in the the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities, that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

"AUTONOMY" FOR SUB-COMMITTEES

Pandit Jawaharlal announced that he had received an application from 115 delegates wishing that the two resolutions of the Working Committee rejected by the Subjects Committee be taken up in the Congress. These proposed the grant of autonomy to the Khaddar and other sub-committees and the reduction of the number of delegates to the Congress to one thousand. Although Gandhiji was the original author of both the resolutions, he advised them not to press them at this stage and they had decided accordingly not to press their application. The President expressed his gratefulness to them all (applause).

The President announced that Mr. Nariman who had been refused participation in voting at the Congress yesterday, had produced his papers, which showed that no blame attached to him although his election from the Burma Committee was irregular. As a matter of fact, Mr. Nariman could have participated because he had credentials from the American Branch to represent it at the Congress.

11. Election of Office-Bearers

The Congress elected Dr. Syed Mahmood (Bihar), and Mr. Sri Prakash (Benares) as secretaries, and re-appointed Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Shivaprasad Gupta as treasurers. It was resolved that the next session of the Congress would be held in Karachi.

MESSAGES FROM INDIANS IN AMERICA

Mr. Sri Prakash then announced the receipt of messages from the Hindustan Nationalist Society of San Francisco, approving of the declaration of independence and from the California Hindustan Association welcoming the independence resolution and pledging support.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

Pandit Jawaharlal, in his concluding address, reviewed the work of the session. He spoke in Hindi. In fact in this session the audience was most chary about allowing any one to speak in any other language except Hindi. The cry for Hindi had been so persistent that most of the speakers had to yield to it, even if they could not do full justice to their subject. The President said : "The declaration of independence as your creed has already resounded all over the world wherever Indians are living. Their head has risen, and they are full of hope, but remember to-day you have merely set your foot on the right path. The way to be traversed is full of difficulties, but it is a great thing that you have adopted the right course. This Congress has attracted attention all over the country. Some have liked and some disliked our decision. Some threaten to defy us. That would be a matter of pain, but the fact remains that the Congress has now taken a step which will enable you to differentiate between those who stand for mere reform and the present order, and those who stand for a radical change in our previous creed, a creed which enabled all sorts of men to remain in our ranks, and pull us in all directions, thereby delaying our onward progress. I am not worried by the statements that the Congress will, as a result of secession, lose the strength. If there is one lesson the world's history teaches us, it is that strength does not come of a sheeplike flock, but through a band of disciplined, organized men, pledged to actions."

Finally, Pandit Jawaharlal thanked the Reception Committee authorities for their excellent arrangements and paid a high compliment to the lady volunteers for their admirable work and courage, and also to the men-volunteers for their help. He particularly liked the work of lady volunteers as the country's greatness or misery depended on the strength or weakness of its women. He ended with the cry of "Bandemataram" which was repeated by the audience, the pandal resounding with it for two minutes.

The Congress then dispersed

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CONSTITUTION OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

As Amended At The Lahore Session, 1929

Article I

Object.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the atttainment of Swarajya (complete independence) by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Article II.

Sessions of the Congress.

(*a*) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the month of February or March to be fixed by the Working Committee in consultation with the Provincial Committee of the province concerned, at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(*b*) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided, in the latter case, due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two thirds of the members present. The All India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the Articles of the constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Article III.

Component parts of the Congress.

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following :— (*a*) The Indian National Congress, (*b*) The All India Congress Committee,(*c*) Provincial Congress Committees, (*d*) District Congress Committees, (*e*) Sub-Divisional, Taluq or Tahsil, Firka and other local Congress Committees, (*f*) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress or the All India Congress Committee in this behalf. (*Vide* Appendix A), (*g*) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

Note : Provincial, District, Taluq or Tahsil and other conferences may be organised by the above-named committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

Article IV.

Congress membership.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the rules of the Congress.

Article V.

Provincial Congress Committees.

The followlng shall be the provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the headquarters from time to time.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS

Province.	*Language.*	*Headquarter.*
1. Ajmer-Merwara and Rajputana	Hindustani	Ajmer
2. Andhra	Telugu	Bezwada
3. Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
4. Behar	Hindustani	Patna
5. Bengal and Surma Valley	Bengali	Calcutta
6. Berar	Marathi	Amraoti
7. Burma	Burmese	Rangoon
8. Central Provinces (Hindustani)	Hindustani	Jubbulpore
9. Central Provinces (Marathi)	Marathi	Nagpur
10. City of Bombay	Marathi and Gujrati	Bombay
11. Delhi	Hindustani	Delhi
12. Gujrat	Gujrati	Ahmedabad
13. Karnatak	Kannada	Dharwar
14. Kerala	Malayalam	Calicut
15. Maharashtra	Marathi	Poona
16. N. W. F. Province	Hindustani	Peshawar
17. Punjab	Punjabi	Lahore
18. Sind	Sindhi	Hyderabad
19. Tamil Nadu	Tamil	Madras
20. United Provinces	Hindustani	Benares
21. Utkal	Oriya	Cuttack

Provided that the All India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces, and a Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

Indian States

Article VI

(*a*) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing Article.

Provincial Organisation

(*b*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.

(*c*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(*d*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in the province to the All India Congress Committee not later than one month before the commencement of the annual session of the Congress.

Article VII

(*i*) Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of annas 4 per year in advance, or 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn of his or her own spinning, shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by a Provincial Congress Committee : Provided that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

Franchise

(*ii*) The yarn subscription mentioned in section (*i*) shall be sent direct by the spinner to the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association or to any person nominated by the Secretary in this behalf, and a certificate from the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association to the effect that he has received 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn of the holder's own spinning as his or her

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yearly subscription shall entitle the holder to the membership mentioned in section (*i*) hereof :—provided that for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the returns made by the All India Spinners' Association, the All India Congress Committee or any Provincial Congress Committee or any sub-committee thereunder shall have the right to inspect the accounts, the stock and the vouchers of the All India Spinners' Association or any subordinate organisation thereunder and provided further that in the event of any inaccuracy or errror discovered by the inspecting body in the accounts, stock or vouchers examined, the certificates issued by the All India Spinners' Association in respect of persons with reference to whose membership the accounts have been examined, shall be declared cancelled ; provided that the All India Spinners' Association or the person disqualified shall have the right of appeal to the Working Committee Any person wishing to spin for the membership of the Congress may, if he or she desires, be supplied upon due security with cotton for spinning.

(*iii*) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from April 1st to March 31st and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.*

Transitory Provision.

Congress members enrolled in 1930 shall continue to be members till March 31st, 1931.

(*iv*) *a.* No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever or to be elected as such or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with section (*i*) hereof and does not habitually wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

b. The Working Committee shall frame rules for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this section.

Article VIII

Electorates and delegates — Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one who had not enlisted himself as a Congress member on or before December 1st immediately preceding a particular session of the Congress shall be qualified for election as a delegate to that session.

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress. Besides these ex-officio delegates the number of delegates returnable by Provincial Congress Committees shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand, or its fraction, of the inhabitants of each province, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census of 1921.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the general secretaries of the Congress.

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* Note : Tbe following interpretation of this rule was given by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Sabarmati on February 13, 1930.

"Members shall be entitled to exer··e the rights of membership for one month after the close of the year. Their names will be kept on the rolls for an additional two months but they will not have the right to participate in Congress meetings unless they pay their subscription for the current year. If their subscription is not paid at the end of the third month of the new year their names will be struck off the membership rolls. They will be eligible however to join as new members at any time they pay their subscription."

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Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the office of the All India Congress Committee, an alphabetical list of the delegates so selected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the office not later than seven days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. In case, however, of interim vacanies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf. Such rules shall not be valid unless they have been previously confirmed by the Working Committee. No changes however shall be made in the delegates' list within seven days of the Congress.

Article IX

Provincial Subscriptions

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter at its first meeting after the Congress. In fixing the subscription the All India Congress Committee shall pay regard not merely to the population of the province but to its financial capacity.

Article X

Delegation Certificates

Each committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked Appendix B, and signed by a secretary of the committee.

Article XI

Delegate Fee

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of five rupees at the office of the All India Congress Committee in the Congress camp at the place where the Congress is held shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Article XII

Voting at Congress

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sitting or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Article XIII

Reception Committee

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV

The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session, to elect the president of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the Session of the Congress.

Article XVI

Election of the President

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of August suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of September, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names so suggested for

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their final recommendations ; provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of October to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the president of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the president recommended by the Provincial Committees, or an emergency arises by resignation, death or otherwise, of the president elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of November. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as president belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The president of a speical or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

Article XVII

(*a*) The All India Congress Committee shall pay to the Reception Committee within a fortnight after the termination of the Congress session one-fifth of the delegation fees.

(*b*) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over 50 p. c. thereof to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held, towards the provincial Congress fund of that province, and the remaining 50 p. c. to the All India Congress Committee.

Article XVIII

Audit

(*a*) The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the anditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress, to the All India Congress Committee.

(*b*) The accounts of the All India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent to this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

(*c*) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

Article XIX

All India Congress Committee

The All India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of ex-offico members. Every member of the All India Congress Committee, ex-officio or elected, shall pay an annual subscription of Rs 10, payable at or before the first meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All India Congress Committee or the Subjects Committee.

The ex-officio members shall be the elected president, past presidents of the Congress if they sign Article I of this constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the general secretaries and the treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in Appendix C.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Elections to the All India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

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Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All India Congress Committee.

Article XX

The secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI

Function of A. I. C. C.

The All India Congress Committee shall be the committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

Article XXII

The president of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee for the year following.

Article XXIII

Secretaries and Treasurers

The Indian National Congress shall have two general secretaries and two treasurers who shall be annually elected by the Congress.

There shall be a permanent fund of the Congress the interest on which shall be used for the ordinary work of the All India Congress Committee. The corpus of the fund shall not be spent.

The treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The general secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee and shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special session held in the course of the year, in co-operation with the Reception Committee. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale.

The general secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year ; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees and published along with the next Congress report.

There shall be one permanent paid secretary who shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee.

Article XXIV

Working Committee

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual session of the Congress, elect ten members who shall, with the president, general secretaries and treasurers be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters.

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All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

Article XXV

Subjects Committee

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the president-elect shall preside, and the outgoing secretaries shall preside, and the outgoing secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress session.

Article XXIX

Contentious subjects and interests of minorities

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the president thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX

Order of Business

At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows :—

(*a*) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(*b*) Any substantive motion not included in (*a*) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the constitution and which 25 delegates request the president in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress ; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

Article XXXI

Rule-making power

The All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXII

Election disputes panel

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of twelve members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants, and the president shall choose the third.

Article XXXIII

Languages for proceedings

The proceedings of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani ; the English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever necessary. The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

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The National Liberal Federation.

OPENING DAY—29 DECEMBER 1929.

The twelfth session of the National Liberal Federation commenced on the 29th December 1929 in the Gokhale Hall, Madras under the presidency of Sir Phiroze Sethna. About 200 delegates from all parts of India attended. Among those present were :—Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mrs. Besant, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir Moropont V. Joshi, Mr. J. N. Basu, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir A. P. Patro, Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, and Mr. Yakub Hassan.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates, after which Sir Phiroze Sethna was proposed to the chair by Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, seconded by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mrs. Besant and others.

The Welcome Address

Sir C. P. Ramaswami *AIYAR*, in the course of his speech welcoming the delegates, said :—

"It seems to be impossible now to predict when the Round Table Conference will be held. It would be very useful to hold it after the country has considered the present situation and given a mandate to the new legislative bodies. That the situation would be tremendously complicated by delay beyond 1930 is equally clear ; and there can be no two opinions as to the necessity of Lord Irwin being at the head of Indian affairs not only during the period of the Conference but when the resolutions of that Conference are sought to be implemented ; and I feel no hesitation in saying that the Liberal Party will demand that, in the interests of India and of England alike, the preliminary work at least of constitution-making should be finished during the normal or extended term of Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty.

"So long as our party stands inflexibly for the attainment of the fullest measure of autonomy for India in every sphere within the ambit of the British Commonwealth, and so long as the objects to be attained are pursued by methods of persuasion, of constitutional opposition and constitutional co-operation, we need have no fear either for the future of the country or of our party. The energies of every party and every patriot must, therefore, be applied and the largest amount of patience and mutual comprehension generated and utilised between now and the date of the Conference in London to bring men and groups together and to evolve the greatest common measure of unity, not only as to basic principles but in the larger details so that we may present to the British people and the Government not only a united front but the outlines of a generally agreed scheme which can be accepted and brought into operation like the schemes evolved in the Dominions.

"The revival of a procedure and programme similar to that adopted at the All-Parties Convention is a prime requisite.

"The Liberal Party whose members are meeting here in conference, let it be remembered and emphasised, is not a party either of inaction or acquiescence. It is, and has been, a party of progressivists who yield to no group of men in this country in their passionate desire to see that India fulfils her destiny in the amplest measure in every sphere, political, economic and social, and is given the opportunity to express her personality in all departments of life aud thought and make her specific contribution to the civilisation of the world. Our party is an All-India organisation which has striven to maintain and has adopted standards and policies neither sectarian nor provincial in character.

NEHRU REPORT

"The endeavour to enable India fully to express herself and the hope and thereby solving the communal problem and the problem of the depressed classes in the most comprehensive manner possible are really responsible for the introduction of the adult suffrage scheme in the Nehru Report. This provision was inserted in the Report not without a lively realisation of the immensity and the difficulty of the

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problem but because no other means could be devised for tackling the problem of minorities and speedily achieving the rehabilitation of the depressed classes. Almost equal in difficulty to the problem of minorities is what may be called the problem of the majorities For, in some quarters, it seems to be taken for granted that everything should be done which would make it impossible for the majority to have its way. I do not wish to embitter controversy but no democracy is possible unless accompanied by the belief that it is and must be majority rule. No doubt safeguards and expedients for protecting minorities in certain specific matters of vital importance for the existence of the minorities may be necessary ; and recent discussions have focussed attention on the claims of groups like the orthodox section of the Hindus and Mahomedans to something like self-determination. All this is, however, very different from making the majority powerless.

"Our party, in the interests of India and of England and of the Commonwealth, asks for the conferment of Dominion Status confident in the belief that only thus will India find herself and England realise their highest destiny.

"Our party is not among the pessimists and the prospects at the present moment are promising. In Lord Irwin the cause of Indian freedom has a high-souled and strenuous friend—one who has not hesitated, in the furtherance of his ideals, to take one of the greatest of political risks, the risk of antagonising political comrades. Amongst the members of British Cabinet and in the Labour Party we have some true friends of India, and in the Secretary of State, our interests have a fine and alert champion who has charged himself with the task of giving effect to an active and responsive policy.

"The world-spirit is with us in our endeavours and one cannot but feel confident that in spite of unrestricted criticism and unwise opposition, our cause is bound to triumph. Has it not been wisely observed that great political, economic and social forces flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half-conscious of that which is befalling them and that wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing and endeavour to shape institutions and to mould men's thought and purpose in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them ?

"It is impossible to conclude this address without a reference to the attempt to wreck Lord Irwin's train. Not only will the whole of India recoil from the deed with shame and horror but it is part of the duty of In lian and Englishman alike to get rid, by the exercise of wise and brave statesmanship, of the root causes of such happenings which are wholly uncharacteristic of Indian thought and civilisation."

The Presidential Address.

In the course of his presidential address Sir Phiroze *SETHNA* expressed entire disapproval of himself and his party of the resolutions adopted at the Madras and Calcutta sessions of the Indian National Congress in regard to the independence movement as a result of the appointment of the Simon Commission.

"We stand for Dominion Status. We hold that if Dominion Status is granted, without undue delay, there will be no political or ethical justification for India to seek to sever the British connection, nor can we support a general policy of non-payment of taxes, as in our judgment such a policy, like that of a general strike, cannot but plunge the country into all the evils and horrors of an open conflict with the Government, who in sheer self-defence and in discharge of its elementary duties of maintaining peace and order and of carrying on the King's Government will not hesitate to take, and will be quite justified in taking, every necessary measure for suppressing such general movement of civil disobedience."

He, however, added that it would not be proper either for them or for the Government to ignore, or belittle the significance of the movement of thought in this particular political organisation in India.

Sir Phiroze Sethna characterised Lord Birkenhead's Indian policy as a grievous failure in consequence of which relations between this country and Great Britain had been strained almost to a breaking point. India, he said, accepted the challenge in the shape of the Nehru constitution, the supreme merit of which was that it had rallied almost the whole of political India round the banner of Dominion Status, which it wanted to be unfurled without delay.

He reviewed the political situation before and after the British Parliamentary

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elections in May last, and referred to the momentous pronouncement of Lord Irwin, whom he described as one who belonged to the order of those illustrious statesmen who were rightly acclaimed as the true empire-builders.

In his opinion, the value or importance of this statement was in no way affected or lessened by what had been said by the Government in the course of the recent Parliamentary debates. India would commit a very grave blunder if she rejected the offer. Given sincerity, goodwill and a genuine desire to appreciate and adjust the different points of view it was not at all difficult to arrive in the proposed Round Table Conference at a solution of the constitutional problem such as might carry behind it the general agreement of political India. We should, therefore, accept the offer of the conference in the same spirit in which it had been made.

As regards the terms of reference, he presumed that they would be the widest and most liberal possible. He felt that if the question of the immediate establishment of full responsible Government, provincial or national, or of the immediate attainment of Dominion Status, was excluded from the purview of the conference, it was obvious that it could serve no good purpose and could not bring about such a satisfactory settlement of the constitutional problem as they all desired. In that case they would have to reject the offer of the Government and refuse to have anything to do with the conference.

Provided the terms of reference were satisfactory they should not insist on any condition being fulfilled as a pre-requisite to their co-operation with the Government. In this matter, the transcedent issue was a satisfactory settlement of the constitutional problem and its chances must not in the least be imperilled by a mistaken or unpractical idealism or sentimentalism, or by giving undue prominence to matters or questions that might well abide the conclusion of the conference.

As regards its constitution it was absolutely necessary, he said, for the success of the conference that it should consist of representatives of the right stamp and spirit. He suggested in this connection the inclusion among its membership, besides representatives of parties and interests, of one or two constitutional experts.

"The Government's proposal to convene the conference" he said, "is a very important development in the political situation of this country, and if we settle our differences and reach an agreement on all those questions which have divided us at present, it will be impossible for the British Government to flout the national will of India and we shall have practically settled our constitution according to our own views and wishes."

"We are all agreed" continued Sir Phiroze, "as regards our political goal, and it is to us a matter of sincere satisfaction that the British Government have made it absolutely clear that the goal is no other than and nothing short of Dominion Status which will give us every scope for rising to the fullest height of our national stature."

Dyarchy, he hoped, was doomed and Indian political opinion, according to him, was practically unanimous, or at all events was predominantly in favour of the introduction of full responsibility in the Central Legislature.

He expressed astonishment at the claim of the Moslem All Parties' conference, held under the presidency of the Aga Khan at Delhi, last year, that the Moslems had a right to communal representation by means of special electorates, and was of opinion that it would not be a system which would make India a true united and powerful nation. They all desired that it should not mar their political life and system a day longer than might be absolutely necessary.

He, however, strongly urged that another serious effort should be made to reach a solution of this question with the Moslem community in order that it might be acceptable to the British Parliament.

It was a matter of the utmost satisfaction that the Indian Princes and Chiefs had all heartily welcomed the proposal for the conference, and it was to be sincerely hoped that they would also declare that it was their intention to establish, in the fulness of time, responsible Government in their States.

In conclusion, Sir Phiroze once more condemned the Government's currency policy and claimed that although the numerical strength of the Liberal Party might not at present be very large, they were the leaven of the whole national life of India and their influence upon her development had always been wholesome and abiding.

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"We stand for Dominion status" he said, "with the firm conviction that England cannot withhold it from India even if she wishes and that England will not wish it even if she can. We aim at building up a strong, united, progressive India with a unity that nothing shall break, with a deep and abiding sense of nationality and solidarity which will synthesise all differences and in the fulness of time evolve a nation whose material and moral strength and whose achievements will further the highest aims of internationalism."

Referring to the attempt on the Viceroy's life, Sir Phiroze Sethna said : "We have nothing but utter abhorrence and condemnation of such insane acts of violence and terrorism. If the authors of such deeds believe that the goal of independence can be attained by such methods, which are as much morally and religiously reprehensible as they are insane, they are labouring under the greatest delusion and the sooner they emancipate their immature or ill-trained or ill-guided minds from this delusion the better will it be for themselves and for India."

SECOND DAY—30th DECEMBER 1929

On this day, before discussion proceeded on the resolutions, the Federation accepted the invitation of Mr. Jatindranath Basu to hold the next session of the National Liberal Federation in Calcutta. The following two resolutions were then moved fr om the chair and carried unanimously :—

1. Bomb Outrage on Viceroy.

"This Federation strongly condemns the dastardly attempt to wreck His Excellency the Viceroy's train and conveys to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin its congratulations on the providential escape of themselves and their party. The Federation places on record its abhorrence and detestation of the crime which is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Indian life and culture. The Federation authorises the President to convey this resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy by telegram."

2. Condolence.

"This Federation places on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the passing away of Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Mr. Justice Gokarannath Misra who were distinguished members of the Liberal Party."

3. The Round Table Conference

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru next moved the following resolution which was passed :-

"The National Liberal Federation of India cordially welcomes the announcement made on October 31, 1929 by His Excellency the Viceroy as it authoritatively confirms the view that Dominion Status for India was what was intended by the declaration of 1917, as it definitely recognises that British India and the Indian States should together form a greater united India and as it concedes India's claim to a right to confer on a footing of equality with the British Cabinet on the form of the future constitution of India.

"The Federation further resolves that the Liberal Party do participate in the deliberations of the Conference contemplated in the announcement This Federation strongly urges that the Round Table Conference should be held as early as possible in 1930 and that the progressive elements in the country should have preponderant representation".

Sir Tej Bahadur *Sapru* deemed it a triumph of public opinion that their demands for a Round Table Conference had materialised. They should all go into the Conference and voice the demand for Dominion Status with necessary safeguards. The speaker was of opinion that it was unthinkable, if there was agreement among Indians themselves, that their agreed demand should be rejected by any Government much less by the Labour Government. What the Liberal party in India to-day wanted was a constitution giving Dominion Status automatically, without periodical inquiries. It was the imperative duty of the Government to hold a Conference at the earliest possible moment and the speaker would be glad if it was called in May.

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4. Co-operation with other Parties urged

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri next moved in an eloquent speech, which was well received, the following resolution :—

"This Federation urges upon all parties of India which accept the recent announcement of the Viceroy whole-heartedly and are prepared to secure its complete immediate realisation to combine for the purpose of securing a constitution based on Dominion Status with such safeguards and reservations as may be necessary for the perion of transition."

Mr. Srinivasa *Sastri* moving the resolution said that there could be no doubt that they were confronted with a crisis almost unparalleled in the political history of India. Strong measures were necessary. They had to put forth all their efforts and exercise the utmost wi dom and circumspection with the utmost possible care so that no element or factor which could be called into alliance with them should either be neglected or be forgotten.

Proceeding, Mr. Sastri said : "Of all those whom the proceedings at Lahore will sadden, my mind dwells with somewhat pathetic interest upon two figures Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Lord Irwin. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy are not in their official capacity calculated to draw our commiseration but they, in their individual capacity, as politicians committed to a certain course of action and as statesmen trying at a critical hour to put the people of their country on the right track ; they are people of whom we may think awhile if we would gauge the situation in all its aspects. Lord Irwin risked a good deal when he got the members of the British Cabinet and the principal members of political parties to agree to the statement he made."

Sir Chimanlal *Setalvad*, seconding the resolution, said that the country was not yet sufficiently alive to the great service rendered by Lord Irwin to India. His broad statesmanship and great vision on the present occasion could not be overlooked. It was unfortunate that the Congress should have cut itself adrift by refusing to accept the Viceroy's invitation. The Congress and Mr. Gandhi had not realised the full implications of the policy embarked upon in declaring independence and civil disobedience. It passed his imagination how Mr. Gandhi, who had committed one Himalayan blunder, could think of committing another.

Dewan Bahadur *Rangachariar* asserted that the Government's offer was a concession to the national demand. The speaker was of opinion that the time had come for Liberals to deliberately part company with the Congress which to-day was leading the country to choas.

Sir Moropant *Joshi* said that independence might be a fascinating goal, but they, as practical men, thought it quite enough if they got Dominion Status, which was practical and legitimate It was because they took a practical view of matters that they were prepared to go to the Round Table Conference. They would be failing in their duty tremendously if they did not avail themselves of the present opportunity.

Mr. Jatindranath *Basu*, supporting the resolution, emphasised the value of membership of the British Commonwealth which, he said, was in reality a federation of independent nationalities. Negotiation, not non-co-operation, was the right course for the country at the present juncture. Mr. Bhagwatisaran Singh and others suported the resolution which was carried unanimously.

After Mrs. Besant and several others had spoken an appeal issued by the Federation, requesting other parties and organisations, having the ideal of Dominion Status, to devise means for common deliberation and appointing a committee with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman, for the purpose of taking initiative, was incorporated in the resolution which was carried unanimously.

The Federation's Statement

The President then read the following statement of the Liberal Party and announced that a committee had been constituted consisting of Dr. Sapru, (convenor and chairman of the committee), Dr. Besant, Sir C. Setalvad, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Sir M. V. Joshi, Messrs. C. Y. Chintamani M. Ramachandra Rao, G. A. Natesan and Sir P. Sethna to give effect to the resolution moved by the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri :—

"The march of events during the last two months and particularly during the

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last few days, makes it imperative that the Liberal Federation should make an appeal to those in the country who have hitherto pinned their faith to the achievement by India of Dominion Status as an integral member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The announcement made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 31st October last with the full consent and authority of His Majesty's Government evoked a remarkable feeling of response in the country and from the Indian Princes, which led us to believe that the solution of the difficulties with which we have been confronted was at last within sight. The debates that followed in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons unfortunately gave rise to a great deal of misunderstanding with regard to the meaning and effect of the purpose and scope of British policy adumbrated by His Excellency the Viceroy. Nevertheless, those of us who realize the political conditions surrounding the Labour Government in England were disposed and are still disposed to attach far greater significance and weight to the authoritative statements made by His Majesty's Government through the Secretary of State in England and the Viceroy in India than to their critics in Parliament or in the English Press.

"As we read the situation, the essential condition of success at the Round Table Conference is that there should be the maximum amount of agreement among ourselves in India. If we can secure such agreement, our representatives at the Round Table Conference will be able to press with every hope of success for complete Dominion Status being established, subject to such safeguards and reservations including the protection of the interests and rights of minorities as might be necessary in the present conditions of India for the period of transition. We have always been anxious that in order to produce a favourable atmosphere the Government in India should implement the new policy by action calculated to remove all causes of irritation and produce calm and good-will

"We must deplore that just at the moment when our attention should be fixed on matters affecting the future of this country an attempt should have been made to wreck the train of His Excellency the Viceroy who has during the last few months by identifying himself with the Indian cause earned our gratitude and admiration in a special measure. Outrages of this character wholly inconsistent as they are with the Indian outlook on life so far from helping our cause, are bound to create in the minds of our opponents, prejudice against us : but we sincerely hope and trust that the situation will be dealt with on its own merits uninfluenced by the deeds of those who take a perverted view of freedom and patriotism.

"We firmly believe that the only rallying cry which can unite Hindus, Mahammadans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, the Europeans, the propertied classes and the labouring and depressed, can be Dominion Status for India, not as a distant goal or ideal, but as an object capable of achievement within the shortest possible limit of time. In a constitution seeking to give India the status of a Dominion there will be no difficulty in making ample provision for the safeguarding of her security against internal trouble and foreign aggression during the period of transition. The mutual relations of British India and Indian States can also be satisfactorily defined and provision made for their future regulation consistently, on the one hand, with the Dominion Status now contemplated, and, on the other, with the autonomy of the Indian States. Those of us who believe in the peaceful evolution of India cannot but deplore that any section of the people of this country should raise the cry of independence and involve our future in turmoil and confusion. Believing as we do that the Labour Government or Lord Irwin are in real earnest in seeking an acceptable solution of the constitutional problem we should be guilty of utter short-sightedness and lack of statesmanship if we fail to seize the opportunity that has been extended to us. We realise that the task of those who believe in Dominion Status and who are prepared to work for it has become more difficult by reason of the attitude adopted by one leading political organisation in India and that their responsibility has become all the greater. But if all the other parties who believe in Dominion Status will join hands together in pressing India's claim, there is no reason why we should not achieve it. But this makes it necessary that the internal differences which divide one community from another should be composed in a just and generous manner. Believing as we do in principles of justice and equality and fairness to all parties and communities and interests, we make an earnest appeal to all those whose

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objective is Dominion Status to devise a means of common deliberation. If such an attempt is made and we proceed about our business in a spirit of give and take we are confident of a settlement amongst ourselves which will expedite and facilitate the work of the Round Table Conference in London. It is in that hope and belief that we issue this appeal. As a necessary preliminary we shall appoint a small committee of our own party with power to co-operate with representatives of other parties for the purpose of taking the necessary initiative."

THIRD DAY—31st DECEMBER 1929

The Federation re-assembling on this day, the following resolution was moved from the chair and carried unanimously. It ran as follows :—

5. Indian States and Reforms

"This Federation notes with gratification the acceptance by prominent Rulers of Indian States of the implications of the announcement of H. E the Viceroy and recognises that in any future constitution of India based upon Dominion Status, suitable guarantees should be provided for continuance of their rights and their obligations regarding the internal autonomy of Indian States.

"This Federation trusts that the Rulers of Indian States will themselves reorganise the system of administration in their respective states and level up the standards of administration in the States so as to approximate to the form of Government prevailing in British India."

6. The East African Question

Mr. S. G. Vaze then moved the following resolution which was carried :—

"This Federation views with grave alarm the recommendation in the report of Sir Samuel Wilson for an increase in the proportion of the representatives of the European community on the Legislative Council of Kenya to the serious detriment of the interests of the African natives as well as of the Indian community in that Colony and is strongly of opinion that no constitutional advance be sanctioned in any of the East African Colonies till the natives are able to take an effective share in the representation by means of election on a common franchise in common electorates. The Federation therefore supports the recommendation of the Hilton Young Commission in favour of a substitution of common for the existing separate electorates and calls upon the Imperial Government to start inquiries with a view to establishing a common roll in the interest not only of the Indian community but of the whole Colony."

Mr. *Vaze* first explained the present position of the East African problem and referred to the resolution passed by the Federation at its session in Bombay last year. He said that the apprehensions felt by them last year over the recommendations of the Hilton Young Report had been fully justified by the recent development in East Africa. The Imperial Government should adhere to the principle enunciated in their resolution. If the natives could not be represented in the Legislative Council, by their own members, it would only prove that the colony was not fit for further political advance. It was entirely wrong that native representation should be sought from a community, the European, whose interests were opposed to the interests of the natives. Further Sir Samuel Wilson's report virtually amounted to the total rejection of the Hilton Young Report. This was a grave affair. That was the real crux of the whole problem also. If Sir Leslie Wilson's recommendation was adopted, it would remove even the safeguards mentioned in the Hilton Young Commission. The interests of the Indians and the natives there were identical and the Indian problem was to a large extent only a part of the native problem. Hence he desired to emphasise the need for safeguarding interests of the natives. The protection of the Indian interest could be fully secured only by securing the protection of the native interests. He had no doubt that the Imperial Government would turn down Sir Samuel Wilson's recommendation. The Labour Government must also declare against the policy enunciated by Mr. Amery. There was no reason, however, why the introduction of a common electoral roll should be made contingent upon the consent of the Europeans, as proposed by the Hilton Young Commission.

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If the Labour Government was loyal to the principles it had proclaimed, they could have no doubt about its final decision It must be in favour of the establishment of common electorates and of the retention of the official majority. To the Indians the Labour Party had definitely promised in 1923, that on coming into power it would reverse the Imperial Government's decisions of that year, in so far as they went against them. Their resolution was therefore nothing more than an appeal to the party to honour the pledges it had solemnly made in the past.

Other Resolutions

Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan were by another resolution appointed as Joint Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation for 1930 and a resolution thanking Mr C. Y. Chintamani for his services to the Federation as Secretary was also passed on the motion of Sir M. V. Joshi.

7. The Labour Enquiry

The following resolutions were then moved from the chair and carried :—

"That this Federation invites the attention of the Government to the necessity of asking the Whitley Commission to expedite their work and to take effective action on it with a view to ameliorate the present situation."

8. Propaganda for Dominion Status

"That this Federation appoints the following Committee of eight members to collect materials and prepare the case for Dominion Status and to authorise the President to meet the necessary costs from the Party funds :— Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Sir Moropant Joshi, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Sankar Rao Chitnavis, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Convener).

After a concluding speech by the President the Federation dispersed.

The All India Suppressed Classes' Conference

"Freedom cannot be obtained by throwing bombs on innocent people, nor is the key of Indian Swaraj in the hands of the Viceroy or London", declared Mahatma Gandhi presiding over the All India Suppressed Classes' Conference in the Congress Pandal, Lahore on the *25th. December 1929.*

Thousands of delegates from the lowest strata of the Hindu society, sweepers, doms and cobblers from all over India made demonstrations in the Conference and sang to the tune of drums : "The sun has arisen, we will no longer remain down-trodden."

Mr. Purshotamlal Tandon, *Chairman of the Reception Committee,* declared that one of the fundamental items in the Congress programme was the care of the suppressed classes. But he emphasised that the sympathy of these organisations and work of the higher classes would not take them very far. "You must help yourself, keep your homes and person clear and see the respect which the higher society pays you at once. I know that this question of cleanly life is bound with the poverty also, but this poverty is due to the enslavement of the country due to which all classes high and low are suffering. Therefore, align yourself with the national movement for the freedom and do not be misled into the opposition path by the activities of the Christian Missionaries nor by the pretences of the Government. Beware of this game of political chess. Real Government sympathy for you was apparent when it opposed in the Assembly Lala Lajpat Rai's motion for a crore of rupees for your education and when in the Punjab Council the Finance Member said that the Government will give Police jobs only after the attitude of every community in India changed towards the suppressed classes. This is a false cover under which the Government took its sand. You to-day cannot get employment, cannot buy lands under the Land Alienation Act. On the other hand the Nehru Report gives you equal rights with every other citizen of India."

Mahatma *GANDHI* said that he had come to Lahore mostly to function behind the scenes but had gladly accepted the chair of this Conference. He said : "As Mr. Purshotam Lal Tandon has told you your regeneration can take place by your own

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efforts. By bombs we may kill innocent Englishmen, but we cannot get freedom by the bombs. I consider this act an act of impotence, of cowardice. Do you think that any power can check our liberty, our advancement and progress, if we mean to progress ? Take, for instance, some of your habits. You must give up eating dead bodies and meat, you must not eat the refuses from the tables of the higher caste, you must not spoil river or riverlet by dirty habits. Forcible entry into the temples is not satyagraha. Those temples where you are excluded from, because of your low birth, have no gods in them and those who enter them forcibly have no godliness within them. The Congress appointed a small committee last year which have done considerable work in having prompted the solution. For this temple question Vykom satyagraha should be your lesson. For myself, I maintain, that if we want Swaraj for the masses and not for a few we cannot attain it without the removal of untouchability, without Hindu-Muslim unity. The key of Swaraj is not in the hands of any Englishman or the Viceroy ; it does no lie in London, it is in your hands."

Mahatma Gandhi finally made an appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund and collected funds. After his address Mahatmaji left the meeting, leaving Seth Jamnalal Bajaj in the chair.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The Conference adopted resolutions declaring (1) firstly that the public institutions, public streets, public wells and public services should be open to all Indians without distinction of caste and creed. (2) Secondly the conference accords its wholehearted support to the Untouchability Bill tabled by Mr. Jayakar in the Assembly. Thirdly the conference congratulated the so-called untouchables on the firm resolve for their uplift and urged them to remove untouchability among their vaious sects.

The Conference then passed resolutions condemning the Land Alienation Act, requesting throwing open of all the temples and wells to untouchables and exhorting them to take their part in the fight of freedom.

While the Conference was on Mahatma Gandhi, in order to ascertain its composition, asked those who were untouchables to raise their hands. This showed that they constituted the majority. Later, he asked the higher classes to raise hands. This showed that the whole crowd was mixed.

The All India Political Sufferers' Conference

The All India Political Sufferers' Conference was held in Lajpatrai Nagar, Lahore on the *28th. December 1929.*

Lala Hanwant Sahai, in his *presidential address*, said that the Swadhin Bharat Sangh (Political Sufferers' Conference) was a body of political sufferers and prisoners, the objects whereof were to expose the bad treatment by the Government and of men working in the political field and to bring to the public notice the indifferent attitude of the Indian National Congress in respect of such persons.

He continued : "The activities of the Congress and other political leaders have always been confined to raising protests against the Government actions and obtaining the partial redress of some grievances. The recent Delhi Manifesto had clearly shown that the leaders have not been able to get rid of the slave mentality. To my mind it appears that the Round Table Conference will prove to be nothing more than a Governmental Enquiry Committee composed of men chosen directly or indirectly by the Government. There is a dark feature of the conference. It will give rise to certain problems relating to the States,which might retard the cause of national advance rather than help it. If they wanted to vindicate the honour of the Motherland, they should whole-heartedly strive to win Independence for India as opposed to Dominion Status by non-violent means."

The *second day's proceedings* began with national songs in chorus by the Amritsar National Scouts. Thereafter the first two resolutions paying respectful homage to the sacred memory of all martyrs who laid down their lives for the country's freedom and recording profound grief and pride at the martyrdom of Jatin Das and Revd. Wyzia were moved from the chair and passed all standing.

The third resolution proposing the celebration of 31st March every year as the All Martyrs' Day and appealing to the country to celebrate it with due solemnity was

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moved by Mr. Nalini Ranjan and was seconded by Mr. Chandrika Prasad and others. The speakers laid stress on the fact that the country easily forgot those martyrs who die for its cause and did not care for or come into lime-light and it was necessary that all true martyrs' memory may be kept green so as to inspire the coming generations. It was mentioned as an instance that Jatin Das was not the first martyr to lay down his life after the long hunger-strike for the sake of his conscience, but that he had been preceded in that line many years before by Mr. Kamkesha Bali who laid down his life in the Andamans after the hunger-strike of about 90 days.

Two important resolutions were moved by Prof. Jaichand in an elaborate speech. The first pointed out that all persons being tried or convicted under chapter IV of the I.P.C. Section 153-A I.P.C., Section 108 Cr. P. C. and in the cause of organising labour and peasantry were political prisoners and they were entitled to the treatment demanded in the manifesto by Mr. Govindananda and Sm. Parvati Devi. It further assured the political prisoners, who went on hunger-trike, its support.

The second resolution congratulated the hunger-strikers and expressed resentment meted out to them and calling upon the country to make it a live issue in the national movement.

The All India Hindusthani Sevadal Conference

The All India Hindusthani Seva Dal Conference met on the *27th December 1929* in the Lajpatrai Nagar, Lahore in a special pandal under the presidentship of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. Besides the members of the Dal and lady volunteers a number of distinguished persons were present.

Lala Dunichand of Lahore as the *Chairman of the Reception Committee* in calling upon the youngmen to join the Seva Dal in large numbers pointed out the defects of communal volunteers' organisations and the dangers of official scout movement which was "not only imperialistic and anti-national but also anti-labour" being used on occasions to break the strikes. From their very childhood, he said, the boys were taught to love the Union Jack. (cries of down with the Union Jack).

Previously the volunteers have been organised only sporadically for the Congress sessions but now they needed more trained and disciplined forces to enforce the Congress resolutions. If independence of the country is declared in the Lahore Congress they would require the Seva Dal for the national service. 'We are fighting for our liberty and liberty thrives on the sacrifice of the youth."

Replying to the "over-loyalist" friends' argument that the students' studies should not be interfered with Lala Dunichand said that those very men who asked other peoples' sons during war to leave studies and bother themselves as cannon-feeders and signallors, to-day asked them to leave the youth undisturbed. He exhorted the members of the Seva Dal, whom he called non-violent soldiers of the national army, to maintain discipline and act in a cool manner under any adverse circumstances. "Your function is not to dominate but to serve, not to inflict suffering but to bear."

Concluding, he said that they wanted a permanent force of one lakh having a corps in each district organised in to provincial corps.

The Chairman then explained his address in Hindustani and paid a tribute to the great sacrifice of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, whome he now requested to take the chair.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Mr. Iyengar regretted his inability to speak in Hindusthani and in a brief address he explained the purpose his address. He said :—

Volunteers, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"In calling upon me to preside at this All-India Conference of the Hindusthani Seva Dal I feel you have imposed upon me the duty of helping to guide for the year the activities of a movement which is fraught with great power to do good to the country. Its main feature, as I understand it, is the development of the physique, character and morale of the young men of India so that they may stand the strees and strain of sustained effort in any undertaking which requires high courage, disciplined endeavour and patient sacrifice. The mere development of the body is of no great value unless it is directed and inspired by a intelligent will and by a purpose to

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achieve something great and good. There are certain animals which have great strength and whose weight is overwhelming but their strength differs from human strength in being animated by low appetites and desires and no great or long-sighted aims. There is very little adjustment of means to a higher end in the exercise of their bodily strength. Hunger, revenge or at best self-defence, moves them but a man uses his strength not for the gratification of his appetites but in order to give scope for his mind and soul to work out his aims. Herein comes the need for self-discipline, self-control, self-determination and self-direction. If this is the case with regard to the individual, the need for such discipline is greater in a group of individuals acting together.

In modern days it is not the individual soldier that counts but well-drilled and disciplined bodies of men directed by officers who see things as a whole and know what is necessary for the achieving of success. We have known in history cases of small bodies of men well-drilled and wisely directed being able to overcome larger bodies loosely brought together and without a common will. Who knows that the present political degradation of India is not due to such lack of discipline and stamina among the people, of their incapacity to develop a plan of efficient linked leadership throughout India that is at once courageous and wise, strenuous and skilled. It is with the object of correcting our shortcomings that the Hindustani Seva Dal has been brought into existence. Its main object therefore is to develop the body and to make it obedient to the behests of an intelligent will and to organise the people of India in such a manner that by obedience to the will of recognised leaders to develop a common will and act as one man for a common purpose. What the purpose to be that is a question which remains to be answered and is answered by the name of this movement : "The Hindusthani Seva or the service of India". This expresses the key-note of our organisation. It is not enough for a number of persons especially young men to be brought together and organised. For what purpose are they so organised ? What is the animating force or motive behind the organisation ? Do the avowed activities of the organisation coincide fully with the inner motives which direct it ? These are questions which every young man should ask for himself before he joins a movement and which the leaders are bound to answer if they mean to be honest and straightforward with their followers. We make no secret of our purpose. It is blazoned in our very name : the Service of India.

Recently young men were asked by certain public men not to place themselves in the hands of political leaders and allow themselves to be led blind-folded to vague and undefined ideals. This much however could be said for the leaders of the national movement who are also the leaders of the Seva Dal that they make no secret of their aim and are not afraid to proclaim their goal which is nothing less than the winning of Freedom for their country. I wish that those who give us advice from the other side would be as open and as explicit in telling us what their aim is and what their motive is in warning us off the guidance of political leaders. When they are pressed for an answer they would say that their object is to make good citizens of us but what does good citizenship in India mean ? Does it mean contentment with the status of a subject people and obedience to an extraneous will. If not. their advice to the youth not to get mixed up in the Swaraj movement is without meaning.

The scouts may be more or less efficient and disciplined but the movement suffers from being more or less alien in its origin, spirit, and leadership, its ideals and methods are certainly not identical with those of the Hindustani Seva Dal. Though it has its uses and may in course of time be inspired by our ideals it can at present make no claim to be called a national organisation. The pledge of the national volunteer carries on its face its supreme national pursose and its subjection to national discipline. I cannot do better than repeat the pledge : "I, a national volunteer solemnly pledge to strive for the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. I shall endeavour to promote to the best of my ability peace and good-will among all classes and communities of India. I shall abide by the rules and regulations of the Hindustani Seva Dal of which I shall be a member and shall carry out the orders of my superior officers."

To Dr. N. S. Hardikar, for more than any one else, the origin and

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success of the movement are due and his unremitting and unostentatious efforts have attracted the increasing bands of young men in every province who are devoting their time and attention throughout the year to the movement. While the message of the Dal is going round, its nation-wide character and efficiency will depend upon the adequate response, material and spiritual, which every part of India, every section of the community, is able and determined to make.

Resolutions

The first resolution that was passed by the Conference urged the All-India Congress Committee to ask the provincial committees to organize provincial volunteer bands and make grant for their camping and training.

The second resolution wanted to appoint a committee to suggest changes in the course of training to suit women volunteers. The committee was to consist of Mrs. Umabai Kundapur, Mrs. Laxmipathi, Kumari Lajjavati, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhya. Dr. Hardikar to be the ex-officio member.

Another resolution wanted to set up a All-India Volunteer Board.

Finally Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar moved from the chair the resolution which was passed authorising them to change the constitution when necessary to enable their creed to correspond to that of the Congress, if the Congress were to make the proposed change in its creed.

The Naujavan Bharat Sabha Conference

Comrade Suhasini Nambiar presided over the All-India Naujavan Bharat Sabha Conference held at Lahore on the *26th December 1929.* About fifteen thousand youngmen assembled and the proceedings were punctuated by shouts like "Up With Revolution" and "Down With England." At the outset about five hundred rupees were collected for the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

The address of Mr. Ramkrishen, *Chairman of the Reception Committee,* who was at this time in Jail along with seven others arrested a few days ago, urged 'interalia' the organisation of Labour and Peasants which alone would establish real Swaraj for the masses. It condemned the compromising policy of Mahatma Gandhi, Pt Motilal Nehruand other leaders and declared that "a virulent fight for freedom and not the Viceregal Conferences could bring freedom." It declared that individual terrorism could not help the country. It strongly advocated complete independence as India's goal. Comrade Suhasini Nambiar in her *presidential address,* condemned the Congress programme and ridiculed the walk-in and walk-out of Councils. She said that leaders who were making petty bargains with the Government would soon lose their hold on the masses. Loud cries of shame rent the air when she said that Mahatma Gandhi had agreed to be satisfied with the mere promise of the Dominion Status. She condemned adversely the moves of the leaders to accept the Dominion Status. By Independence India meant the complete overthrow of Imperialism. She urged the youth of the country to wage war from first January 1930 to achieve Independence and condemned the repressive policy of the Government. In conclusion, the President referred to the hardships of labourers in industrial centres.

The Conference commenced its second day's sitting on the *27th December* with a collection for the Lahore Case defence fund, and adopted resolutions paying homage to Mr. Jatindas's memory, and congratulating Bhagat Singh and the members of the Sabha arrested a few days ago. Another resolution declared the country's goal to be the workers' and peasants' republic.

Further resolutions passed condemned the policy underlying the Meerut and Lahore trials, and urged the starting of an agitation for effecting the release of the Meerut undertrials. The Conference sent fraternal greetings to youth organisations all over the world. The Conference urged that work be taken on hand for the overthrow of Imperialism.

A resolution which condemned "Gandhi, Nehru and the like for their preparedness to make compromises with British capitalism" roused much opposition, and uproarious scenes were witnessed. An amendment removing references to the names was however better received. The Conference then dispersed.

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The All India Christian Conference.

The Rev. B. A. Nag, President of the All-India Christian Conference, which opened on the *30th December 1929* in the Forman Christian College Hall, Lahore in his address asked for a whole-hearted response to the appeal of the Viceroy. He said :—

If we mistrust the British Government, if we look with suspicion at everything they do, we must not be surprised if we are mistrusted in return. For mistrust begets mistrust, with the result that no political progress can be made, or, even when attempted, can thrive in an atmosphere of mistrust. It is said of our Lord and Master that He could not do many wonders because of mistrust. What was true spiritually is equally true politically. Trust begests trust. Let us learn to trust. How can we trust in the face of all the broken pledges ? says one. We all regret, that pledges have been broken, at least not sufficiently honoured or honoured at the right time. We do not know all the reasons which might have contributed to the breach of pledges but we cannot believe that a pledge solemnly given by a nation with Christian culture can be lightly broken. Even if the pledges have been broken, we will still call upon our countrymen to learn to trust, for trust is a mighty compelling force.

It has been truly felt by the Liberal politicians in India that Government is responsible by its blundering and hesitating policy for the creation of extremism and has contributed to its growth by the unceremonious rejection of any advice that might have been proffered by the Liberal organizations in India. If that is true, and I have no doubt that it is, it is equally true that our friends of that political section which delights in mistrust and suspicion are helping the die-hards in England to strengthen their propaganda against us. If England has given us at this juncture such a favourable gesture through our Viceroy and the Secretary of State, if the Labour party have shown their determination to be fair to the Indian demands, let us give a most cordial response to it.

The next great thing that is engaging the attention of India is the proposed Round Table Conference, a proposal which we whole-heartedly welcome. I have no sympathy with those who object to this Round Table Conference because it is to be called after the Simon Commission and the Central Committee have submitted their Reports, and these have been published and after His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the materials.

I am of opinion that the time appointed for the Conference is a most suitable one for at that time not only all the materials will be available to all the parties meeting in Conference but they will have plenty of time to scrutinise all the materials and to make effective suggestions for modification of the recommendations of the Statutory Commission. A great responsibility will rest upon those who will be invited to this Conference. They will be expected to put India's case as correctly, and as strongly and as unitedly as possible and to win over His Majesty's Government to the acceptance of the largest measure of India's demands.

What should be the principle of representation or invitation to this Conference ? Mr. Fenner Brockway has suggested that Indian representation at the Round Table Conference should be really reflective of Indian opinion. We all accept that. But if this encourages every community to demand to send its representative to the Conference, not only, in that case, will this conference be an unwieidy one, but we will have begun another new chapter in the political history of India on a communal basis which, I hope, we all dislike. What then is to be done.

I should suggest that the All Parties' Conference which was adjourned *sine die* last year should be convened as soon after the publication of the Simon Commission's recommendations as possible to generally consider them and to appoint an Executive Committee, representative of all sections of people, to scrutinise these recommenda-

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tions along with those of the Central Committee and the opinions, if any, expressed on them by his Majesty's Government and to frame India's National Demands. The All Parties Conference then should be called again. A special attempt should be made to make this Conference thoroughly and largely representative of all sections of people. The Conference should consider the demands as framed by its Executive Committee and I hope will be unanimous as to the National Demands to be presented to His Majesty's Government but if it fails to be unanimous I hope the minority will be sporting enough to accept loyally the decision of the majority.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

We have said over and over again that we are opposed to Communal Representation. How harmful it may be has been found in Madras where our community has been saddled with a communal electorate. It has thus prevented some of our best men there from standing for any election there. I am told that they had a good chance of success in election from a general non-Mahomedan electorate for they are so well-known for their public services but they could not be permitted to stand for election except for their own communal electorate and in the interest of nationalism they are conscientiously opposed to it. I trust we all realise how harmful communal electorates are to a minority community like ours. Such electorates make the majority communities absolutely independent of the minority communities, and often hostile to them. The majority communities can thus by sheer force of numbers override the wishes of the minority. In most of the Provinces our community has been granted statutory nominations. We do not want nomination for it proclaims us inferior to other communities in education, culture and influence and it is not all true. On the other hand, nomination has some virtue of which we have not availed ourselves. The correct ideal is to have general free electorates for all, and if adult franchise is granted no community will suffer.

In this matter I believe the Indian Christian Community, because of its education and culture, has a special responsibility resting on it. Are we prepared to say to His Majesty's Government that if communal representation is demanded in any form by other communities, we are still opposed to it and we do not want it ? If separate electorates are to be abolished, if the present communal tension is to be subdued, some minority community or communities must begin to show their practical opposition to communal representation. Will the Indian Christian Community, true to the spirit of its Master, be the first one in the field of practical opposition to communal representation ? I hope and pray that it may be so. This leads me to say that I have often regretted the holding of this All-India Conference for Indian Christians at the same time when the National Congress and the All-India Liberal Federation are held and in different cities from where they are held, though accidentally this year our Conference is being held in the same city where the National Congress has its Session.

Our community compares not unfavourably with other major communities in India in the matter of literacy but let us realise that our position compared to some of the other minor communities deserves serious reflection. For instance, while the Parsis have 789, the Jains have 514 and Budhists have 454 males literate per thousand, we have only 309. Hindus and Mahomedans have only 115 and 81 but that ought not to be soporific to our corporate conscience. In women's education though we occupy the second place we have only 180 per thousand literates amongst women in our community. But when we realise that in the last Census 75 per cent. of our community all over India returned themselves as illiterates, we have to seriously attack the problem. The reason for this large percentage of illiteracy may be partially, though not fully, explained by the fact of accretions to our community through mass movements, but whatever the reason may be we must be up and doing in removing this reproach to our community.

There is yet another point in the matter of education to which I would like to draw your attention. If the Indian Church is to be Indian in any sense we must have a strong Indian leadership. Where are the future Indian Christian leaders of India to-day ? The are in schools and colleges. They training for leadership ought to begin from there.

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Resolution.

The Conference re-assembled on the next day,the *31st December*, and passed a resolution *inter alia* advising the Indian nation to accept the invitation to the Round Table Conference, it being understood that this conference was to be called to frame a constitution for India on the basis of Dominion Status, opining that delegates to the Round Table Conference be selected in the All-Parties' Conference to be convened specially for the purpose and for the purpose of arriving at unanimity as far as possible between the various parties in India, expressing disapproval at the selection of delegates to the Round Table Conference on communal lines, but urging that all interests be represented in the delegation to the Conference.

The Sikh Conference

The Sikh Conference opened at Lahore on the *30th December 1929* under a huge shamiana outside the Fort. Over 30,000 Sikhs of all castes and creeds attended.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. Mar Singh, chairman of the reception committee, welcoming the delegates, said that it had been the misfortune of India to be attacked from the north by ambitious leaders of tribe and kings and she was not able to withstand their attacks until Guru Nanak Dev infused a military spirit in the Hindus. Then not only did the Sikhs cross the Attock river and the Khyber Pass as warriors but hoisted their flag in Tibet for the first time from the south. The Sikhs had made tremendous sacrifices during the great European War of freedom, Even now they were prepared to fight for the country and work with the Congress if the latter gave an undertaking that they would not help the establishment of a commual raj in the Punjab. The Sikhs wanted a Swaraj in which no community could dominate over another community. This could be done by granting 30 per cent representation in the administration to the Sikhs. If, however, the Sikhs' demands were ignored and a communal raj was established in the Punjab, Sikhs would fight it to the bitter end.

SARDAR KHARAK SINGH'S APPEAL

Sardar Kharak Singh, President, said that they had met on a very grave occassion, an occasion of deep importance for the future peace and prosperity of the country. He felt gratified that the Nehru Report had been discarded, and Gandhiji and other Congress leaders had agreed "that in the event of a communal solution being found necessary under any future constitution, no solution would be acceptable to the Congress which did not give full satisfaction to the Sikhs and other communities, and further that the Sikhs would have their special colour in the National Flag" That was a promise based on an undetermined future, and would only be honoured if the Sikhs had power behind their demand and were in a position to enforce the covenant.

Sardar Kharak Singh reiterated that the only reasonable ambition for the Sikhs was to work for complete national independence. The Sikhs' position was and had always been to have a non-communal national government.

Sardar Kharak Singh dwelt at length on the importance of his community, its interests extending throughout India and the world, the payment by it of 40 per cent of the entire land revenue and the canal charges in the Punjab, its supply of one-third of the man-power to the Indian Army and its sufferings for the national cause. Of the 31 sentenced to death in the cause of the national movement 27 were Sikhs, and of the 121 sentenced to long imprisonment 91 were Sikhs. "Under the circumstances, I think," continued Sardar Kharak Singh "I can on your behalf emphatically declare that we, as a community, are not prep red to be overshadowed and permit any community to establish in permanent power. The demand for self-government is vitiated by the communal representation which in the Punjab would establish the Muslim community in permanent power, and in some other provinces the Hindu majority. The problem of self-government can only

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be solved by the majority communities according to the minority communities a position of equality. Communal distinctions should entirely disappear, leaving behind a strong nation animated by a singleness of purpose to serve the commonweal Why do we ask for special consideration? Because we are ready to lay down our lives for the cause of freeeom. Why do we consider our claims legitimate? We are the only community ready to defend both Hindus and Muslims and wage a continuous conflict against all tyrannies. In the second place, we have to consider the serious matter of how to make our country independent and self-governing. To be self-governing, we must first organise ourselves into a nation, throw off all our communal differences, and become of one mind and one heart."

Resolutions.

Next day, the *31st December* the conference passed two resolutions and ended its deliberations.

The first resolution demanded that if communal representation was to continue, Sikhs should get thirty per cent representation in the Punjab and that their interests in other provinces should be well-protected.

The second resolution empowered Sardar Kharak Singh, President of the conference, to form a committee of not more than seven members and carry on negotiations with the Congress. If their negotiations proved fruitful the Sikhs should co-operate whole-heartedly with the Congress. If not, they should non-co-operate with the Congress.

Sardar Baghsingh, supporting the resolution, said that Sikhs were hoping for the day when their blood would be shed for the sake of the country. They would not however make any sacrifice merely to place another community in a position to dominate them. All Congress leaders had confessed that the Sikhs had not been fairly treated in the Punjab. So what they really wanted was their due share in the administration.

Sardar Kharak Singh, winding up the proceedings, said that they had no enmity with anybody. They merely wanted their reasonable share in the administration and hoped that an understanding would be arrived at with the Congress leaders.

The Hindu Sabha Conferences

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference

The fifth session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference was held at Dacca on the *27th August 1929* under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Kelkar. In the course of a well-thoughtout speech Mr. Kelkar said :—

"It has been the lot of the Hindu Sabha to have its aims and objects completely misrepresented and misunderstood all along, even by those who should have known it better. The annual sessions of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, as well as its provincial organizations, are remedying this evil to a certain extent. But it is more or less one-sided, as it is bound to be. And for this reason, I feel grateful for the unique opportunity that was recently afforded by the enquiry entrusted to the Bombay Riots Committee for the vindication of the aims, objects and activities of the Hindu Sabha. And I would like to take the earliest opportunity to pay my tribute of appreciation to my friend Mr. M. R. Jayakar, the president of the Bombay branch of the Hindu Sabha, for the splendid manner in which he vindicated that cause before that committee.

"He lucidly explained the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha. He put forward extracts from his own speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference in Bombay, which inaugurated the Hindu Sabha in that city so late as 1925. And he cited also parallel quotations from the speeches of other representative leaders of the Hindu Sabha movement, such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Moonje, Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee and others. He explained the real scope and purpose of the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements. In particular, he boldly

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complained of the highly blameworthy manner, in which conversions of Hindus are made by the agents of other proselytising religions.

"The conversions, he said, were objectionable, because many of them were done in secret. You could not find the actual number of these conversions only because they are secretly done. Sometimes deception is used, sometimes ill-treatment is practised, and sometimes also force is used in some form or another. The main point was that these conversions were, to put it most mildly, wrong conversions according to Hinduism, because unconnected with a change of belief. Mr. Jayakar was prepared to give authentic instances of kidnapping and decoying practised on Hindu women. He could give instances where marriages did not come about. But he also bitterly complained of the convenient dogma of Mohamedanism, that all crimes practised against Hindu women were cured by their conversion and subsequent marriage with them. It was difficult for any man to give an exhaustive list of such cases of conversion, but that could be indirectly evidenced to a certain extent by the gain which the Mohamedan community was having upon the Hindus, in point of the gradual growth of population.

"It was, however, not a question of numbers, for as Mr. Jayakar put it, 'The Hindus have a right to resent it if even a single Hindu is taken out of his religion, owing to causes which have nothing to do with a change of mind'. And as a preventive measure he supported the plea, put forward by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, that the law should provide that no conversion should be regarded as valid, unless made before an officer of the State, who would examine the case, look into the facts and issue certificates of registration, stating that conversion was voluntary in each case. In fact a resolution, in 1927, embodying a pact between Hindu and Muslim leaders, had actually adverted to such an expediency. Mr. Jayakar urged that this provision should also extend to conversions made by Christian missionaries and he contended that it was a primary duty of the State to give such protection to minors belonging to any community, as would prevent their conversion before they attain the age of majority and are able to judge for themselves. He could go as far as saying that stopping conversion was the one good sovereign remedy for restoring good friendly feelings between Hindus and other communities.

KIDNAPPING.

"Mr. Jayakar rightly pointed out that the Shuddhi movement, though it may now be more active than before, is not a new movement but a very old one. Also Hindus in olden times used to admit to the Hindu fold people who were not originally Hindus. All the difference between conversion *by* Hindus and conversion *of* Hindus, however, lies in the fact that in the former case conversion was always a voluntary one and a matter of actual change of faith, while in the latter case conversions were in most cases involuntary and brought about by force or fraud. And kidnapping was, of course, worse and stood on a more heinous ground altogether. Kidnapping may be a mere crime under the Penal Code, but it was a different matter when done in the name of religion. And Mr. Jayakar strongly resented the committee's suggestion that in this matter he should take merely a lawyer's view that kidnapping was an ordinary crime and would be dealt with under the law.

"Mr. Jayakar pointed out that while it was more than a crime, it was not dealt with under the law as promptly and vigorously as other crimes. And he clinched his point by asking the Committee, in return, to give him a single instance where a Mahomedan woman had been kidnapped by a Hindu in the name of religion. He cited Mr. Hasan Nizami's book as a typical case of Mahomedan propaganda of conversion and kidnapping, and complained that the author of a book like that, calculated to wound the feelings of Hindus, was not prosecuted. He defended the *Akhada* movement on the ground that every person was entitled to learn physical exercises and games, and he may be even taught the use of lathies or swordstick. There were clubs in England where sword play was taught. The point was whether the *Akhada* people were aggressive against anybody.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE.

"Mr. Jayakar next brought out the point about the want of sufficient police and Government protection to Hindus, in the exercise of their ordinary civic rights. One

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member of the committee did not fail to point out that the magistrate's duty was to prevent it by forbidding Hindu processions. But Mr. Jayakar pointed out in return that the powers under section 144 were likely to be used and often were used to the disadvantage of only one party viz., Hindus. Every case of the issue of a notification under this section was not necessarily a case of unexpected emergency. And in the recent case of Sangamner, the magistrate issued an order against the procession, even when there was no question of playing any music before the mosque. A magistrate could easily inquire and find out who were last in the enjoyment of established civil rights, and bind over the people who made trouble against the established rights, without invoking the aid of the civil court. The specific suggestion of Government showing partiality to the Mahomedan community was, of course, a political question and Mr. Jayakar did not go into it.

"The only guilt to which Mr. Jayakar pleaded guilty on behalf of Hindus was that they were not sufficiently active and did not show sufficient organizing capacity, specially in the case of opening orphanages and rescue homes, etc., for the Hindu community. As regards the Hindus going back upon the so-called Hindu Muslim pact, embodied in the Madras Congress resolution, Mr. Jayakar pointed out that the Hindu Sabha was not a party to it, and immediately after the Congress, Mahomedans themselves assembled in a Muslim League Conference at Calcutta, backed out from that pact, asMr. Jinnah and others were not a party to it. And lastly with regard to the one general remedy, to bring about harmony between Hindus and Mahomedans viz, liberal education, Mr. Jayakar complained that Govenment did not allot sufficient funds for the purpose ; and wound up giving his whole examination a proper nationalist or patriotic turn by saying, 'Let Government hand over the administration to us and we shall find the money.'

THE SANGATHAN MOVEMENT.

"The accomplishment of Sangathan requires that the leaders of the Hindu community, wi h the aid of the spiritual guides and preceptors, must turn the searchlight of rationalism within itself to find out the defects in the vital points of this creaking, squeaking machine of Hindu religious polity, argue with the orthodox leaders of Hinduism, persuasively win their sympathy to social reform and set up every individual within the society on his feet, man, woman and child, whether they belong to the so-called higher or the lower classes, and drill them into efficient units of the society. I have no time nor space to dilate upon the work that yet remains to be done in this direction ; and I will, therefore, content myself with making a passing mention of these in almost single sentence statements. The Benares Pandit and the Malabar Brahman must be taught that they are living in a new age, and must come out into the open field and full daylight, leaving their cells behind them. The Hindu Raja must be taught to be democratic and the rich man to be generous towards good social causes. The middle class Hindu must be taught to stand up for his human gift of reason and not be afraid of a fair and square argument with the old *Smirits* and their modern custodians. The present caste system must be so diluted or tempered as hardly to be felt for practical purposes. And there must be a bold open preaching in favour of the annihilation of the sub-divisions within the four castes. Natural selection in marriage must be given greater play in practice than the time-honoured but also time-worn rigid restrictions. Respectability and decency in sexual life must be strengthened by legal facilities for validation of irregular unions. The woman should be treated as entitled to nearly the same rights as man in respect of the right to inherit ancestral or self-acquired property. Education and civil responsibility should be as much the right of woman as of man himself. Special attention must be given to the physical training of women, and especially their training in the use of all ordinary weapons of self-defence and protection. Equal freedom of occupation and business pursuits must be declared for Hindus of any castes, in the economic struggle of life. Untouchability must go. The man's private residence may be his own castle, but as soon as he steps into the street or outside his door, he has no right to make any distinction of caste or creed as between man and man. The Brahman must be prepared to give the same

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freedom of religious opinion and practice to all others within the Hindu fold as he would claim for the Hindu as against men of other religions. The whole Hindu society must be enthused into one being, fused into one homogeneous mass by trying to evolve, as far as possible, common forms of public worship and public prayer, and the adoption of common books containing the elements of Hindu religious philosophy. And, above all, every unit in the Hindu society must be taught to stand up for his community and his religion. And while he must not make any aggressive encroachment upon the domain of any other religion or community, he must not shirk the responsibility of exercising the fullest rights of self-defence, to protect his community and his religion. The Hindu must be taught to acquire a broad outlook upon life, and the world conditions of even sheer existence. The knowledge of physical science must be put on the same exalted pedestal as the knowledge of *Adhyatma Vidya* and the Hindu must be studiously taught to appreciate the real worth of the spirit of adventure and sacrifice and public spirit which has won for the Englishman and the other Europeans their mastery over the material wealth of the world and even the psychology of the people brought under their subjugation. This is my view of the real *Sangathan* movement. And I challenge anyone to point out what is inimical or antagonistic in this to the other communities or religions in India or outside. To the end of it all is of course a far off cry, but a sure beginning would be made if we can successfully teach the Hindu simply to stand up and boldly proclaim that he is a Hindu, nothing more nothing less, without any qualifications or reservations, even when he is face to face with national politics.

The main positions of the communal Moslems, the nationalist Moslems, the National Congress and the nationalist Hindu Mahasabha are even to-day pretty much the same, as I stated and analysed them in my Jubbulpore address. Subsequent activities by these different organisations have served only to clinch the contested points, to consolidate sectional public opinion on them, and to confine these bodies, as it were, to entrenched positions. The discussions of the last two years have given no new clue for solution. They have not thrown any new light on the position, and insistent repetition of the same things over and over again had the natural effect of digging the psychological groove deeper and deeper. And one really wonders whether there is now anybody in India, who can be successfully invoked to intervene and suggest a solution which may be acceptable to all the parties concerned. Mrs. Naidu with her usual partriotic impulses, has taken up the threads of mediation. But I do not think anything can come out of it. For in the first place, rightly or wrongly, she is believed to have herself rather pro-Moslem than pro-Hindu tendencies. A Hindu with pro-Moslem tendency is, of course, a fine asset for Mohamedans, but to that extent, there is a discount put upon his or her capacity and efficiency as a peace-maker. Nor does the invocation of Mahatma Gandhi carry the matter any further in the direction. For in his plentitude of generosity, he has more than once asked Hindus to concede everything that the Muslims demand, in the interest, of course, of peace and harmony. We have therefore reached a position of stalemate.

And this is the result of opening up of the Lucknow Pact of 1916 ! No one can say that the entire Muslim community had accepted the Lucknow Pact. I wonder if the Muslim League had ever heartily pronounced in favour of it. On the other hand the Sanatani Hindus also kept themselves aloof from the Pact. But it could be said with truth, of the Pact, that the bulk of the nationalist Hindus and the nationalist Mahomedans had expressed their approval of it. And to-day after opening the Pact we find that there is less unity of opinion even among nationalists of both sides than there was 10 years ago. The appetite of our Muslim brethren for separate and excessive representation has been sharpened by what it has been fed on for the last 10 years. It is easy to blame Lokmanya Tilak and the other authors of the Lucknow Pact, but it is not so easy to produce another pact that will take its place and improve the position. And this trouble is due to the fascination, or I may say, infatuation for *joint electorates*.

Well, now who can deny the advantages of joint electorates from the nationalist and the constitutional point of view? But it is also easy to exaggerate their importance. And I, for one, even at this stage of the controversy, am prepared to go back and concede to the Mahomedans the separate electorates and the terms

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the old Lucknow Pact, rather than purchase joint electorates by paying the exces-
'e price that Muslims are now demanding. But I shall never agree to 'the heads
win and tails you lose' policy, that seems to be now pursued by the Mahomedan
mmunity. I firmly believe that that policy is calculated to worsen the communal
osition much more than it could be done by the existence of merely communal
ectorates, The maintenance of present majorities and communal advantages in
.eir entirety, creation of new provinces with a communal intent and outlook and
: the same time a veto upon redistribution of provinces in such a way as to reduce
ıe present Muslim majorities, even though required for administrative convenience or
fficiency, the insistence upon a fully proportionable share in services without regard
or efficiency of administration, the insistence on residuary powers being given to
rovinces, the reservation of one-third seats in the Legislative Assembly for Muslims,
ll these to my mind have a purpose less innocent than the removal of the stigma
f communal electorates and to set up a political India on a really notionalist basis.
And I think, the Hindu Maha sabha should therefore, firmly stick to its resolution
passed at Delhi, Jubbulpore and Surat. That resolution is not communal either
n word or intention. Further I do not consider it to be a disgrace to be called
:ommunal, if it is communal to use one's intellect to analyse objective positions,
.o guess the intentions and fathom the motives of a rival community, and to be wide
awake, alert and assertive in opposition to what one honestly thinks to be harmful
to the interests of one's own community.

Proceedings & Resolutions

The Conference re-assembled on the next day, the *28th August*, in the morning. After passing a condolence resolution the conference passed the following resolutions:—

(2) This Conference declares that the Sangathan movement is an indispensable necessity for the reorganisation and revitalising of the Hindu Society, for the attainment of National Freedom as well as for inter-communal unity and the Conference calls upon the Hindu community of Bengal to establish a net work of Hindu Sabhas throughout the province towards the success of the Sangathan movement.

(3) This Conference is of opinion that the Hindus have been exercising the right of conversion from time immemorial and have every right to exercise it at the present time, that preaching and missionary work should be undertaken on an organised scale for carrying the message of Hinduism to the non-Hindus who have faith in Hindu religion and who should be converted and taught the Shastras.

(4) This Conference is of opinion that widow-remarriage is in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu Shastras, and that it should be fostered amongst the Hindus in the interest of the natural growth of Hindu Society.

(5) This Conference of the Hindus of Bengal considers that in some parts of the province the right to lead processions with music along public roads has been gravely hampered and therefore this Conference urges upon the Hindus to assert their right everywhere.

Abduction of Women

The Conference at this stage adjourned but re-assembled at 5 in the afternoon when the following resolutions about abduction and offences against Hindu women, complete social equality of all castes and others were passed with some discussion :—

(1) Whereas cases of abduction and offences against them are increasing at an alarming rate throughout the Province, specially in North and East Bengal and whereas these offences are mostly being committed by organised gangs and of set purpose, and whereas chastity of woman is the most sacred virtue of a woman and whereas the Government have signally failed to check a class of offences that is very loathsome in the eyes of society and whereas the failure has created an extraordinary situation of extreme insecurity about life and honour in many parts of the Province this Conference resolves :—

(a) That every Hindu should consider it to be his first and foremost duty to preserve the honour of hearth and home by all possible means ;

(b) That he should be prepared for every sacrifice for upholding the honour of women.

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(c) That Hindu women be advised to be ready to defend themselves and that steps be taken to train them in the use of proper weapons.

(d) That the Government be warned against the folly of persistent indifference to this dangerous states of things and that it be called upon to take immediately such special precautionary and punitive measures as would lead not only to the detection and conviction of the existing miscreants and their abettors and instigators, but also to the permanent eradication of the evil.

That the Government be requested to appoint a Committee of Enquiry consisting of five representatives from the Hindu Sabha, two from the Women's Protection League and five other members to be nominated by the Government from Members of the Legislative Council, to enquire into the causes of abduction and to suggest remedies for its eradication.

(2) The Conference of the Hindus of Bengal urges upon the Hindu Members of the Legislative Council to draft a Bill providing for more deterrent punishment for abduction, enticement, rape and other offences against the honour and modesty of women. It urges also that whipping should be made a compulsory part of the punishment in cases of rape, indecent assaults and similar offences.

(3) This Conference recognises the complete social equality of all castes and emphatically declares that there is no inherent superiority of one caste over the other.

(4) This Conference declares that women have equal social, religious and political rights with the men and is of opinion that the abolition of the Purdah system and complete emancipation of women is essential as it is the first step towards the formation of a strong and virile Hindu Community.

The Sarda Bill

Then the resolution on Sarda Bill which had been accepted by an overwhelming majority in the Subjects Committee was taken up. The resolution wanted to fix the minimum age limit for the marriage of boys and girls at 18 and 14 years respectively and was moved by Mr. Satyendra Chandra Majumdar. When put to vote the resolution was declared lost by a majority.

The Nehru Report

The next resolution moved by Mr. Srishchandra Chatterjee and passed after some discussion was about the Nehru Report. The following is the text :—

(1) "This Conference puts on record its determination that in case the Nehru Report is re-opened for amendment for conceding any further communal demands to the Moslems, the Hindu Mahasabha will revert to its original position of uncompromising nationalism and will stoutly oppose the introduction of communalism in any shape or form in the future constitution of India.

(2) (a) That this Conference asserts that no one except the Hindu Mahasabha has a right to speak in the name of the Hindu community of India on the question of Hindu settlement and other questions allied to it and ;

(b) That any settlement that may be arrived at without the consent of the Hindu Mahasabha will not be acceptable to the Hindus.

Dr. Moonji supported the resolution. Speaking at length explaining the Nehru Report, especially in connection with joint electorate, Hindu-Moslem question and separation of Sind he strongly objected to patch-up unity between the two communities by granting concessions after concessions. He was afraid that the policy of granting concessions was defective in itself and would never satisfy the communities. He therefore emphasised the necessity of following one principle in all constitutional matters without having regard to any demands by any communities, either in majority or in minority.

All Hindus to be Brahmins

The last resolution of the Conference was moved by Mr. Narendra Narain Chakravarty declaring all Bengal Hindus as Brahmins. It was defeated in the Subjects Committee by an overwhelming majority, but at the requisition of 25 members the President allowed the resolution to be moved in the open conference. In moving the resolution Mr. Chakravarti said that if Hindus wanted to be united into one big race, they must sink all differences of castes and the resolution exhorted Bengali Hindus to do that. Eventually, after a good deal of heated discussion, the resolution was carried amidst deafening cheers with only about 10 dissenting. The Conference then terminated.

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The Andhra Hindu Sabha Conference

The following are extracts from the address delivered by Dr. B. S. Moonje, as President of the Andhra Hindu Sabha Conference which held its session at Bezwada on the *7th November 1929* :—

Differences in religion or religious sects do not lead to the grouping of people or of a nation elsewhere into so many communities different and separate from one another. Then why in India alone should any countenance be given to those who preach that because a group of Hindus profess Islam or Christianity, they are separate in essence from the Hindus of Hindusthan ? The Hindu Mahasabha always warns people of different religious communities to beware of such malevolent preachings. The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, thinks it to be its first and foremost duty to expose these false and mischievous cults of separatism, so that the people of India may be wielded into one solid nation of the Hindus of Hindusthan.

The second point that the Hindu Mahasabha has been and is emphasising is that all attempts at creating vested interests based on differences of religion in the public administration of the country should be mercilessly nipped in the bud. When matters concerning what may be called personal laws and form of religious worship have been amply provided for, as has been done in the Nehru Report, the Hindu Mahasabha fails to understand what special interest there could be requiring protection regarding different communities in the public administration of the country. The Hindu Mahasabha refuses to recognise any difference and sets its face against all attempts initiated or directed for placating or removing such supposed differences of vested interests. In the public administration of the country there is only one vested interest and that is the national interest, and all those who prefer to call themselves as Hindus of Hindusthan or to speak in a foreign language as Indians of India, there can be no such differences. It is from the purely and essentially nationalistic point of view that the Hindu Mahasabha has always opposed the so-called Moslem demands even at the risk of being accused prolonging Hindu Moslem differences. My personal view too has been entirely in consonance with the policy of Hindu Mahasabha.

Moslem Demands

It is in the spirit of nationalism that the Hindu Mahasabha has dealt with the communal demands of the Moslems. The main contention of the Moslems is that the Hindus being in majority in India will exercise their tyranny of majority over the Moslem minority. It is easy to make an allegation but it is not so very easy to prove it.

The Moslem demands for the protection of their minority interests have been shaped into the 14 points as follows :—

(1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces ; (2) uniform measures of autonomy should be granted to all provinces ; (3) all legislatures of the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality ; (4) in the Central Legislature the Mussalman representation should be less than one-third ; (5) any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N. W. F. Provinces ; (6) full religious liberty, that is, liberty of of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities ; (7) no bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of Hindu or Muslim communities in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of the communities ; (8) Sindh should be separated from Bombay presidency ;(9) Reforms should be introducted in the N. W. F. Provinces and Beluchisthan on the same footing as in the other Provinces; (10) provisions should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the state and in the self-governing bodies having regard to the requirements of sufficiency ; (11) the constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal laws and for the

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protection and promotion of Muslim education, language and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by self-governing bodies ; (12) no cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one-third ; (13) no change be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian Federation ; (14) that in the present circumstances the representation of Mussalmans in the different legislatures of the country and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable, and further the Government being pledged not to deprive the Mussalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent and so long as the Mussalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are not adequately safeguarded in the manner specified above, they will not consent to joint electorates with or without conditions.

THE DEMANDS SCRUTINISED

On scrutinising these demands one cannot understand how if these demands were conceded their interests will thereby be protected in consonance with what should be the aim of all of us for evolving India into a nation, unless the idea be to divide the whole of India into Hindu and Moslem India and to keep Hindus and the Mussalmans in every province, district and town perpetually in a state of armed neutrality ever ready to jump at each other s throat.

The very first demand coupled with the second for the vesting of the residuary powers in completely autonomous provincial Governments cuts at the very root of the conception of evolving India into a nation If this demand were conceded, India would be reduced to the helpless state of so many provinces regarding themselves as so many practically independent nations running at each other's throat on the flimsiest of excuses. Any intrepid and intriguing invader will be able to instigate one province against another by playing upon their mutual jealousies and diversities of interests created by the feeling of separateness directly resulting from the concession of these demands.

Demand No. 3 seems to have been based on the assumption that the Hindus will not mind, proverbially patient as they are, if the candle of their patience is made to burn at both ends. The Moslems in provinces where they happen to be in minority would not scruple to cut out a piece from the Hindu representation on the excuse of providing for their adequate and effective representation, but are not prepared to make the same concessions in provinces where they happen to be in majority for the protection of another community, i. e. of the Sikhs in the Punjab which is comparatively the smallest of the minority communities. The Moslems, in short, do not believe in the altruistic principle of doing unto others as you would others do unto you.

The demand No. 4 is very peculiar. The Muslims think that they cannot have adequate and effective protection unless one-third of the seats are reserved for them in the central legislature. One fails to see how a minority of 1/3rd can protect itself against the onslaughts, if one were to speak in the language of the present Moslem mentality of the 2/3rd majority, supposing at the same time that the system of nominations to support the foreign Government block in the legislatures, as it is to-day, were to be done away with. I hope and trust the framer of the demand had not the consolation of the unexpressed consciousness at the back of his mind that do whatever we may or speak whatever we or Government may like, the so-called Dominion Status or the future constitution is not going to do away with the solid block of the bureaucracy and its supporters. But if the Moslems think that their interests cannot be properly safeguarded unless 1/3rd of the seats are reserved for them in the central legislature, then with what face can we or they oppose the demands of the Sikhs in the Punjab for similar reservation of seats for them, in their provincial council ?

Demands No. 5 and 6, if read together mean nothing less than that, to satisfy the luxury of the addition of one more province to the present Moslem provinces, Sindh must be ruthlessly separated from the Bombay presidency, of which it is a component part since its coming into very being without paying any the least consideration to the sentiments of the majority community in the province or the administration conveniences. These demands, it is evident, are not conceived

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in the interest of furthering Indian nationalism or in the desire of creating facilities for good administration. The Moslems demand that Sindh should be forthwith separated, but they hasten to assert at the same time that if there be any regrouping or revision of the present boundary of the provinces for administrative conveniences, it should be done in a way as not to affect the Moslem majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N. W. F.Provinces. It is no sin if the Hindus are in a majority in Hindustan, the land of the Hindus, but the Moslem mentality is so steeped in what may be called competitive retaliation that when nature does not come up to their help, artifical means must be requisitioned to create new provinces to give them the prestige of the majority. The demand No. 10 is most amazing. Public services comprise the soul of the administration of the country which forms the very foundation of Swaraj. But even here there must be division on religious differences. Rather than urge that public services should be recruited on merit and competency ascertained through open competitive tests they demanded that they should be reared up on religious and sectional differences. Has there ever been a demand in England that Scotchmen, Irishmen and such other sections inhabiting Great Britain should have statutory provision for their adequate share in all the public services of the State which have made the British Empire the wonder of the world ?

Without tiring the patience of the audience by such detailed examination of all the 14 points of the Moslem demands, it will be enough if I may say in general that the motive which has inspired these demands is to divide the Moslems from the Hindus and to keep them ever separate from each other, so that they may ever remain in two water-right compartments in all departments of public life from top to bottom. This means the very negation of the aim of evolving India into one composite nation. This strikes at the very root of the idea of Hindu-Muslim unity.

I am decidedly of opinion that the Hindus should never agree to communalism. If the Moslems persist in drawing their lonely furrow and in their present mentality to think and act as they like, without caring for the good-will and co-operation of the Hindus, they know their business better ; but I am sure they will see the unwisdom of it eventually. But we must give them a solemn assurance that there ought to be no fear of the Hindus exercising the tyranny of their majority in any shape or manner as they have never done before. If the Moslems are not still satisfied with the assurance and do not come forward to join hands with us in formulating a scheme of Dominion Status in a spirit of pure nationalism, then let the Hindus alone do it and press for it but in a spirit of unalloyed nationalism and and let the Moslems try and get what they want from the Government to satisfy their commualism so that in that case Government alone will be responsible for what they shall do to encourage and feed Moslem communalism without the consent of the Hindus. Let the Hindus be firm and stern in their opposition to the introduction of communalism in the constitution of the country beyond what has already been conceded in the Nehru Report.

Socio-Religious Activities

Having so far said what I had to say concerning the politics of the country, I shall now say a few words about the socio-religious activities of the Hindu Mahasabha. If we want to remain as Hindus and if we desire that the name of Hindusthan of this land be really so in fact as it is in name, we must whole-heartedly go in for Shuddhi and for complete and undistinguishable absorption of the untouchables amongst ourselves. I appeal here with all earnestness and sincerity to orthodox friends that they should take courage in both hands and accept the lead of the Hindu Mahasabha in this matter. As for the movement of Satyagraha that has been started for the practical removal of untouchability, I express my whole-hearted sympathy. What surprises me most is that the high-caste Hindus do not still see the folly of eventual yielding under compulsion rather than doing so to-day with high-minded grace and earn the grateful thanks of all.

Viceregal Pronouncement

Now I propose to say a few words about the Viceregal pronouncement on Dominion Status for India. The Viceregal statement has been scrutinised and

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given its proper measure of appreciation by the combined judgment of the leaders of several progressive political parties in the country, such as the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, a section of the Moslem League, the Liberal Federation, the Sikh League and others, in the statement issued by them in reply thereto.

The Hindu Mahasabha welcomes this pronouncement as it reads into it the dawn of the day demonstrating unequivocally the assertion of popular voice over the might and arrogance of the bureaucracy. As a responsivist I welcome the announcement.

I also welcome it for the reason that though religious disturbances between Hindus and Moslems have been magnified into an insurmountable obstacle in the way of Swaraj still the British Government in their shrewd and farsighted statemanship have done exactly the same thing which they should have done to meet the demands of the situation and to dispel the cob-webs of the groundless fear. It is selfless nationalism of the Hindu-Mahasabha and the prestige of the Congress tempered with their statesmanly desire to go a great way to meet the Moslem demands—so far of course as not to transgress the farthest bounds of Indian nationalism—that we have to thank for this desirable change of angle in the imperial vision of our foreign rulers.

As for Sangathan it has two aspects, :one socio-religious and the other political. From the socio-religious point of view Sangathan means creation of organic unity between the different castes of Hindu society, so that the fissiparous caste-system may find self-immolation in the unifying of the Dharmashastric Chaturvarnya out of which it has arisen in the past. Our Dharmashastras amply provide for it and I appeal to the learned Brahmins who are the natural leaders of the Hindu community to study the Dharmasastra from this point of view and to come out to give a bold lead to the people in the matter.

As for the political aspect of the Sangathan, it is no less vital. We are struggling for Swaraj, but the bureaucracy has a standing objection that no one has a right to aspire for Swaraj who has not developed the capacity of defending and retaining it when attained. Scrutinising the inherant capabilities from this point of view of the two main communities of India one has to admit that the Moslems not being encumbered with the caste system of the kind which has taken such firm hold of the Hindu society have greater capabilities than the Hindus for the defence of Swaraj.

Military Training

Among Indians, the Hindus who form a large majority of the population require to be trained with special care and attention owing to the deficiency inherent in the community because of its present caste-ridden sociology. Mahomedans have no caste system in them and therefore every able-bodied young Mahomedan is a potential soldier, and as such a little training is enough to make him fit to fight for the country, for his religion and culture more efficiently than an average Hindu can do. Thus the Moslems are miles ahead of the Hindus in this respect. In the case of the Hindus a special effort is needed to instil into their minds the spirit of warfare so that they might be in a position to take their due share in the defence of India and the Empire in proportion to their numbers ; because the time has already approached when the English people alone would not be in a position to defend the country at times of emergency without the trained co-operation of the Hindus and Mussalmans. The question therefore before the Hindu Mahasabha is how to quicken the latent martial spirit in and how to arrange to give suitable training to Hindus to fit them for effective co-operation with the English people when an emergency arises. With this object in view, the efforts of the Hindu Mahasabha are being directed towards the establishment of gymnasiums where the boys will be trained in wrestling, lathi play, sword play, military drill, rifle practice and the indigenous exercises and arts of self-defence ; so that if boys are trained in this fashion from 12 till 20 years of age they can be recruited in times of emergency and made into good soldiers with intensified training of a few months after recruitment. This is, in brief, the idea of the Mahasabha of physical training, military drill and rifle practice, particularly among the Hindus.

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The Hindu Mahasabha aims at and is evolving a scheme for the military regeneration and rejuvenation of the Hindu society, however caste-ridden it may be.

In conclusion, I may say that I hold the conviction that our Swaraj is concentrated in our Sangathan. I have always held the view that unity and consolidation amongst Hindus are only a prelude to a larger unity in the country between the several races, especially between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. From the wider point of view I may say and my opinion is shared by several non-Hindus also that no movement for Swaraj could be said to be soundly based where the largest community as a party in the struggle for Swaraj remains disorganised and torn with internecine wranglings of caste against caste and sect against sect as the Hindu society is to-day. Looked at from this point of view, the Hindu Mahasabha is as essential an agent, if not more, for the attainment of Swaraj as the Congress undoubtedly is.

The C. P. Provincial Hindu Conference.

The C. P. Provincial Hindu Conference commenced its session on the *21st. December 1929* at Pendra Road in a tastefully decorated pandal, erected specially for the purpose, under the presidency of Babu Jagatnarair Lal. A large number of delegates from all parts of the province were present.

Babu Jagatnarain Lal, delivered an extempore address in Hindi, lasting for two hours. In the course of his speech the President said that they were meeting at a critical hour in Conference and were face to face with important issues, none of which they could neglect except at their own peril. The first and foremost issue was the Viceregal pronouncement and a proposal for Round Table Conference. He did not wish to discuss its significance and state what should be the response to it. That was a matter to be decided by the nation as a whole to which the Hindu Mahasabha could be but one, though an important party. What, however, concerned them vitally at that stage, was that, in case the invitation for the Round Table Conference was accepted, what should be the constitution of it, and how far it should represent the different interests and parties in the country ?

Babu Jagatnarain Lal wanted to make it emphatically clear that the Hindu Mahasabha was, next to the Congress, the greatest organisation in the country, representing as it did the largest community in the country, the Hindus, who numbered two-thirds of the entire population, ann that therefore no conference connected with the settlement of the Indian problem could claim to be representative or having sanction behind it unless and until the Hindu community and group or section in the country, had a voice and its due share in such settlement. Nor should any party or group, political or otherwise, remain under the delusion that it could safely stand up and go out of its way to speak authoritatively for the Hindus and propose or settle terms on their behalf. Hindu public opinion strengthened and mobilised under the banner of the Mahasabha, could allow none, however great, but the Mahasabha, to speak on its behalf, though it would always extend its courteous attention to all who had the interest of the country at heart.

Though the Mahasabha neither doubted nor suspected the motives of those responsible for the proposed conference, it wanted to warn all concerned that they must see that at the conference, the Hindu Mahasabha was fully represented by those alone who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Hindu community and could be its accredited spokesmen.

There was a move to reopen the Nehru Report by threats of cessation and obstruction. The Hindu Mahasabha had always pressed for unalloyed nationalism and had been the persistent opponent of the introduction of separationist or communal principles in the matter of the goverance and administration of the country. It could not, therefore, without the greatest difficulty, accept such clauses and provisions of the Nehru Report as aimed at perpetuating such communalistic outlook in the governance of the country which, however, it did, in order to avoid an obstacle in the way of achieving the greatest common measure of agreement over it. But at present attempts were again being made to reopen the Nehru Report. He would do not more than

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repeat the memorable words of that great departed patriot, Lala Lajpat Rai, uttered when presiding at the provincial Hindu Conference held at Etawah in October 1928 : "In the matter of communal representation, the Hindus have accepted the recommendations of the Nehru Report as the maximum of what they can swallow. They shall not be a party to any tampering with the same. Retention of separate electorate is altogether out of the question." They were convinced that it would not be in the interest of the country to go further and they should frankly and unequivocally say that any attempt to go further would not only leave them cold, but might make them hostile to the report.

If the Nehru Report was touched again with a view to further revision, the Maha Sabha would be no party to it whatever. He would ask those who were in haste to purchase Muslim agreement at any cost, to note that the announcement for a Round Table Conference had come and the necessity for a declaration of it had been felt by Government on account of the inherent righteousness of the country's cause and as a result of the pressure of Hindu agitation, in spite of the fact that many Muslims had practically gone out of the Congress. He would request all those political parties that were working for the attainment of Swaraj to stand firm and unbending on the rock-bed of true nationalism and carry on the struggle relying completely upon their own strength and the voluntary co-operation of all.

The President continuing observed that the Maha Sabha was vehemently opposed to the Moslem proposal for the immediate separation of Sindh because it had been conceived in the spirit of dividing India into Hindu India and Moslem India, though it was prepared to consider the scheme, if need be, for the general reorganisation of the the provinces in India, with a view to securing administrative convenience.

The President then dealt with the necessity of Sangathan amongst Hindus. He advocated the necessity of Suddhi, protection of Hindu widows and orphans, removal of various social evils and untouchability and the establishment of Akharas.

Resolutions

The *second day's* proceedings of the Conference commenced on the *24th. December* when it passed the following resolutions :—

The *first resolution* conveyed a message of heartfelt condolence to the Nepal Government on the Maharaja Chandra Samsher Jung Bahadur's death and congratulated the Maharaja Bhim Samsher Jung Bahadur on his appointment as the Prime Minister of Nepal.

The *second resolution* recommended the release of Barrister Savarker who had already served his full term of imprisonment, but was still under detention.

The *third resolution* requested the Government to include cases of those convicted in connection with Hindu-Moslem disturbances while considering the grant of amnesty to political prisoners as demanded by the leaders in the Delhi Manifesto.

The *fourth resolution* about the Round Table Conference ran as follows :—"This Conference hopes that if and when the proposal for a Round Table Conference materialises, the Hindu Mahasabha representing, as it does, the largest and most influential community in the country from every point of view, will be invited to choose its own representatives in the measure of its importance.

Another resolution emphatically repudiated the Muslim demand for separation of Sindh.

Resolutions, advocating Shudhi, Sangathan, removal of untouchability, cow protection, starting of Akharas with facilities for military drill, establishment of a missionary band of workers, and the introduction of congregational prayers were also passed. The conference then dispersed.

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The Punjab & Frontier Hindu Conference.

The Punjab and Frontier Hindu Conference opened at Lahore on the *25th. December 1929.* A large number of Hindus were present, including Sir P. C. Ray, Rai Harbilas Sarda, Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsarandas, Mr. Manoharlal, Minister for Education, Bhai Permanand and Dr. Gokulchand Narang.

Raja Narendranath, *Chairman* of the *Reception Committee*, welcoming the delegates, said that the objects of the Provincial Hindu organisations were the same as those of the Mahasabha, namely, to promote good feelings between the Hindus and other communities and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolving a united and self-governing Indian nation. The Sabha insisted on the negation of communalism and the charge of narrowness of vision and spirit, which some of their critics brought against them, had no foundation.

Speaking on behalf of the Punjab Hindus, he said : "I would say that their demand is summed up in a few words. They want the obliteration of all communalism and the condemnation of it by the Constitution. (Hear. hear). The peculiar feature of the Punjab is that the maintenance of this discriminative policy is demanded and claimed by the majority community."

Proceeding, Raja Narendranath said : "Separate electorates for the majority community are not needed as a protective measure. They can be continued for the majority community only if class ascendency were regarded as a desirable feature of our political constitution. The framers of our constitution would be putting the future generations on the wrong track if they thought of dividing or apportioning political authority between the different classes inhabiting this country. Hindus and Mahomedans are not the only two classes to be considered. There are the Sikhs, Depressed Classes, Christians, Domiciled Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Parsis.

In provinces other than the Punjab, there may be other classes of whom I am not aware or who have not come into prominence so far. But, if for once the principle is recognised that political power must be divided between the classes, those putting forward claims will be numerous, even if we fix a numerical limit of population. The Constitution which provides for a division of political power between the classes, and which encourages class consciousness will introduce not complete responsible Government but anarchy.

Continuing, Raja Narendranath said, the reservations and special treatment were sought by the minority community. The Hindu minority in the Punjab wanted no concessions and no reservations. As however they were confronted by a majority community too fond of special treatment and reservations it became necessary to insist that the future constitution should declare the abolition of all reservations and privileges. (Hear, hear).

Concluding, the Chairman said : The plea of backwardness and inability to carry on the struggle on equal terms for civic rights cannot be entertained when raised by the majority community which is about to receive supreme political power and claims it. An untenable and absurd plea like this can only be met by the position taken up by the leader of the Hindu Deputation who said that the majority community was prepared to wait till the majority community came up its level of intelligence and education.

Presidential Address

In the course of his presidential address at the Conference Mr. N. C. Kelkar observed :—

I am one of those who have accepted, in a general way, the document which is known as the Nehru Report, as it represents, in my opinion, the greatest common agreement between the different progressive political parties in the country. I am aware that some Hindus in the Punjab did not go as far as myself, in accepting that document as an earnest attempt at the reconciliation and harmonising of the different communal interests in India. At the same time I know that the leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the late Lala Lajpat

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Rai, whom I read somewhere described as the father and the guide of the Sabha, had whole-heartedly endorsed the Nehru Report, even from the point of view of the Punjab Hindu community.

A review of the relations between the Hindu community and the Indian National Congress would be, in my opinion, very instructive. The Congress was, from the very beginning, associated with Hindu leaders more than those from any other community. This was accidentally due to the fact that Hindus numbered far more than Mahomedans among the early generations of educated Indians. Western education proved to be the seed-bed of political ideas, and the Hindu leaders soon became marked out as the leaders also of the Congress movement. But their lead and their work was scrupulously non-communal and truly nationalist in spirit. It would be impossible to point out to a single resolution of the Congress whether passed in the whole House or discussed in the Subjects Committee, in which Hindus sought any special gain for their community.

Still, the Mahomedans at first gave scant support to the Congress, and at a later stage actually started the Muslim League as a rival political organisation. The Congress was called a Hindu body without its being actually so in any way. But the Muslims themselves felt no reproach in starting a frankly communal organisation for political purposes. From 1906 onwards, it seemed that the Indian National Congress would have to count with the Muslim League in its negotiations, if not in its fight, with Government; and the very first fruit of their active co-operation was the Lucknow Pact of 1916, which contained the seed of communalism in politics. The Lucknow Pact is, at the end of these 12 years, described and condemned as a blunder. Well, if it was a blunder be it so. But there was no Hindu political leader of any eminence, who seriously opposed it or even found fault with it at that time. And if the Pact was a mistake it was due to generosity, enthusiasm and optimism.

Things, however, went from bad to worse in 1921. And those who find fault with the Lucknow Pact themselves grievously missed the opportunities of correcting the mistake. On the contrary, they gave, within the Congress itself, free play to those communal sentiments which originally gave rise to the Lucknow Pact. The dominant idea of befriending and winning over an important minority in the country to the side of the ranks of nationalist political fighters, was even now the same as before. But while the Muslim League was at least political in its main aspect, the Khilafat was aggressively communal and religious. For all seven years from 1921 to 1928, the Indian National Congress was over-shadowed and overpowered by the Khilafat. And the Madras Congress of 1927 marks the peak of self-surrender, which the Congress made, for keeping the Muslims on its side, in the political fight.

But overdoing a thing sometimes defeats its own purposes. And so it happens to the Muslim cause. Even pro-Muslim Hindus at last began to see the unjust exploitation hidden under the many-sided Muslim propaganda for the same object. There was a fixed idea as to what the Muslim should demand for themselves, though the reasons put forward by different spokesmen may be different in different places. And when all reasons were exhausted and ingenuity was fatigued, the greatest nationalist among the Muslims, like Mr. Jinnah, will come forward and simply say, with all the naivete he commands, "I do not mean to say that the Muslims are reasonable in making these demands. But they are a foolish people, and the Hindu leaders being wise and sensible, should concede these demands, because they know how to care more for the nationalist than communal interests." And yet Mr. Jinnah becomes angry, when we say, "this means that the nationalism of Hindus is being thus exploited by Muslims for communal ends!"

I have thus dealt with the relations between the Hindu community and the Indian National Congress, in order to warn the Hindu Maha Sabha.

The Congress has, in recent years, been led by Hindu leaders who are ever willing to be exploited by other communities, and who take peculiar pleasure in looking after the interests of these, without so much as giving a thought to even the just interests of the Hindus. Their anti-communalism is grand and glorious, but it is partial and one-sided. Men who affect horror at being called Hindus never stopped for one moment to consider, whether in allowing the Khilafat to sit

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upon the Congress like an incubus, and poisoning it at every vital point with exclusively pro-Muslim communalism, they were not acting falsely to their own avowed creed.

The Hindu Maha Sabha was the direct outcome of this one-sided 'communally non-communal' policy of the Congress ; and it was founded by men like Lala Lajpat Rai and Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, on whose stern nationalism, not the most wicked or cynical opponent would have ever dared to cast a slur or even a doubt. Mahatma Gandhi saw his mistake long ago at Kohat, and he now wisely refuses to mix himself up in any suggested solution of the Hindu-Muhammedan problem. And acute men like Pandit Nehru could see through the game, when it was subjected to the rays of an All-party and therefore neutral light. It was here that Pandit Nehru found that there must be limits even to his pro-Muslim generosity, and that a minority may easily turn an interesting inquiry into the protection of minorities into a game of communal domination These Congress leaders have thus found out their mistake but rather late. For, the insistent minority is sure to make the concessions thus already obtained through the generosity of these Congress leaders only as a new base of operations for winning more concessions.

The question is, whether the new Congress-leaders will be wise or strong enough to resist such aggressions. Hindu interests are openly regarded by some of these as a mere pawn in the political game ; and just as spend-thrifts can be generous with other people's money, after wasting their own, those Congress leaders who openly take pride in negativing religion, race, and national culture, may lightly throw the Hindu community to communal wolves in order that their sledge may run safely to the destination Swarajya, through wintry snows of discontent. The fury of anti-communalism, however, can be as unreasonable or absurd as the fury of communal fanaticism. Further, the Congress seems likely to be captured by the advocates of certain new economic theories for which the Hindu community is not yet prepared. The Hindu community can appreciate and does actively cherish and will continue to fight for the ideal of Swarajya or political freedom for India. But it is certainly not going to accept an ideology which may be a total negation of everything national—religion, culture, literature and civilisation.

In conclusion, I would like to deal with one more debatable topic. And in this connection also, I am afraid, I may be saying things which are not very pleasant. The point is about the Round Table Conference. My first postulate, in that connection, is that India should accept an invitation to a Round Table Conference only if that may be found to be consistent with her honour, self-respect and long-cherished ambition and expectations. I am not an advocate of accepting the Round Table Conference at any price. At the same time, I find that the tendency of the present Congress leaders is gradually or even violently to take away the country from the path of diplomatic political negotiations with the British Government which undoubtedly forms one part though necessarily a secondary one, of the entire Congress programme. Then again, the boycott of the Simon Commission had behind it greater solidarity of protest and opinion than may fall to the lot of the Round Table Conference. It is likely that Independents led by Mr. Jinnah and Liberals by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru may not join the boycott of the Round Table Conference, if they find conditions and circumstances satisfactory, according to their own independent light and leading. Others also like Mrs. Besant may not like to take as drastic or rigorous a view of the negotiations about the Round Table Congress as some of the present Congress leaders seem to inclined to take.

The question, therefore, arises what should the Hindu Maha Sabha do, if this clevage of opinion becomes manifest and unavoidable. My personal answer would be that the Hindu Maha Sabha should not take any immediate decision about either accepting or not accepting the invitation to the conference. In any case, however, the Hindu Maha Sabha should make it absolutely clear to the world, that it would not accept or reject the invitation, because the Congress has done so, but on an altogether independent judgment of its own, on the merits of the invitation and other circumstances pertaining to the conference. It would be suicidal for the Hindu Maha Sabha to commit itself to any decision before sufficient data have been secured for a final judgment upon the question. It is possible that the

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decision of the Congress may, in the end, be the same as that of the Hindu Maha Sabha itself, and nobody would be so pleased at that coincidence as the Hindu Maha Sabha itself. But the Sabha should not be afraid of forming an independent judgment or taking an independent course, if it happens to disagree with any other group or body of opinion in the country. The Sabha has got a clear-cut task before it, viz., of protecting the interests of the Hindu community in India, with its general nationalist ideals in politics. But the Sabha should no longer give anybody any excuse or pretext for treating the Sabha as an appendage to himself or a waiter in his ante-chamber. The Sabha is already sufficiently strong in itself from the point of view of intelligence, patriotism and political experience. And its honour hereafter lies in insisting upon the Hindu community, being regarded by everyone concerned, as a strong living entity which must be reckoned with in any scheme of self-government for India or negotiations leading up to it.

Resolutions

The Conference re-assembled on the next day, the *26th. December* when it passed several resolutions. These included resolutions expressing sorrow at the death of Lala Lajpat Rai and the Maharaja of Nepal, condemning the Delhi bomb outrage appointing committees in the Punjab and the United Provinces with the object of studying reports like the Simon Commission's Report, the Nair Committee's Report and the Provincial Simon Commission's report for safeguarding the interests of Hindus and urging the formation of Hindu Sabhas in all towns and cities.

Mr. Dasram Bhagat moved a resolution recommending to the Government to grant 80 per cent representation in the Frontier Provinces to Hindus, particularly in the Civil Service, and the Police and Education Departments. He said the Frontier Province Administration was principally financed with the revenues of the Central Government, and over 11 crores of the army grant were spent there, but still there were several departments where there were no Hindu Officers. There was no Hindu Deputy Superintendent of Police in the Province He said what the Hindus wanted was open competition. The resolution was unanimously passed.

The Conference next passed a resolution suggesting that the N. W. F. Province and the Punjab Hindus should be effectively and adequately represented on the Round Table Conference.

ELEVATION OF "UNTOUCHABLES"

The Conference concluded its sessions after passing several other resolutions. Among those were resolutions requesting the Hindu landlords, factory-owners and others to help in the uplift of the "Untouchables" by affording them special facilities in social life and requesting the Government to show better consideration to "Untouchables" by providing educational facilities and giving them appointments in the services.

The Regulation of Accounts Bill, commonly known as the Money Lenders' Bill was condemned, and the Governor was requested not to give his assent.

Repeal of the Land Alienation Bill, the abolition of the system of recruitment to the services on a communal basis, recognition of Hindu Gurmukhi and Devanagri as court languages along with Urdu, punishment of a Sub-Inspector who offered an insult to the picture of Lord Krishna at Lahore, were asked from the Government.

The Conference then terminated.

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The Moslem Conferences

The All India Nationalist Muslims' Conference

A conference of All India Nationalist Muslims was held at Allahabad on the *27th. July 1929* under the Chairmanship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad when representatives, numbering over 30, were present.

Dr. M. A. Ansari explained the reasons for calling the meeting and dwelt on the necessity for forming the party.

Mr. Khaliquzaman proposed a tentative resolution in the discussion of which many speakers, including Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, Dr. Mahomed Alam and Mr. Shamsuddin participated.

As a result of the discussion, a Committee was formed consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Khaliquzaman and Dr. Mahomed Alam to draw up the aims and objects of the party and place it before the next day's meeting.

Messages supporting the formation of the party were read from the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Abdul Rahim (Calcutta), Mr. Asaf Ali (Delhi), Malik Barkat Ali (Lahore), Mr. Abdus Salam (Moradabad), Mr. Mahomed Ismail (Gorakhpur), Mr. Shaffee Mahomed (Madras), Mr. S. A. Brelvi (Bombay), add Mr. Basheer Ahmed (Madras).

Others present at the meeting included Mr. Aftabuddin Chowdhri, Mr. Ghulam Jilani, Mr. Jalaluddin Hashemy, Mr. Sharafuddin Ahmed and Mr. Mahomed Kasim (Bengal), Maulana Abdul Bari (Bihar) Mr. F. H. Ansari (Delhi), Mr. Sirajuddin Paricha and Mr. Abdul Qadir (Punjab), Mr. Saidur Rahiman Kidwai (Lucknow) and Mr. Abdul Majid Zaidi (Allababad).

Objects Explained

At the resumed meeting of the Conference on the *28th July* it was resolved to form a party called the All-India Nationalist Moslem party.

The resolution adopted for the formation of the All-India Nationalist Moslem Party pointed out as reasons therefor :—"The political struggle started in 1919 is being gradually weakened by inter-communal conflicts and repeated attempts are being made in different quarters to wean Moslems away from political activities. The present disruption among politically minded Moslems and the consequent apathy of the mass of the Moslem community towards the problem of Indian freedom are due to a confused appreciation of the political obligations implicit in the fact of the community being a part of the Indian Nation. Moslem political activity is now confined under the auspices of the existing Moslem institutions, to winning political responsibility as the main objective, and with freedom for the country as merely incidental thereto. Hence the need for the new party. The formal objects of it are to promote among Moslems a spirit of nationalism, to develop a mentality above communalism, and to inspire into them greater confidence in Indian national ideas, to induce Moslems to take their proper share in the national struggle, and to create such relations between the majority and the minority communities as would lead the former to consider the rights of the latter in a spirit of board-minded patriotism."

28 members were elected to the central body from Bengal, 27 from the Punjab, 3 from the Frontier, 24 from the United Provinces, 14 from Delhi, 17 from Behar and 10 from Bombay and Sind.

Election Of Executive

The Central Executive consisted of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Treasurer, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani, Secretary and Messrs Basit and Arif Hasvi, Joint Secretaries.

The members of the Executive were Mr. Mahomed Akram Khan, Mr. Majibur Rahaman, Prof. Abdul Bari and Shah Mahomed Zubair.

Persons selected to organise parties in each province were :—For the Punjab, Mr. Abdul Kadir, Dr. Mahomed Alam, and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew : for Bengal, Mr.

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Majibur Rahaman, Mr. Shamsuddin and Mr. Akram Khan ; for Bombay and Sind, Mr. Brelvi, Moulvi Mahomed Ali and Mr. Yusuf Meherally.

Meeting of Bombay Muslim Nationalists

The Bombay Congress Muslim Party was formally launched on its career at Bombay on the *29th. July 1929* when the members adopted a draft constitution. Mr. S. A. Brelvi presided. Proceedings which were mostly in Urdu, were very business-like.

Mr. Brelyi's Appeal

Mr. Brelvi in his opening remarks said that the emergence of the party had served one great purpose, viz., to bring about a hopeful change in the atmosphere of the public life which had been polluted by the communal poison. Pandit Motilal Nehru had welcomed the party in a statesmanlike message which would form the basis of Hindu-Muslim settlement. Already the Muslim leaders were meeting in Allahabad and with the return of Mrs. Naidu, efforts would be made to reach an agreement on the Muslim amendments to the Nehru Constitution. The party of course met with opposition from one quarter which he need not name, but the opposition only made the work more interesting and not more difficult. The difficulty would not be opposition from outside but apathy among the Mussalmans themselves. Mr. Brelvi appealed to the members to remember that the party would not succeed if it did not induce the Mussalmans to take a due share in the fight for India's emancipation.

Message From Mahatmaji

The Secretary then read the following message from Gandhiji, given in reply to his letter informing him of the formation of the party :—

"I am glad you are having a Congress Muslim party. If it is fully supported and does not go to sleep, it must prove a tower of strength to the Congress and an instrument of real service to India generally and to Mussalmans in particular."

The Secretary observed that the response which the party had already evoked was very encouraging, particularly in Sind. Branches were about to be also formed in Surat and Broach.

The meeting elected Mr. S. A. Brelvi as President and Mr. Abbas Tyabji and Mr. Mahomed Ali as Vice-Presidents. It also appointed a Working Committee to set immediately to work to carry out the party's objects.

The Bombay Muslim Meeting

A public meeting of the Moslems of Bombay was held at Bombay on the *11th. August 1929* in the big Dongri maidan in a specially constructed Pandal. Seating accommodation for 15,000 Mussalmans was arranged. Seth Sirdar Suleiman Casim Mitha, President of the Moslem Committee, presided.

Maulana *SHAUKAT ALI*, while proposing Seth Suleiman to the chair said that efforts were being made to bring disunion and disruption amongst Moslems, but the enemies of their great faith would eventually fail, and Islamic brotherhood would sooner or later be fully established. Representatives of all the Moslem Committees of Bombay were present at the meeting held under the auspices of the Moslem Committee, which had the support of over 20 influential Moslem organisations of the city. He said that Sirdar Suleiman Mitha was a staunch servant of Islam and during troublous times he had done yeoman's service and was best fitted to preside.

The *PRESIDENT* said that Mussalmans were second to none in their desire for freedom of their motherland. They were fully at one with the Hindus and other communities in that respect. Moslems fully believed that Indians alone had the right to govern their. country. But in any future constitution Moslems must have their proper share. They disagreed with the Nehru Report which was designed to perpetuate the domination of the Hindu majority over the Moslem minority. It was absolutely necessary that they should make it clear that Moslems

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would have nothing to do with the Nehru Report unless it was amended so as to be acceptable to the Moslems. He then called upon Mr. Younus Hinaidy to move the first resolution which demanded a federal system of government instead of unitary type.

Resolution Condemning Nehru Report

The resolution ran as follows :—"This public meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay is unable to accept the Nehru Report and lays down that no scheme for the future constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable to the Mussalmans of India until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests :—(1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces. (2) A uniform measure of autonomy should be granted to all provinces. (3) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province, without reducing a majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality. (4) In the central legislature Moslem representation should not be less than one-third. (5) A territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect Moslem majority in the Punjab, Bengal and Frontier Province. (6) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship and observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities. (7) No bill or resolution or any part thereof should be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of Hindu or Moslem communities in that particular body opposed such a bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community. (8) Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency. (9) Reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces. (10) Provision should be made in the constitution, giving Muslims an adequate share along with other Indians in all the services of the State and in the local bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency. (11) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal laws, and for the protection and promotion of Muslim Education, language and charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies. (12) No Cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers. (13) No change should be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation. (14) That in the present circumstances the representation of Muslims in the different legislatures of the country and other elected bodies through separate electorate is inevitable and further the Government being pledged not to deprive Mussalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent. So long as Mussalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interests are adequately safeguarded in the manner specified above they will not consent to joint electorate with or without conditions."

Maulana *MAHOMED ALI*, seconding the resolution, explained why he had been so silent during the last six months. He said that he had come to Bombay last February in search of health, and his kind and thoughtful doctor had asked him to go to the Parel Hospital for rest. He had not been there for three or four days when right before his eyes, he saw the cruel and uncalled for murder of poor Pathans who had done harm to nobody. The Maulana said that only a few months back he had returned to his unfortunate home after an extensive tour in Europe and Asiatic countries. Nowhere in the world did he hear the cry of Hindu water and Hindu tea except in India, and yet these very people accused Muslims as separatists. Islam united all human beings through a common bond of love and brotherhood, lifted even the lowest and treated them as brothers.

Proceeding Maulana Mahomed Ali said : "We are depicted in the Hindu and so-called Nationalist Press as shirkers of our duty and responsibility even by men who had never made any sacrifice. The records of 1919 and 1921 bear witness to the courage and sacrifice of Muslims and yet to-day, when we demand our rights, the monopolists turn round, abuse and misrepresent us. We had accepted the

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Madras resolution on independence as our goal. Compare that with what the Nehru Report offers us. It is only meant to perpetuate slavery and Hindu domination. For the first time in the whole history of this country he wants to establish the rule of the majority. In the days of Ramchanderji, Shrikrishnaji, Prithvi Raj, Mahomed Ghuzni, Mahomed Ghori, the Khiljees, Toughlaks, the Moghals, Clive, Hastings, Dalhousie, Curzon and to-day in the days of Lord Irwin, it is not the majority that rules the country. We cannot accept the Nehru Report. Let them come forward and meet us in an honourable way, and they will find Muslims ready to work with them."

Mr. Salehbhoy Barodawala, Mir Mahomed Baloch, Syed Murtaza, Maulana Kholandi and Mr. Abba Omar Ibrahim also spoke, supporting the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The *second resolution* inviting Muslims to pay attention to constructive work was also unanimously adopted. Maulana Shaukat Ali, at the end, thanked Sethji Allaya Allarakha and other workers and volunteers for the arrangements made and the Muslim public for their very fine response.

The All India Muslim Conference

The Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference met at Simla on the *8th September 1929* under the presidency of Sir Md. Shafi and passed a number of important resolutions urging the Muslims to withdraw support from the Lahore Congress, and deciding to organise a deputation to London under the Aga Khan's leadership. It was also decided to hold the next session of the Conference at Lahore during the Christmas week under the presidency of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah.

The Board meeting was attended by Sir Abul Qayum, Moulvi Mahomed Yakub, Moulana Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Mr. Shafi Daudi, Maulana Azad Sobhani and several others. It passed the following resolutions :—

1. Palestine Disorders.

(1) The Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference emphatically protests against the aggressive Zionist movement in Palestine being allowed to interfere with the existing rights of Muslims in their sacred places of worship, and regards the existing unhappy Jewish-Arab situation in that State as the inevitable effect of the Balfour declaration, whereby outside influences have been enabled to rouse dreams and aspirations among the Jews of Palestine who before the said declaration had lived in harmony and concord with their Muslim countrymen.

The Board, representing Indian Muslims, offers its heartfelt sympathy to their co-religionists in Palestine in their sufferings resulting from the recent unhappy occurrences in that country and trusts that the British Government, as the Mandatory Power, would not only abstain from encouraging the Zionists in their present aggressive attitude, but would also take steps to bring about a speedy establishment of a truly representative democratic Government as demanded by the Arab population.

2. South African Government and the Ali Brothers.

(2) The Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference places on record its emphatic protest against the humiliating restrictions and limitations imposed by the South African Government on the entry and free movement of Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali in South Africa and their party. The Board further trusts that the Government of India will use their full influence with the South African Government to bring about the removal of the existing restrictions upon Indians freely visiting the Dominion of South Africa.

3. Proposal to "Boycott" Lahore Congress.

(3) Whereas the Indian National Congress having succumbed to the influence of the Hindu Mahasabha has now abandoned its constitutional ideal of the establishment of a federal system of Government with full provincial autonomy, which it had consistently advocated since 1904, and whereas owing to the same influence, the Congress has now adopted, instead of the constitutional ideal aforesaid, a constitution embodied in the Nehru Report which, as has been rightly stated by Mr. Kelkar in his recent address delivered at the Dacca Provincial Hindu Sabha, is practically

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identical with that advocated by the Hindu Mahasabha at Jubbulpore and elsewhere, and is entirely opposed to the unanimous opinion of Muslim India ; and whereas the Congress session to be held at Lahore during the forthcoming Christmas will, in these circumstances, be essentially a gathering of the Hindu Mahasabha. the Executive Board of the All-India Muslim Conference deems it in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests of the country in general and the Muslim community in particular, for any Mussalman to attend the forthcoming session of the National Congress, and earnestly hopes that Indian Mussalmans will at this critical juncture, show a united front by abstaining from participation in the Congress session as by such participation they will only be lending support to the constitution.

4. DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

(4) Resolved that representative All-India Muslim deputations do proceed to England, as and when necessary, to take steps under the leadership of H. H. the Aga Khan to put forward the rights and claims of Muslims in any future constitution of India before the British Cabinet, members of Parliament and the British public.

(5) That the Working Committee should take all necessary steps to carry into effect all the above resolutions and shall, in choice of the personnel of the deputation, keep it in view that the peculiar interests of the various provinces shall, as far as possible, find an adequate representation on the deputation and for this purpose invite suggestions from various provinces.

6. "INTENSIVE" PROPAGANDA TO BE UNDERTAKEN

(6) Resolved that, with a view to strengthen the representation to be made by the Muslim deputation as well as organising Muslim public opinion in support of the resolutions adopted at the All-India Muslim Conference, steps should be taken to organise an intensive propaganda by means of holding meetings and conferences, in the various centres of the Muslim population of India.

(7) Resolved that the next session of the All-India Muslim Conference be held at Lahore during the Christmas week,

(8) Resolved that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah be elected to preside over the next session of the All-India Muslim Conference.

(9) Resolved that a branch of the A. I. M. C. be established in England.

The Madras Presidency Muslim Conference

The Madras Presidency Muslim Conference was held on the *5th December 1929* in the afternoon at the Gokhale Hall, Madras under the presidency of Maulana Mahomed Shafee Dawoodi Sahib, of Patna. There was a very large gathering of Muslims from all parts of the Presidency. The follow ing are extracts from the presidential address delivered by the Maulana Sahib :—

As you know I am a worker like many of you assembled here and as such you would expect me to place before you the workers' point of view on the momentous question of the day. Even as a worker I am less conversant with what is going on in the Madras Presidency save as a casual reader in the newspaper. My period of service in the cause of the country has been mostly spent in Northern India. And it is Northern India which has brought about all the difficulties in the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. So my Madras friends will pardon me if I say the truth about it as I have seen it in that part of the country. After all you cannot escape the consequences of what the Hindus and Muslims in Northern India do between themselves in matters which concern the whole of India. A critical juncture in the political history of the Mussalmans of India has arrived. They have to realise its real significance and all that it brings in its train. It is upon the realisation of the signs of the times that the future of the Mussalmans depends.

The ideal of brotherhood of mankind has pervaded every great soul of a true Muslim. Even those who wielded power however in India were not devoid of that spirit, if not fully absorbed in it. The Mussalmans of India in the zenith of their glory however did not force their conviction on the great multitude of India who were then much more neglected by their most fortunate brethren than they are at present. They allowed the growth of the social system in keeping with the

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idea of brotherhood of mankind. There grew a language by the contact of outside Mussalmans with the indigenous inhabitants of the land. The Mussalmans helped this growth most willingly and in course of time Hindustani language occupied the place of the *lingua franca* of India. What they did not do is the worship of cattle that is made to serve humanity. This should not by itself create much bad blood as we find existing in our midst to-day. The reason is to be found somewhere else. I shall endeavour to give vent to my feeling on this point as frankly as I can, for it is on clearly understanding the aspect of this question that the solution of our domestic problem in India depends.

After the Mussalmans of India had their days, various forces and centres of influence came into being, the caste Hindus being one of them. They had by their astute dexterity increased their influence in the affairs of the State and administration of the country and they had by now acquired an influence which was immeasurably great.

The non-co-operation movement was a mass movement and every one irrespective of caste or creed who took part in it felt that the success which they were then achieving was his own. The sudden stop of the movement grave time to other forces, which were on the look-out for such an opportunity to capture the field. Unfortunately these forces were those which were antagonistic to the Mussalmans at heart. The political consciousness which was awakened in the mass was utilised for the purpose of trial of strength between the Hindus and Muslims. No effort whatsoever for checking this deplorable force was of any avail. The antagonising forces continued to gather strength till it came to a pitch which the Congress Hindu leaders did not resist. It could not but be the time for the parting of the ways not between the Hindus and Muslims in general for they are inevitably bound up by the ties of common motherland. The Muslims did not willingly submit to the forces let loose for creating an atmosphere of domination by the group of Hindu leaders out for that purpose. The group had been active long since to make its existence felt by the powers-that-be and they have succeeded in forcing their views not only on the Congress Hindu leaders but on the Labour Cabinet, in the British Parliament on account of their resources and world-wide propaganda. Their hold on the administration of the country, their vested interest in every department of government, their capacity to voice their views as loudly as necessary, and their organisation to browbeat those who would not quietly submit, are all factors which go to make up that oligarchy which is now to assume control of the destiny of our motherland. Would the rest of India acquiesce in such a state of affairs !

We have not forgotten how the whole of India including the depressed classes and the untouchables had risen against the exploitation of the foreign rule as that affected the teeming millions of India without any distinction of caste or creed. But there would not be any genuine sympathy for the transference of that power of exploitation from the hands of the British bureaucracy to the brown oligarchy in the country. Let the brown oligarchy understand that that is not the way of bringing peace and prosperity to our motherland. They have got to recognise the potent forces in the country though they may not be vocal and well organised at present. To belittle them would not do.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Let the Government understand that India as a whole has risen. Conciliation of one section or another is not the radical remedy. If they want peace in the country they have got to conciliate every section of population inhabiting this great land. This country wants a democracy and not an oligarchy. To lay the foundation of a form of government truly democratic, every section of the population should be effectively and adequately represented at the Round Table Conference. To say that the representatives of the Congress mentality should predominate at the conference is to begin with absolute wrong basis. The last session of the Congress at Calcutta has clearly shown what sort of leaders are holding the reins of that organisation. This oligarchy I have spoken of above captured the Congress organisation completely in 1928 and made it an adjunct of Hindu Mahasabha. The great leader Pandit Motilal Nehru would not have sat in the presidential chair of the Congress last year had he not fully succumbed to their influence. How can the present Congress mentality be said to represent anybody more than that group and

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their friends? But I would not be surprised if the Government would yield to that condition laid down by Mr. Gandhi and his followers. The Government is out to conciliate them as they are the moving forces of the time, and governments have to count upon them for their support.

The duties of the Mussalmans and other sections of the vast population of India are obvious in face of all these facts. The Muslim leaders of thought should now rise to the occasion. The danger is so tremendous and its consequences are so far-reaching and the time at our disposal so short, that every other consideration, personal or impersonal, should be laid in the background. The one and the only one pervading idea should be the extrication of the Mussalmans from this imminent crisis. Those who realise the danger should be up and doing, go out to the centres of Muslim population, consolidate the forces, organise their opinion and present a united front both before our fellow-countrymen who seem to ignore us and the Government who care very little for our existence. But I must make it plain to everyone that the above steps are to be taken solely in the interest of that great democratic institution which we want to implant in our country, in place of that oligarchy which threatens the whole of India.

This appeal to you to-day was made by us last year to all the organisations representing Mussalmans throughout the length and breadth of India. I have to thank Providence that it had the desired effect. Every organisation except the Jinnah Muslim League sent their representatives to the conference. All the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures were invited and most of them attended the conference. Besides these, public men of all shades of opinion were invited. They sank their differences and came to a common formula on the Ist of January 1929, in that memorable gathering of the All-India Muslim Conference. The formula is respected by all the Muslim organisations in the country. The great leader Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah also put the seal of approval and agreed in substance with all that the formula implied. That was only the beginning of the great task of gathering strength in support of the formula. We have done what we could do in the unprepared conditions of the Mussalmans of India.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were put and adopted by the conference :—

(1) The first resolution moved from the chair was a condolence resolution bemoaning the deaths of Khan Bahadurs Mir Riazuddin Sahib, Abdul Azez Sahib, V. Abdul Jabbar Sahib and Mr. Vallivulla Badsha Sahib.

(2) This Conference of the Muslims of the Madras Presidency reaffirms the resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim Conference, held at Delhi on 31st December 1928 and 1st January 1929 under the presidency of H. H. the Aga Khan.

(3) This Conference deplores the inadequate representation of Muslims in the public services and urges upon the Government to increase their proportion to 30 per cent.

(4) This Conference views with concern and anxiety the tendency among Muslim politicians to form separate parties to represent different shades of opinion and resolves in view of the political emergencies of the day and the delicate position of Muslims to organise one united and single Muslim party with power to nominate its own candidates for election to the various legislative and other public bodies and to carry on election campaigns and other necessary and connected activities to see that its representatives are returned to the respective seats in order to ensure that only such persons as are true representatives of the Muslim point of view and capable of serving the best interests of the community are returned. (*This resolution was lost*)

(5) This Conference calls upon the Muslim community to act up to the decisions of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema with regard to opposition to the Sarda Act.

(6) This Conference resolves that a representation be sent to the Governor in Council that a competent and qualified Muslim, being neither an official nor a quasi or retired official, be appointed to the Public Services Commission.

(7) This Conference of the Muslims of Madras welcomes the recent announcement of the Viceroy and request the Government to give due representation to the Muslims of the Madras Presidency in the proposed Round Table Conference.

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The S. I. Non-Brahmin Confederation

The following address was delivered by Rao Bhahdur B. Muniswami Naidu, the President of the Eleventh Session of the South India Non-Brahmin Confederation, held at Nellore on the *5th October 1929.*

Let me convey my most sincere and heartfelt thanks to the Reception Committee for the honour they have done me in asking me to preside over and conduct the deliberations of this august assembly. We are met to consider momentous problems affecting our Federation, and the future of the S. I. L. F. depends in a large measures on the decisions we arrive at. And I hope and pray God that, with your hearty co-operation and wise guidance, I shall be able to discharge the duty imposed upon me. The last sessions of the Federation was held at Coimbatore in July 1927, under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiar. We came to important decisions therein. But, alas, we miss to-day the presence in our midst of our late lamented beloved leader, the Raja of Panagal, and of other stalwarts of the party. After a brief illness of a few days the Raja of Panagal passed away in December 1928 leaving the whole of Southern India in mourning. He was a born leader and statesman of a very high order. His services to tne Federation and to the party were invaluable, and his demise has left a gap which it is found well nigh impossible to fill.

Close upon his death and within a few months has occurred the premature and sad death of our stalwart Dewan Bahadur O. Thanikachalam Chettiar. We have also suffered irreparable loss in the deaths of the Raja of Ramnad and Mr. M. T. Subramania Mudaliar. Their services to the party are such as could not be forgotten. We are meeting under the shadow of the irreparable losses sustained in the passing away of our leaders. May their souls rest in peace and may their noble lives and examples sustain us and guide us !

Party Meeting At Madras

Soon after the demise of our great leader a meeting was convened at Madras to consider the future of the party. Important members of all parties attended. A genuine spirit prevailed to close up our ranks and to form a united party. In pursuance of the resolution passed then a committee consisting of the representatives of the Justice Party, of the Justice constitutionalists, and of the ministerialists were formed to consider the steps to be taken in the above direction. As a result of prolonged and frank discussions, this conference has been called under the auspices of the committee of all the parties. The recommendations of the committee will be the main item for your consideration and decision.

Task Before The Conference

After the death of our departed leader, the executive committee of the Federation with the chief whip of the party as chairman, has been conducting the affairs of the Federation. The question of electing a leader for the party will haveto be considered by you. What should be the future constitutions and what arrangements have to be made to carry on the work of the Federation are all questions of far-reaching importance that awaits your decision.

These and other questions affecting the future of our party have been agitating the minds of the members and well-wishers of our party. They have been elaborately discussed both in the Press and on the platform. They have been discussed at private informal meetings. There has been as yet no agreement reached on any of the points. The views expressed have been varied and in some cases sharp differences of opinions have prevailed. It is for this assembly to consider carefully the various view points and come to a decision which may be acceptable and satisfactory to all parties.

Brahmins And S. I. L. F.

The first and most important point is whether the membership of the association may be thrown open to Brahmins, i. e., to such Brahmins as are willing to subscribe

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to the aims and objects of this Federation. Article 2 of our constitution sets forth the objects of the S. I. L. F., as follows :—

(a) to obtain Swaraj for India as a component part of the British Empire at as early a date as possible by all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means ; (b) to promote good-will and unity among the different Non-Brahmin classes and communities of Southern India through safeguarding their interests by means of adequate and communal representation as well by social amelioration and recognisation with a view to the ultimate fusion of all castes ; (c) to promote the educational, social, economic, industrial, agricultural and political progress of all Non-Brahmin communities of Southern India ; (d) to effectively organise public opinion and express it on all questions which are deemed by general consent to be of importance and to act as the authoritative and representative mouthpiece of the Non-Brahmins of Southern India, and (e) generally to do such acts or things as shall be deemed expedient in furtherance of the above objects.

Article 4 of the constitution runs as follows :—

"Every Non-Brahmin who is over 21 years of age and who accepts the creed of S. I. L. F. shall be eligible for membership of the urban or rural association."

S. I. L. F. Not Anti-Brahmin

The constitution therefore excludes only one community from membership, i. e., the Brahmin community. I need hardly state that the S. I. L. F. was not started as an anti-Brahmin movement, but its main aim was, as stated above, the improvement of Non-Brahmin communities and the securing of equal opportunites to all communities in the governance of the country and the administration of all activities thereof paid or honorary. In 1916 when the Home Rule movement was started, it was felt by a considerable number of influential and representative Non-Brahmins that the devolution of power from the beauracracy to a responsible legislature should not result in the situation of one oligarchy by another oligarchy, but should be accompanied by suffcient safeguards to secure to all communities fair chances to participate on equal terms.

Communal Electorates

In regard to the constitution of the Legislative Councils our representatives passed in 1919, when the Montford Scheme was under consideration, for Non-Brahmins being given the right to elect their representatives through communal electorates. It was apprehended that if such separate electorates were not given, Non-Brahmin candidates would be seriously prejudiced by reason of the influence, official and non-official, which the Brahmins then possessed to influence the electorates. Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu who appeared as the representative of the S. I. L. F. before the Joint Parliamentary Committee stated as follows :—

"To put it in a single sentence, I say any reform with communal representation and communal electorates we are prepared to accept. And we are not prepared to accept any reforms without communal representation. That is our attitude."

Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who appeared before the same committee as the representative of the Madras Dravidian Association, put the matter thus :—

"We ask for communal representation, only as a temporary expedient. It is said that the reforms themselves are only for a transitional period. We do not ask for communal electorates for all eternity. We only ask it for a transitional period, so that, for instance, when the next parliamentary committee meets and goes over the whole question, it will be quite within its powers to say 'that communal representation is no longer necessary ; that doubts were expressed and fears entertained by Non-Brahmins at one time but these fears are unjustified in the light of experience and we do not think that communal representation is necessary. Our own people may come forward and say that within the decade that has passed we have got some powers into our hands and we are able to better organise ourselves, we are able to get our own representatives and the fear of the Brahmin influence is not so bad as before and we would rather throw our lot in with the rest of India and have general electorates."

As to public services and honorary positions of services, the position in 1916 when the Federation was started was that the Brahmins, by reason of their having taken to English education much more largely than other communities held almost all such

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offices and Non-Brahmin leaders felt that an organisation of the nature of S. I. L. F. was needed to secure adequate share and representation in such services. There were also questions of social reform and the elevation and betterment of backward and depressed classes. All these objects find a place in article 2 of the constitution as above quoted, and hence it was thought desirable to exclude the Brahmins from membership thereof. While striving to achieve these objects the Federation aimed at securing Swaraj as its ultimate goal, as its political creed.

Review Of Present Position.

If we take stock of the work of the Federation during the last 13 years, we may safely assert that it has achieved to a large extent its main object. In regard to Legislative Councils the Non-Brahmin communities have succeeded in organising themselves so as to assert themselves and secure fair representation, and it is gratifying to note that in the memorandum submitted to the Simon Committee on behalf of our Federation, no claim for reservation of seats for Non-Brahmin Hindus is made. As to local bodies, also, there is vast improvement and adequate representation may be said to have been secured. As to public sevices, there has been considerable success, though much requires yet to be done. But on this point the power to recruit to services will soon be vested in a Public Services Commission, which I hope will satisfy all legitimate aspirations of all communities consistently with maintaining a high standard of efficiency of services. Our sincere thanks are due to His Excellency the Governor and to his Government for settling this vexed question and issuing orders as to recruitment of services so as to avoid preponderance of any one single community in the services.

After the reforms were introduced our party was in office and power for about 6 years and laid foundation for progress in the above directions. Our critics have not been quiet. They lost no opportunity to characterise us as a communal party on the ground that we exclude the Brahmins from membership. A large section of Non-Brahmins have thought also likewise and have been urging on us to remove the restriction. The present Ministers and the members of their party have through their representatives expressed themselves in favour of joining the Federation if the ban is removed. The three parties committee have recommended the removal of the ban to a certain extent.

The question has therefore come into prominence for consideration by this assembly. I have quoted above the objects of the Federation being article 2 of our constitution. So far as clause (a) of the article is concerned, there is not much difference between one creed and that of the Indian National Congress. Article 1 of the Congress constitution is as follows :—"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." Clauses (b) (c) and (d) of article 2 of our constitution lays down other objects to be pursued having regard to the conditions obtaining in this Presidency. We have kept out of the Indian National Congress, though at Coimbatore Session, we gave liberty to individual members of the Party to join the Congress if they like. And so long as we exclude one community, we cannot as a political body speak on behalf of or claim to represent all the people of our Presidency. If as we hope full provincial autonomy is given to the provinces as a result of the reforms that may be granted, it is essential that our Federation should be in a position to claim to be a truly representative body of all communities. What objection can there be to admit such Brahmins as are willing to subscribe to the aims and objects of our Federation ? It may be that Brahmins may not join even if the ban is removed. But surely our Federation will not thereafter be open to objection on the ground that it is an exclusive organisation.

Again, so far as safeguarding the interests of Non-Brahmins are concerned, it has been the experience gained by the working of parties in the Legislative Councils, that Non-Brahmins belonging to other parties also have been equally zealous to protect such interests. I shall give a few instances. The Religious Endowment Act was passed with the help of the Non-Brahmins of all parties. An attempt to have the Act repealed, by a member of the Swaraj Party, was dropped as it found no support from Non-Brahmins of his party. Selection Committees for colleges have been continued by the present Ministry. A resolution urging adequate repre-

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sentation of all communities in public services was supported by Non-Brahmins of all parties. The recent order of the Government laying down rules for recruitment to services so as to give equal opportunities to all communities have been issued after our party ceased to be in office. It will be thus clear that there is general agreement among Non-Brahmins of all parties to protect the interests of the Non-Brahmin communities. And some of them would like to join our Federation, if only the constitution is widened by removing the ban on one community.

"THE REAL CONGRESS PARTY IN SOUTH INDIA"

If this change was made, then the South Indian Liberal Federation will be the real Congress Party in South India. Our party is wedded to work the reforms, while the Swaraj Party is out to wreck it. Ours is the only recognised party in this Presidency, which stands for orderly progress and constitutional reform. It can then claim to be a fully representative political organisation in which all those who are for working the reforms and for orderly progress can find the place. And as I pointed out, the political goal being the same in regard to the object of the S.I.L.F. and the Congress, the Federation may well occupy the position of the Congress in Southern India.

I am aware that this proposal will not be acceptable to some of our members. They feel that the interests of the Non-Brahmin communities will be neglected if the character of the Federation is changed. I don't think there need be any such fear. We have organised ourselves enough and we are strong. Our Non-Brahmin brethren who do not now belong to our party have also shown their keen interest to help the Non-Brahmin communities. The coming in of such men into our party will on the other hand strengthen our party and enable us to attain our objects more quickly and effectively.

QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP

I now pass to the question of leadership. On this matter also there does not appear to be any agreement. Various suggestions are made. Any leader elected must be one who commands the confidence of the party, and I hope that it will be possible to come to a decision which will meet with the largest support from all sides. Our constitution provides also for an Executive Committee. It will be presumptuous on my part to make any suggestions in the matter. The question will have to be calmly and carefully discussed in all its bearings in a small committee to be constituted for the purpose, each district being represented in it.

These two questions will, I hope, engage the attention of the conference fully It will be the duty of the conference also to lay down a programme of action for the future. The elections to the Council may be held any time next year. It is up to us to organise ourselves and to take steps to carry on our active propaganda on behalf of our party.

TRIBUTE TO JATIN DAS

Before I proceed to discuss some of the questions on our party programme and policy, I think this conference will place on record its deep sense of sorrow and concern on the death of Jatin Das of hunger-strike. His is a fine example of unflinching courage and patriotism and he sacrified his life in vindication of a principle in regard to treatment of prisoners in jail. It is high time that the Government of India take steps to remove all racial distinctions in the treatment of prisoners and to introduce a more humane and sympathetic system in dealing with political prisoners.

The improvement of rural conditions and reconstruction of villages deserve the immediate attention of all parties in the country. The panchayats must be placed on more satisfactory basis as also the law relating to local boards. The Government derives its main source of income from Land Revenue and it is but meet that a large proportion thereof should be utilised in bettering the condition of the villages. Each village must have a decent road connecting it with the main road, and facilities for good drinking water supply and improved sanitation have to be provided. Cottage industries will have to be revived to improve the economic position of the ryots. A village development fund must be constituted and systematic efforts made to ameliorate the condition of ryots. Liberal grants must be made by the Government towards the fund.

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We must also encourage Khaddar and the use of Swadeshi cloths. Khaddar is the gospel of economic freedom of the country.

In regard to drink problem, the goal is admitted to be total prohibition within 20 years or a reasonable period. The financial arrangements under dyarchy afford serious impediments to successful tackling of the problem. But an earnest beginning has to be made. I think no propaganda is needed to make people understand that drink is an evil. But a careful survey has to be made of the incidence of drink in each locality and of the areas where prohibition may be tried. A definite programme is necessary and once such a programme is framed, it will have to be gradually worked up to. These and other questions, will I hope, receive your anxious consideration. In conclusion, let me thank you most sincerely for the honour you have done me and request your hearty co-operation in guiding the deliberations of this conference.

RESOLUTIONS

Address over, resolutions of condolence were passed touching the demise of the Raja of Panagal, the Raja of Ramnad, the Raja of Challapalli, Mr. M. T. Subramania Mudaliar, and Mr. K. Gopalakrishnayya.

1. Brahmins' Admission Question

The President then reported to the House the resolution of the Executive Committee of the S. I. L. F. on the subject of admitting Brahmins into the federation and placed the following before the House :—

"This confederation adopts the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the S. I. L. F. that such Brahmins as accept the creed and adopt the programme of the Justice Party are eligible to the membership of the Council Party."

He enquired if the House preferred to go into committee to consider this matter or to elect a Subjects Committee to place its recommendation before the confederation. He said that in his opinion the better course was to consider the question in the confederation and decide straightaway without going through the process of the Subjects Committee. It would not only save time but give opportunity to all to take part in the discussion. He also wished to ascertain what line of procedure should be adopted in respect of the election of leader.

Eventually, the President found the sense of the meeting to be to follow the usual procedure of the Subjects Committee. The meeting then adjourned.

In opening the second day's proceedings, on the *6th. October*, the President said : "Yesterday the resolution of the Executive Committee that Brahmins be admitted in the Council Party of the South Indian Liberal Federation was placed before the Confederation. I suggested that the whole thing be considered by the Confederation resolving itself into a committee. This however was not agreed to. The resolution was referred to the Subjects Committee. This morning at the Subjects Committee meeting, it has not been possible to take vote by districts because arrangements were not made for that contingency. Votes were taken in the usual manner by show of hands and the Committee by a overwhelming majority decided against the amendment that Brahmins should be admitted not only in the Council party but in the S. I. L. F., as well. On the original resolution also the Subjects Committee decided against by a show of hands. As it was not possible to take votes then and there district any district, I adjourned the division till the Confederation met, requiring in the meantime that delegates belonging to each district should sit separately. Having regard to the time at our disposal and other equally important matters pending consideration, I have decided that it is not necessary to allow the question to be reopened in the Confederation ; and that it is sufficient if votes are recorded without speeches.

The President then with the aid of one or two delegates went over to each district block and recorded the majority vote. This process took nearly half an hour at the end of which the President announced that the resolution was lost.

2. Election Of Leader

The President next introduced the subject of election of the leader of the Party.

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He said that the Executive Committee of the S. I. L. F. recommended that the leader be selected by a body consisting of five members from each district. This resolution he would place before the Confederation for discussion and invite amendments if any.

AMENDMENTS

Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker moved an amendment that a Working Committee consisting of five or seven members be elected to guide the policy and programme of the confederation. He said that having regard to the present political situation, the coming elections, and the expected reforms as the result of Simon enquiry, it was expedient and necessary that they should not divide the party on the question of leadership. In the absence of natural leaders like the late Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti and the Raja of Panagal it was not wisdom to arouse jealousy among the aspirants for the leadership and disturb the harmony in the party which was essential in the conduct of affairs during the next year when Ministry reshufflings were bound to take place.

Mr. R. K. Shanmugam Chetti proposed :—

"That the President of the Confederation for this year shall be the ex-officio President under the constitution and as such ex-officio leader of the Party until the next Confederation meets."

In making this proposal Mr. Shanmugam Chetti said that neither he nor those who sponsor it were making any serious departure. It was the practice which had been observed in the Indian National Congress for the last 42 years. Whether this practice which they were importing into the Confederation's proceedings would become a permanent feature it was too early at the present moment to say. It was to get out of the impasse and to remove the stigma that they were a flock without a leader that they had to resort to the temporary device of electing the President of the Confederation as the leader of the party for the year.

The PRESIDENT said that he found himself in a very embarrassing position. He never expected that discussions would take this turn. He was a firm believer in constitutional methods and he thought that the leader of the Party would be elected by them in a most democratic fashion. In no degree he was responsible for the proposition of Mr. Shanmugam Chetti. But he had no other way than to agree to abide by the resolution, should it be carried.

The assembly adopted the motion *nem con* amidst acclamation and Mr. Muniswami Naidu was elected the leader for the year.

Two resolutions were then put from the Chair and carried, the other draft resolutions being referred to the Executive Committee for disposal. The resolutions adopted were as follows :—

3. Tribute To Jatin Das

"This Confederation places on record its sense of grief at the heroic sacrifice of Jatin Das who deliberately laid down his life for the self-respect of the country and for the abolition of racial discrimination and recognition of the claims of all political prisoners to just and fair treatment."

4. Sarda Bill Welcomed

"This Confederation notes with satisfaction the passing of the Sarda Bill by the Central Legislature and holds it as a charter of liberty of Indian womanhood, in so far as it marks the end of child marriages and worst horrors of widowhood."

The Confederation then dissolved with the usual vote of thanks.

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Provincial Political Conferences

The Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference

The thirty third session of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference was held at Vedaraniam on the *31st August 1929* under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The following are extracts from the speech delivered by the president :—

Our bark is in the midst of stormy seas and the gravity of the situation may be gauged from the extreme reluctance of our one true leader to direct the helm. I can understand that reluctance, for it is our instincts that prompt us to turn to him, but we lack the will to do what he would have us do. Almost inspite of himself he came upon the scene at Calcutta, almost in spite of himself he moved the main resolution, but he finds to-day that we have not done much or enough to fulfil that resolution. Do we want him to be a passive witness to still more heroic resolutions without the least little will for corresponding action ?

With my faith in the old programme undimmed, I hope you will not expect me to discuss 'high politics'. Honestly, I do not understand them. For me it is enough that a resolution arrived at after mature deliberation and a clear cut programme are before the country, and the nation expects every one of its sons and daughters to fulfil the programme, and to do what the Congress has pledged itself to do if the national demand contained in the Nehru Report is not fufilled by the end of the year. To a peasant like me, this is quite enough, and I refuse to be moved by meaningless controversies. My conviction is getting stronger every day that the Council programme has been our undoing and so long as it is before us we will not think of anything constructive. The brilliant work of the President of the Assembly does not dazzle me. I feel that the more we have of those brilliant fireworks the more shall we be lured away from the work before us and strengthen the hands of the enemy. I think that the time is fast coming when we will realise that the whole Council programme, which since the so-called 'failure' of Non-Co-operation we have been trying to shape and reshape, is a Frankenstein monster ready to devour us. With these highly radical or as some of you might call reactionary views, you should not be surprised if I harp on the well-worn constructive programme.

For let us see if each one of us has not work enough in his province to keep him engaged all the twenty-four hours. I shall take up item by item in the order in which I should like to discuss them in your province. Take first the curse of untouchability. I have often heard Gandhiji say that so long as there is Kalighat in Calcutta where in the name of religion thousands of innocents are slaughtered every day, it is a torture to him to go to Calcutta or to live in Calcutta, and I think he has the same feeling when he has to spend even half a day in Delhi because the Hindus and Mussalmans will keep on running at one another's throats. I wonder why he has never expressed the same feeling of disgust at having to make tours in the untouchability ridden South. Friends, you will take it from me that the gruesome tragedy in Palghat that occurred about three months ago can only happen in this unfortunate country of ours, and if I may say so in this unfortunate province of yours, and the ugly forms of untouchability that one finds in the South, especially in some parts of Malabar, disgrace us more before the bar of public opinion than any propaganda that a 'drain inspector' many indulge in for motives that she knows best. One cannot think of a deeper disgrace than that untouchability in its most hideous aspect should be rampant in the part of India which is known as the land of temples, in the home of Shankara and Ramanuja, in the land which is hallowed by the effulgent self-immolation of Nandanar. Friends, even if Swaraj can be had with the disgrace still clinging to us, that Swaraj will be a sham and a mockery. Little oases do exist in the vast wilderness of indifference to this curse, but they only make the wilderness more howling. Our temples are no houses of God if access to them is denied to millions of our own kith and kin. I beseech you custodians of spirituality to take a leaf out of the book of one of the truest Vaishnavas of to-day Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj who has made the cause his own and is everyday busy

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in purifying Hinduism, by getting the doors of Hindu temples opened to all who describe themselves as Hindus.

I shall next refer to the curse that to my mind stands next in ugliness to the one I have just adverted to—I mean the hydra-headed monster of communalism, the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin feud, that corrupts alike your politics, your religion, and even your social reforms. To a South Indian who says, 'We have no Hindu-Moslem problem here, it has become quite usual for another South Indian to retort, 'Why, there is the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin problem !' Now genlemen, I can understand a healthy revolt against pernicious customs and traditions, that a priesthood may seek to impose upon us. I can appreciate and would even congratulate a campaign started by Non-Brahmins for the inclusion within their fold of the so-called untouchables, the Adi-Dravids, and can imagine them proclaiming to the orthodox Brahmins, 'We will claim as our own the vast mass of humanity you have taught us to regard as untouchables and unapproachables ; it is open to you to join us or to form a narrow class of untouchables of your own.' If the Non-Brahmins assume this attitude, I am sure they would earn the lasting gratitude of Hinduism. If they are dissatisfied with the prevailing tenents and traditions of Hinduism—I don't say Brahminism—they can invite the co-operation of the enlightened Brahmins and carry on a united campaign against them, for all Brahmins do not belong to the category of the hide-bound priesthood.' But instead of that we find a campaign organised against Brahmins as a class, a campaign of hatred carrying in its sweep not only the Brahmins, but all the best traditions of our Aryan culture. Instead of seeking to purge Hinduism of its excrescences, a selection of Non-Brahmins seems to stir up the base and selfish passions of ignorant men and turn what should be a civilizing and purifying movement into a campaign for securing the largest number of loaves and fishes. Even the Khadi movement than which I cannot think of a more healthy leveller of inequalities, is by some condemned as a Brahmin movement and one of the most spotless of Brahmins, who is free from all the traces of narrow Brahminism and whose whole life is being devoted to the service of the poor and the down-trodden Non-Brahmins, is painted as an incarnation of the devil in some quarters. All this is nothing short of national suicide. You have your youth leagues here as we have in our part of the country. I cannot think of better work for them than to organise a crusade against the double cures of communalism and untouchability.

Having thus exercised the privileges of a Non-Brahmin to address a few words to brother Non-Brahmins, I will address a brief appeal to the Brahmins. If the Brahmin—Non-Brahmin trouble is in its ultimate analysis, nothing but a quarrel of office-seekers, why will not the Brahmins exorcise their proud prerogative of service and sacrifice, and wash their hands off the squabble altogether? In this connection the tradition built up by the Nambudri Brahmins of Kerala is worthy of adoption by Brahmins everywhere. I am informed that Nambudri Brahmins as a rule do not take up any paid service, Government or private. And as regards the purification of Hinduism, what worthier Brahmin reformers could one expect to have than my friends Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar or the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, to take only two names most familiar to me?

Some one has said that rags have no sex. Neither have they any caste nor creed. What they have and know is poverty and that to them is a more oppressive burden than any distinction of caste or creed. I challenge those who claim to be their advocates to find out better means of their uplift than Khadi and Prohibition.

For me to talk of Khadi and Prohibition in this province is like carrying coals to Newcastle. Those who have heard Sjt. Rajagopalchari need not be told that after Gandhiji there is no more persuasive advocate of Khadi. His advocacy is not that of the lawyer arguing out his case in a detached way. His advocacy comes out of an afflicted heart whose haunts are the poverty-stricken huts of the country-side and out of the conviction that it is impossible otherwise to carry a ray of sunshine in those homes of eternal darkness. But in the main home of Khadi where it supports some thousands of poor women, we find a rather novel type of criticism levelled at Khadi. Khadi, our critics say, is a sweating system. Will they show us a purer and more humane means of giving their daily bread to the millions of our starving men and women in the country ? Do they know that for the vast mass of the poverty-stricken

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in Tamil Nad the only alternative is death from starvation or migration to Ceylon or Penang or Malaya, where if at all the doors are open to them, a worse sweating awaits them, with certain moral ruin ? An acute English observer has truly remarked : 'Political power is the invariable concomitant of economic power...The foreigners rule, it is inevitable. But the All-India Congress Committee goes on talking and acting in terms of politics. One might as well try to cure headaches by applying corn plasters to the toes.'

As regards prohibition, I congratulate your province on the earnestness with which you have taken up the campaign. I also congratulate the Madras Government on their noteworthy action in accepting the principle of the agitation for total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs and in giving concrete expression to this acceptance by making a substantial provision in this year's budget for educative propaganda for total abstinence.

The idea, however, that propaganda against drink should be undertaken by Government in order to obtain popular support for prohibition measures is, in my opinion, a wholly wrong idea. It might be necessary in America or England or other European countries where drink is a respectable and ancient habit. Fortunately, in our country, it is still classed with crimes and sins in whatever measure it is indulged in. Our religious practices and teachings and the good example of numerous castes and groups have done the propaganda contemplated in a more effective manner than any Government or aided efforts can do. All that Government has to do is to undo the evil it has itself done during a comparatively short period in the history of our culture and morals.

If the Government only made up its mind it could at once arm village panchayats with legal power of enforcement of prohibition instead of harrassing as they do now the village and caste organisations and their leaders with prosecution upon the instigation of persons interested in the sale of liquor. Even slight legal powers given to village organisations will bring about enforcement in a most effective manner, for they are really interested in a successful working of prohibition unlike the Excise Department and other Government officials who have been brought up in an anti-prohibition tradition. Such powers and local enforcement would spread propaganda against drink at no cost to the public purse and without the slightest suspicion of insincerity.

The importance of the present legislature in the matter of prohibition brings me to a consideration of their similar importance in the matter of land revenue. Your province presents the solitary spectacle of a province which bestirred itself earliest in India to bring into effect the recommendation of the Joint-Parliamentary Committee and which is still without reformed land revenue legislation.

As early as 1921 the Land Revenue Settlement Committee appointed by Government and composed of 11 officials and only 4 non-officials, with Sir Mahomed Habibullah as chairman and with several settlement officers and the Advocate-General on its personnel submitted a report containing important recommendations and almost every year since 1924 you have been having popular victories in the local Council on the issue of having those recommendations embodied in legislation. But those victories have been of no avail and your province has been without legislation, like Bombay, whilst resettlements have been made and are even now in full swing. If any of your districts or even taluks were prepared for Satyagraha, I could think of no stronger justification than is afforded by the circumstances in your province. The present land revenue policy in all ryotwari provinces is no better than a policy of grab. In one province the basis of the first assessment is said to be the net profits, in another the rentals, whilst in a province like yours the basis of the first settlement proposals is said to be the net profits and of resettlements the rise in the prices of produce. But the only basis that is actually adopted in practice is the basis of 'more revenue.'

Friends, I have nothing more to say. I should like to conclude with a clear and unequivocal confession of faith, as it is I think the duty of every public man to do, when we seem to be at the parting of the ways. I see no reason to change by a single iota the present Congress Creed, either as regards the means or the goal—a creed that was formulated for us by the noblest and the most far-seeing of our leaders, a creed that was adopted when the nation was at the zenith of its strength and power and solidarity, a creed which if sustained by adequate action will enable

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our nation to win its freedom and to retain it. I understand and appreciate the impatience of a section of our countrymen with the existing state of things, but I want them to understand that of the other section too. As regards the means there is not a single instance in history of an unarmed nation having wrought its freedom through an armed revolt, for the simple reason that the thing is a physical impossibility. And spasmodic acts of violence, or of heroic crime, if you please, are the very opposite of an armed revolt and purely self-destructive. A second's thought is enough to convince one that there is no other alternative for us but non-violence, and a non-violence that proceeds from an accepted creed, i.e., from the heart, is ever so much more potent than the non-violence from policy. And no better formula of potent *non-violence* was ever devised than that of *non-violent non*-co-operation. Are the youths who swear by Independence ready to leave their colleges to-day ? If they are, it would not be difficult to organise out of them a non-violent army which can paralyse the Government in little time. An organised army of youths would be quite enough to fight the two battles of Land Revenue and prohibition to a successful issue and to bring the Government to its knees But our youth seem to mistake brave resolutions for brave action. 'Declare Independence and action will take care of itself,' they seem to think. That attitude never helped a nation and will not help us to win freedom. Only on the foundation of willing sacrifice and suffering shall we be able to raise an enduring edifice of freedom.

RESOLUTIONS

1. Change of Congress Creed.

The Conference re-assembled on the next day, the *1st. September* to adopt resolutions. Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar moved a resolution adopted by the Subjects Committee, recommending to the Lahore Congress to amend the creed of the Congress, desiring that the word 'Swaraj' should mean complete national independence in case the All-Parties Constitution was not accepted in its entirely by the British Parliament before the coming session of the Congress.

After prolonged discussion, in which several speakers, including Messrs. Rangaswamy Iyengar and Rajagopalachari expressed themselves against the resolution in strong terms and Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar and Satyamurthi for the resolution, Mr. Patel, speaking on the resolution said the conference would understand his reluctance to preside over the conference. The proposition, even if approved, would not be taken seriously, as it would exclude certain class of Congressmen. The Calcutta resolution did not attempt to change the creed. He would feel considerably hurt if his presiding damaged the Provincial Congress Committee, and explained that the resolution was not needed.

The proposition was put to the vote and lost 65 voting for and 175 against it.

The following resolutions were then put and passed by the conference :—

(2) This conference condemns in strong terms the policy of repression pursued by the Government and congratulates the patriotic victims of such repression and records its appreciation of their services to the motherland.

(3) This conference earnestly urges all Congress organisations in Tamil Nadu and the public to carry out the programme laid down by the Calcutta Congress in particular to continue the enrolment of Congress members in pursuance of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay in regard to enrolment of members and Congress organisations.

(4) This conference appeals to the people to give greater support to the khadi movement and the boycott of foreign cloth and fulfil the programme of the Congress in respect of constructive work.

(5) This conference reiterates its appeal to remove the disabilities of the 'so-called untouchable' communities aud help them in their endeavour to take an equal place with all other communities.

(6) The conference appeals to the people to further strengthen the agitation against the drink traffic aud bring about the fulfilment of the Congress programme in respect of total prohibition.

(7) This conference congratulates the Hindi Prachar Sabha on the work done by the Sabha and urges Tamilians in general and Congress members in particular to acquire

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a working knowledge of our common language viz, Hindi.

(8) This conference expresses its strong condemnation of the practice of the Government in continuing resettlement of land revenue by executive action in spite of the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of 1919 and therefore appeals to the ryots and the people of the province to bring the maximum pressure to b ear on the Government by all legitimate and peaceful means, to see that all these resettlements are suspended and that such resettlements are not made until the enactment of land revenue legislation in accordance with the demands of the ryotwari landholders of the presidency.

(9) This conference appeals to all the taluk and district Congress Committees in the Tamil Nadu to start branches of the Hindustani Seva Dal throughout the province and train young men for national service.

The Andhra Provincial Conference

The 11th session of the Andhra Provincial Conference commenced its session at Bezwada on the *3rd. November 1929* under the presidency of Mr. N. V. L. Narsinha Rao in a specially erected pandal which was very tastefully decorated amidst scenes of great enthusiasm.

In the course of his address the PRESIDENT paid a most glowing tribute to the Saint of Sabarmati who stirred the heart of the nation to its depths by giving an almost new orientation to the philosophy of Indian Nationalism. He traced briefly the developments in the country since the stirring days of the Mutiny and expressed great regret at the utter demoralisation to which the country was subsequently brought slowly but insidiously by the bureaucracy. In a feeling manner he observed :—

"It is a tragedy that for everything we are obliged to rely on Britain. The famous muslins of Dacca which were exhibited as the finest specimens of Indian industry in all the western markets had become things of the past. So had the Palampores of Bandar become extinct. The dyeing industry of Cocanada was given the quietus and what is positively worse they not only have made us purchase and wear their clothes but also created a deep impression in our minds that we could not get on without their imports. Alas ! the Nalas of yesterday have become the Bahukas of to-day. We have indeed become unemployed, emasculated and soul-less but the silver lining to the clouds that have gathered thick in the horizon of India is in the genuine desire or the nation to obtain her freedom and recover her lost glory."

He then referred to the two greatest events within recent history—the partition of Bengal which first popularised the movement of Nationalism and the inauguration of the great movement of Non-co-operation in 1920 which sublimated the creed of Swaraj to a new national philosophy and very nearly shook the foundations of the British Raj.

In reiterating his faith in non-violent non-co-operation and Gandhism, he avowed that it was a fallacy to think that India would not gain her feeedom until untouchability and Hindu-Moslem problems are solved, a *lingua franca* of the whole nation had been practised to perfection, and the women had gained their emancipation. He said that all these things could be done more speedily by the attainment of Swaraj itself.

He hoped the Congressmen would soon realise that they could not afford to dissipate their energies in sections and parties and launch a programme which would bring all together into one solid phalanx to offer battle to the bureaucracy. He exhorted the leaders to refuse to enter into negotiations with the Government until their brethren who had been clapped into jails were released.

He concluded : "The future lies in the hands of youth. The wheel of time always moves and while it moves brings its own changes and revelations. Empires have flourished and empires have fallen. To-day all over the world new forces are moving. An almost new world is being refashioned. It is only a free India that can facilitate the consummation of the great event."

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference re-assembled on the next two days and passed the following resolutions :—

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1, Condolence

The first resolution put from the chair and carried all standing was that of condolences touching the untimely deaths of S. Rangaswami Gupta of Guntur, Telidevara Vasudeva Row, Bhaktavatsalu Naidu of Madras, Rallapalli Kasanna of Tuni and conveying sympathies of the conference to the members of the bereaved families.

The Conference then carried unanimously, the whole house standing, a resolution appreciating the martyrdom of the late Jatindra Das and Phoongyi Wizaya and praying for the peace of their souls.

2. Resettlement Issue

"That the land revenue system now in force is arbitrary, uneconomical and uncivilised and opposed to the interests of the people and since there is no comprehensive legislation on land revenue based upon popular support up till now ; that therefore the resettlement operations now going on and under future consideration in the several Districts in the Presidency should be stopped and that in case the resettlement operation is not kept in abeyance and if the Government intend to collect taxes at the enhanced resettlement rate, intensive propaganda should be carried on an extensive scale preaching non-payment of such enhanced taxes and strong agitation carried on for getting the necessary changes made in the existing land revenue system by organising land leagues."

3. Change In Congress Creed

After three hours' debate the Conference recommended by 205 against 123 votes, change in the creed of the Congress to one of complete independence. Doctor Subramanyam moving the resolution said that time had come when they should fix the goal of complete independence free from all foreign control. Irrespective of the considerations of the supposed peace overtures from the British Government, he said, India had a right to determine for herself, once for all, her political status among the comity of nations. He asked the audience to disabuse themselves of hopes of a compromise which were deceptive and illusory and to support the motion whole-heartedly.

4. The Viceregal Pronouncement

"This Conference is of opinion that the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government is unsatisfactory. This Conference opines that an amicable settlement will be possible on the following terms :—All the political prisoners should be released and prosecutions withdrawn ; a Round Table Conference with a majority of Congressmen should be convened to evolve a scheme of Dominion constitution and the Government should bind itself to carry out the decision of the Conference.

5. Statement Of Independence League

Mr. T. Viswanatham then read the statement issued by the members of the Andhra Branch of the Independence League in respect of the Viceregal anouncement and the resolution thereon before the Conference. It ran as follows :—

We feel the statement made by the Viceroy does not evoke any hope of immediate grant of Dominion Status in terms of the Calcutta Congress resolution.

Nor is the statement accompanied by any practical sign of a sincere change of heart towards India's right for self-determination.

In view of the resolution passed yesterday by the Conference urging the Lahore Congress to change its creed to one of complete independence, we maintain that no other nation has any right to interfere with political development of this country. But since our leaders, Mahatmaji, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Pattabhi Sitharamiah, the President of our Independence League have signed an agreed statement along with the leaders of other parties stipulating conditions of co-operation, we do not wish to embarrass them at this moment by standing in their way. We have therefore decided to remain neutral on this resolution and request all those who feel similarly to do so.

We affirm that notwithstanding any agreemcnt that may or may not have been reached, we go on our path of complete Independence as the only self-respecting course for this nation.

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The resolution was then put to vote and carried *nem com.* The Conference then dispersed.

The Bihar Provincial Confcscnce

At the 28th Session of the Bihar Provincial Political Conference held at Monghyr on the *9th December 1929*, in the absence of the President-elect Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sjt. Ramdayalu Sinha read out the Hindi translation of the presidential address. The president, in the course of his address, said :—

Freedom can be achieved in two ways : the old and ancient method which was pursued by our ancestors with such lasting and benevolent results for humanity or by the modern method of meeting force by force, and following the Willo' the Wisp of great industrial and mechanical exploitation of one people by another. India has to make her choice and it is no use ignoring the fact that we are not all agreed about following the one or the other. Allow me, therefore, to declare my faith, which is growing stronger and keener as days pass, in our well-tried method which Mahatma Gandhi has introduced in the Indian politics—nay in the world politics of to-day under the name of truth and non-violence, Satya and Ahimsa, non-co-operation and Satyagraha. We have to be self-determined deciding our own course of action on the merit of its higher moral and spiritual quality.

Holding these views I find no difficulty in accepting the goal of our national aspiration as a membership on terms of absolute and complete equality and fraternity with other members similarly situated. My conception of Dominion Status is one of partnership on equal terms, dissolvable at the will of any of the partner.

I concede that in actually working out a programme for the attainment of Dominion Status or Independence we shall have to put forth the same amount of effort, sacrifice and devotion. Then you may naturally ask me, why not then I strive for Independence outright ? My answer is because I consider a federation of nations bound by ties of love, respect and fellow-feelings as a higher ideal, a more satisfying ideal than a life of isolation not unmingled with jealousy and bitterness. Therefore let us put aside all controversy and organise our strength, for after all Swaraj whether you call it independence or Dominion Status, will not come to us as a gift but will have to be wrested from unwilling hands. That is the problem before us. The first *Sine qua non* of success is organisation. The British Government is nothing if not organisation carried to perfection. We want an organisation equally strong, equally enduring but not devoid of human touch which makes all the difference. The next point that I desire to draw your attention to is the question of organisation of the masses of our countrymen for a determined non-violent fight. Similarly, industrial labourers cannot be ignored. I think that the time has come when the Congress should have been entrusted with the work of labour organisation.

In conclusion, I have an appeal to make to the youth. There is plenty of work for them. Are they going to prepare a band that will do this work of village organisation ? They will be doing thereby a great service.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted several resolutions, the most important of which was one in connection with the Vicergal Declaration and the Leaders' Manifesto.

Mr. Viswanath Misra moved a resolution which ran :—"This Conference fully supports the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at its meeting held at Allahabad on November 27 in connection with the Viceroy's Declaration of October 31, but at the same time advises the people of the Province to be prepared for mass civil disobedience in case the next Congress at Lahore decides on any such step in pursuance of the resolution adopted at the last session of the Congress in Calcutta."

To this Mr. Ramkrishna Sharma moved the following amendment :—"This Conference looks upon the Viceroy's Declaration of October 31 as not only hollow in itself but also misleading to the people, particularly so after the debates in Parliament on the subject and recommends to the Lahore Congress that it should declare complete independence as its goal on January 1, 1930, and calls upon the people of the Province that they should be ready for mass civil disobedience."

A long and heated debate took place on the resolution and the amendment which lasted for about three hours. Ultimately the amendment was put to vote and declared carried by 149 to 103 votes.

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The Punjab Political Conference

In the course of his presidential address delivered at the Political Conference held at Cakara on the *16th, 17th, and 18th. November* Sardar Sardul Singh observed :—

To begin with I must complement Lord Irwin and Mr. Wedgwood Benn on the earnestness which they have shown to placate a very large section of the Indian opinion which had been treated with such scant respect by men like Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Birkenhead. But this is the most I can speak for the Viceroy's statement : otherwise it is beautiful only in its vagueness. When the Indians realise that they were only befooled with words and that the Viceroy's statement was nothing more than a new handy edition of the declaration of 1917, the reaction in this country is bound to be so serious, that all those who took responsibility for the Viceroy's statement, shall feel sorry for having made it. But still we should hope for the best. This does not mean that we should not prepare ourselves for the worst. And from this point of view, the manifesto issued by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Sapru, Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Ansari and other Indian leaders meets our requirements most adequately. The Indian leaders have replied to the Viceroy in as courteous a language as the occasion demanded. I know that some of us would have liked the leaders' statement to have been a little stringent ; but such persons often forget that courtesy never does any harm.

What is desired in the event of the British rejection of our demands, is action, earnest action and effective action so that Indians might come to their own. It is necessary that we should faithfully carry out the Congress programme to its logical end. We should boycott foreign goods, specially foreign cloth, and should become one united Indian Nation. Communal squabbles and jealousies should cease altogether and for ever. The success of both these items in our programme would impart that strength to Indian demands when no earthly power could resist. But, if even after all this, we find our opponents still stubborn, we shall have civil disobedience ready at hand as a last weapon.

I need not dilate much to explain the programme in detail ; this has been done so many times before and by so many competent men that it is sufficient for me to tell you here a few words to impress its importance. No nation can be politically free unless it is also economically free. For the economic freedom of a country it is absolutely necessary that as far as possible it should use its own products.

Communal troubles and communal differences are mainly due to our own ignorance and prejudice which are so cleverly used by the interested persons to keep us down. The All-Parties Conference tried to grapple with the situation in bold spirit and laboured as best as it could to narrow down the issues. But as we could not give the go-by to communal prejudices, the proposals which are now before the country still smack of communal prejudices and communal jealousies. Their weakness displays our weakness ; and unless we get rid of our minds of communal bigotry no workable proposals are possible which might satisfy us for all times to come.

It is unfortunate that the All-Parties' decisions have met more opposition in the Punjab than anywhere else. Not only the Sikhs and an important section of the Muslims criticise them adversely but even a certain section of the Hindus does not also favour them. But the differences amongst the various communities are not as fundamental as these are made to appear. We are quarrelling about shadows, and pay little attention to the great achievement of the All-Parties' Conference as regards the vital points.

It would be better if we could call miniature Round-Table Conference in the Punjab, where Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians of progressive views should sit together and try to come to a common decision about those points where they still differ. Whether we have to join the Round-Table Conference summoned by the Labour Government or not, it is absolutely necessary that we should close our ranks as soon as possible.

People often ask about how the civil disobedience is to come about. It is true that it would be very unwise after our last experience to plunge the whole country into civil disobedience all at once. But to me two things seem to be fairly easy and practicable. When we find that there is no hope of our demands being conceded to, we can call all those individuals who are prepared for it to cease payment of income-

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tax. I know that the number of such persons would not be very great ; but still if some of the prominent persons come forward to bear the brunt of the attack it shall create a tremendous moral effect. We can also select suitable areas in every province for the non-payment of land revenue. Political workers in a province should devote all their attention to such areas, and create such atmosphere of resistance as was found working so successfully in Bardoli.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

It is gratifying to note that the youth of the country seem to have realised their duty in this respect. The awakening that is to-day amongst the young men of India was never before during recent times ; not even during the fight of the non-co-operation were our young men as earnest as they are to-day. I am also glad to note that young men have chalked out a new line of action for themselves ; the old methods of agitation have been left to the elder generation, and new means are sought to be used for awakening the self-consciousness of the masses, the new upheaval proving more strong and effective for liberating the country from the present moral and political lethargy than anything of the kind did before. The Punjab young men should leave the press and platform to other people. What they should do is to take up the organisation of labour and peasants. It is there where the real strength of the nation lies hidden.

GOVERNMENT'S REPRESSIVE POLICY

It is unfortunate that the authorities have mis-understood the Indian youth movement. Instead of helping the young men in their noble aspirations, it is trying to suppress their energies. Those who indulge in repression should remember one thing. Repression always reacts on those who are responsible for it.

The Youth movement must flourish ; no amount of vilification by calling it revolutionary or communistic can check its course. In Punjab, there are about a hundred young men either in jail or undergoing trial. The treatment that is being meted out to them has become a public scandal. A strong and representative committee should immediately be formed and those engaged in the national struggle should be made to feel that every effort should be made to look to their interests.

In the end, I wish to tell you, gentlemen, that I am very hopeful about the future. I feel sure that the Labour Government and the Viceroy are much impressed by the earnestness that lies behind our demands. But in case reactioneries succeed in their opposition and our demands and rights are not conceded, we should make it quite clear to these enemies of freedom that we shall be obliged to move in the direction of declaring independence at the next session of the National Congress. When inviting the Congress to Punjab at Calcutta, I said that Punjab was the last amongst the Indian Provinces to lose its liberty, and it should now be the first to declare its independence. The honour is rare honour ; I hope every Punjabee will rise to the occasion and do his duty.

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All India National Social Conference

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, author of the Child Marriage Restraint Act passed by the Assembly, presided over the All India National Social Conference which was held at Lahore on the *26th & 27th December 1929* and was largely attended by ladies and several social reformers. The attendance included Sir Mahomed Shafi, Sir Abdul Qadir, Srimati Saraladevi Choudhrani, Mrs. Nora Richards and Mrs. Lajpat Rai. The following are extracts from the address delivered by the President :—

Need of Adjustmemt

Gentlemen, while the fundamental principles of life remain permanent and unchangeable, the conditions of life keep ever changing, owing to the conflicting interests of individuals and the varying needs and requirements of the nations of the world in different stages of evolution. In view of this constant change it is necessary to maintain a proper adjustment of relations between the facts and conditions of existence and our acts and practices in order to secure a healthy life and growth of society. When this adjustment is broken, the life of a society is threatened and its progress and prosperity stopped. Constant adjustment of relations is therefore a condition of healthy growth. In other words, reform, political and social is the necessity of a healthy state of society.

Social and Political Reforms

Both the social and the political aspects of life are equally important as they touch every individual member of society at every point of his life, and his well-being and happiness are promoted or retarded according as a proper and timely readjustment of relations is effected or neglected. This is why social and political reforms are so intimately connected with each other that the neglect of the one vitally injures the other. They act and react on each other. Social reform, by releasing forces hitherto held in check and by generating others gives dynamic force to the movement of political reform just as political emancipation powerfully helps to bring about readjustment of social relations and facilitates social reform. The emancipation of the mind from thraldom, individual or communal, whether in the social sphere or the political, broadens the vision, quickens the impulses, strengthens the will and has an elating effect on every fibre of the person or persons emancipated, leading automatically to the breaking of chains in the other sphere.

India's Social Constitution

We all know that India had a glorious past and that her achievements in the various domains of human activity were great. One great reason for this was that her social contribution was very elastic and gave freedom to individuals.

The structure of society was based on two institutions peculiar to India : (1) Varnashrama and (2) joint family system. The Varnashrama meant the division of the people into four classes—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishas and Sudras. Those who devoted themselves to acquiring and imparting knowledge and dedicated their lives to the development of mental and spiritual powers, and guided the counsels of the nation, were called Brahmans and accorded a place of honour in society. Their ideal was self-denial. They did not seek wealth or material advancement. Their rule of life was high thinking and plain living. They were therefore accorded the position which in the modern world, wealth and worldly power alone give. They thus enjoyed all the benefits which wealth and power confer without their draw-backs.

The ideal of the Kshatriyas was not how best to live, but 'how best to die.' Self-aggrandisement was not their aim : service was their "*summum bonum*" in life. The Rajputs, the descendants of the Kshatriyas, illustrated in their lives the high ideal of the warrior class. To die worthily in a worthy cause, 'to make the mother's milk resplendent' was their chief solicitude. The Rajputs in days gone by loved strife, and sought opportunities of dying in a just cause. To die gloriously was what they lived for. The history of India is full of instances that prove this

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distinguishing feature of their character. The outburst of Devaldevi, the mother of the celebrated heroes Ala and Udil, on their refusal to return to Mahoba to fight for their country on its invasion by Prithviraj Chauhan, sums up the Rajput character in a sentence. She exclaimed :—

'Would that gods has made me barren, that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the path of the Rajput and refuse to succour their prince and country in danger.' Her heart bursting with grief, her eyes raised to heaven, she continued, 'Was it for this, O Universal Lord, Thou madest me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Binafur's fame ? Unworthy offspring, the heart of a true Rajput dances with joy at the mere name of strife ; but, ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jasraj. Some carl must have stolen to my embrace and from such ye must be sprung.'

This was irresistible. The two heroes declared that they would die fighting for Mahoba. On this, Devaldevi said :—

'Well have you spoken, my sons. Nothing now remains but to make thy parent's milk resplendent by thy deed. The calls of the peasant driven from his home meets the ear, and while we deliberate, our villages are given to the flames.'

Ala added :—

'He who can look tamely on while the smoke rises from his ruined towns, his fields laid waste, can be no Rajput. He who succumbs to fear when his country is invaded, his body will be plunged into the bell of hells, his soul a wanderer in the world of spirits for sixty thousand years ; but the warrior who performs his duty will be received into the mansions of the Sun and his deeds will last for ever.'

In the third division came the Vaishas. They were engaged in manufacture and trade. They produced things and distributed them and accumulated wealth and material resources. They were men of intelligence, industry and courage. They went to every part of the world, had the strength of arm to defend their lives and property. The Vaishas were the mainstay of society. Those who were unfitted to follow any of the above mentioned three callings supplied labour and served the other three classes.

CASTES NOT EXCLUSIVE

But these four classes were not rigidly exclusive of each other. In the same family one was a Brahman, the other a Kshatriya and the third a Vaisha. The Hindu scriptures themselves illustrate this feature of the Varnashrama system. The Puranas say that Raja Yuvnashav of the solar dynasty had a son called Harita. Harit's son became a Brahman and his descendants were known as Angiris Harit. The Vishnu Purana and Bhagwad say that Raja Nedishta's son Nabhag became a Vaisha. Raja Suhotra of the lunar dynasty had three sons Kash, Lesh and Gritsmad. The latter's son Shunak had a son called Shainak. Shainak's sons became Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisha and Sudra respectivety. Take another instance. Kushik was the son of Raja Kushashva of the lunar dynasty. His grandson Vishwamitra's descendants are known in India as Brahmans of the Kaushik 'gotra.'

Individuals and communities took up the callings and pursuits that suited them and afforded free and full development to the physical, mental and moral qualities with which nature had endowed them. There was no rigid, hide-bound, water-tight system of caste in old days.

SOCIAL LIFE AT A LOW EBB

Coming now to the application of the theoretical propositions enunciated above to the practical facts of social life in our country at the present time, we find that our social life is at a very low ebb ; that society is cut up into castes and sub-castes, and the sub-castes are again divided into smaller groups all exclusive of one another, with restrictions regarding food and marriage and association carried to a point beyond which this fissiparous tendency could not go. This, with the resultant narrow view of things, and the lowering of high ideals of conduct, made the nation impotent to protect itself from foreign inroads, and powerless to withstand the impact of forces foreign to its constitution. The result was social disintegration ending in political subjection.

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The Joint Family

The joint family system was a contrivance which the Hindu economists and social thinkers invented in order to maintain the traditions of the race, and give stability and continuity to family life, as the family and not the individual was the the unit in the social system. The two bases on which the system rested, were (a) co-operation or mutual help between those who were nearest in blood and bound by ties created by nature herself and (b) the care and protection of the weak and afflicted among them. This institution made for peace and order, promoted unity and prevented disintegration. But it did not ensure progress. So long as it worked properly, no necessity was felt for such institutions of the West as poor houses, old age pensions and poor laws. But the joint family system was a product of the peculiar circumstances in which society was placed at the time. The impact of foreign influences, political, economic and social, is disintegrating society. New ideals of life and conduct, due partly to the introduction of foreign culture and partly to a new valuation of things which both are being increasingly accepted in the country, resulting in the rejection of the principles and ideals on which the system was based are undermining it and must ultimately destroy it. Moreover life has now begun to flow in much wider channels.

The Varnashrama has disappeared giving place to the present caste system. And the joint family system which took away the personal rights of individuals and bestowed them on a corporate body, the family, has now ceased to function as originally intended. Naturally, the adjustment between the actual facts of life and the necessities of personal happiness and social welfare is completely broken.

My purpose in describing in detail the leading features of the social system of the Hindus is not to advocate its revival. The object is only to show that the elasticity of the social system of ancient India, and the freedom it gave to individuals to live the life that suited them best enabled the people to achieve good results. Back to the past is not my cry. The interests of the country require that our social system must be modified so as to admit of social intercourse with people belonging to different denominations and faiths in the country. Economic forces beyond our control and foreign trade relations demand that the limitations and restrictions necessitated by a strict observance of the caste and other social conventions must be removed.

Break the Bonds of Caste.

The social system in vogue in ancient India had its own ways to secure the welfare of women. In the changed conditions of modern India that welfare can only be secured by according to the women their natural rights, and making them enforceable by law. In order that those rights n ay be fully exercised, it is necessary to break the bonds of caste, and free men and women from the shackles which tie them to the old order of things. Men and women must have full freedom to utilize all opportunities and avenues open to them to attain their full physical mental and moral growth, and to arm themselves with all the modern weapons used in economic, educational and social spheres to enable them to hold their own in the deadly struggle for existence going on in the world. Then only can we successfully compete with the advanced nations of the West.

Social Reform by Legislation

As for the methods of social reform, there exist at present in India two ways in which reforms can be introduced : (a) public opinion crystallised into caste and communal regulations and (b) legislation. If the caste organizations were at the present time effective and fully operative, a great deal of social reform could be carried out through those organizations. But the discipline of caste having become loose and its authority having lost its efficacy, the work done in the old days through this agency cannot now be so accomplished. The only sure means of effecting social reform now is legislation. As a great English writer has said, where the large communities or numbers are concerned legislation is the only effective means of carrying out social reform. There is no country in the world where important social reform has been accomplished by means other than legislation. Those who contend that social reform should be carried out only by educating public opinion and

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through the agency of caste or communal organizations, have failed to understand the real nature of reform and the function of legislation. Nor do they appreciate the gravity of the situation. Reform becomes necessary where the rights of individuals or groups of individuals are withheld or denied. As the caste agency has no legal sanction behind it and is powerless to have those rights respected, the aggrieved party has every right to appeal to the State, whose primary duty is to see that the rights of individual as living within its jurisdiction are respected. We see this in daily life.

If the rights of a woman, who is entitled to equal treatment with man are systematically denied her and she is treated like chattel, it is the duty of the State to intervene. Amongst the Hindus some of the primary rights of a woman are now denied to her. And even in other communities some of her rights though recognised by the personal law governing her are denied her owing to the force of custom. In the Punjab, the right of inheritance conceded to a Moslem woman by "Shariat" (Moslem law) is denied to her by customary law, and so far as her right to property is concerned, she is very nearly in the same position as her Hindu sister.

Hindu law chiefly centres round marriage, inheritance and the joint family system. The law of inheritance was based on the requirements and the incidents of the joint family. But as the joint family system is rapidly disintegrating and the individual is taking the place of the family as a unit of society, both the law of inheritance and that governing joint family must be modified in the light of changed circumstances. As the present law governing marriage was based on the Varnashrama which has long since disappeared and the caste system which took its place is rapidly going to pieces, it is necessary, that this law too must be materially modified.

CHILD MARRIAGE.

The readjustment or reform in the social system of the country easily falls under three heads : (1) rights and welfare of children : (2) rights and status of women : (3) social rights of individuals and classes. As regards the rights of children, an important step has recently been taken by the country in forbidding marriages of boys below 18 and girls below 14 years of age. This law, if duly enforced and strengthened later in the light of future experience of its working, will put a stop to child widowhood, protect girls from early death and lifelong ill-health, and will give them time to receive education. Physical degeneration of the race will be arrested, and boys will have a chance of growing into sturdy men. Children are also entitled to receive such education and training as will enable them to live a decent life in the world. For this, the State should provide necessary facilities.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE.

So long as the caste system exists we must permit and, at times, encourage inter-caste marriages. Some communities are so small that it is not possible to find within their fold suitable matches for boys and girls. Inter-caste marriages up to a certain extent are sanctioned by Shastras and they are now recognised by law. With such marriages becoming more frequent, the evils of prices being paid sometimes for bride-grooms and sometimes for brides will disappear. This pernicious practice has ruined many homes and has occasioned many suicides. Reform in this direction is urgently called for.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

I include under the head, social rights of individuals and classes, such questions as inter-dining ; free social intercourse between individuals belonging to different castes ; admission in the various castes of people belonging to other faiths seeking such admission ; untouchability ; freedom to enter temples to offer divine worship ; use of wells and tanks and public schools. It is only in this unfortunate country that a man is regarded as untouchable by another. And it is a matter of shame that those who believe in the saying that mankind form one family, whose Shastras teach them that all men are brethren and that there is divine essence in every man, woman and child, should practise untouchability and regard certain classes of men and women as untouchables.

It is of prime importance for the Hindus to do away with the evil of untouchability. It has yet to be realized by them that the future of the Hindus as a community

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depends to a great extent on a proper treatment of the depressed classes, and on their whole-hearted co-operation. All well-wishers of the country must therefore see that this question is solved to the satisfaction of those classes. Fortunately, the question of untouchability except in the case of the small class of sweepers is practically non-existent in Upper India.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

The most important question, however, as it concerns every man and woman in the country, and as it vitally affects society, is the position of woman and her rights. The pivot of life is the home and the home is the woman's citadel. She is the presiding genius of the household. People test a nation's civilisation from the position women occupy in it. In Islam, the most democratic religious organisation in the world, theoretically her position is high and her rights are to a great extent safe-guarded by law. Amongst the Hindus of old, she occupied a position of great respect and consideration, enjoyed great privileges and in certain respects held a dominant position in the family.

Hindu scriptures show that women were given the highest education in ancient times. Women enjoyed rights of property. Even in the Vedas there is mention of women growing old in their father's house and claiming their share of the paternal estate. A wife's co-operate body, the family, has been recognised in that the husband could not make a religious gift without her consent. The legal status of a wife and the equal treatment of husband and wife is thus defined in law :—

1. If a wife is not to adverse describing ownership of property was res of (Manu, Ch. V. V. 168).
If the social system accorded to her with her husband is to be quoted by Madhava
the life that she dies, her husband may marry another wife. Yajnavalkya, quoted by
to the next husband dies a wife may marry another husband (Manu, Vishnu Smriti and Vidyanatha Dikshita ; Parasara Smriti ; Narada ; Yagnavalkya, quoted by Krishnacharya ; Agni Purana ; Smriti quoted by Chetti Konemitatic nu quoted Janardana Bhatta).

2. If a wife becomes fallen, by drunkenness or immorality, her husband may marry another. (Manu Ch. IX, v. 80 ; Yagnavalkya, page 416, v. 73).
If a husband becomes fallen, a wife may marry another husband (Manu, Ch. IX, by Madhav and several other authorities above mentioned.)

3. If a wife be barren, her husband may marry another wife (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 81).
If a husband be impotent she may marry another husband (Manu, and several other authorities quoted above.)

4. In particular circumstances a wife may cease to cohabit with her husband (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 79.)

5. If a husband deserts his wife she may marry another (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 76, and several others.)

6. If a wife treats her husband with aversion, he may cease to co-habit with her (Manu, Ch. IX, v. 77)

7. A husband must be revered (Manu, Ch. V. v. 154.)
A wife must be honoured by the husband (Manu, Ch. III. v. 54.)

8. A good wife irradiates the house and is a goddess of wealth (Manu Ch. IX, v. 26)
A good husband make his wife entitled to honour (Mahu, Ch. IX v. 23.)

With the political downfall of the Hindus came their social decline, and the legal position of women deteriorated. In the matter of marriage, in matters of inheritance and her position in the family, many of her rights have been taken away from her and her freedom has been restricted. But though her freedom has been restricted, and owing to the desirability of maintaining intact the joint family system, legal power to enforce many of her rights has been taken away from her, yet it is generally true that the position she occupies in the family is predominant and the influence she exercises in domestic matters almost supreme. Traducers of Indians, professional decriers of weak nations, who have made it a business to defame subject peoples for political purposes like the notorious Miss Katharine Mayo, may with the aid of imagination, depict the condition of Indian women in family life as deplorable. But those who are acquainted with the real condition of things and who have a knowledge of the

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working of family life in this country, know well that women occupy even now a most respected position in Indian households, and that their influence remains unimpaired.

WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE.

Widow re-marriage should become as general as widow re-marriage at present is. If marriage is a sacrament, and can be performed only once in life, why is a widower allowed to perform it a second, a third or a fourth time when a widow is not allowed? A husband is as much subject to the conditions of the sacrament as a wife is. The evils of enforced widowhood are many and wide-spread; and apart from the great injustice it does to women, it has its repercussions in the entire field of domestic life, and produces most harmful effects on the body politic of the Hindus.

It has also become essential now that full rights of inheritance should be secured to women. If a son gets a share in his patrimony, on what moral or spiritual grounds, can a daughter be refused her share? The natural rights of the both are equal marriage and transplantation in another family may modify the extent of the right, but should not take it away completely. She is also entitled to share in her husband's property. She becomes by marriage a member of her husband's family and so must in fact acquire rights of property in that family. I have introduced in the Central Legislature a bill to give a Hindu widow right to inherit her husband's share in the family property, along with her sons, if any. The key to secure and strengthen her lawful position in the family is to give her a legally enforceable right of inheritance. As soon as her just right in family property is secured to her by law, most of her troubles will be over. The time has now come to put an end to the judicial system under which English judges—though capable, conscientous but ignorant of Indian traditions and ideals of life and the language in which the laws are written—are invested with power to interpert and administer Hindu law.

Social reform, as popularly understood, is reform of evil customs and practices; but social legislation covers a much larger field and we must now enlarge the sphere of legislation in our country by including in it all measures calculated to promote the health and happiness of men and women, increase their comfort, and help the general welfare of society.

And now I appeal to the women and young men of India. I appeal to the women to prove themselves worthy daughters of the brave women of India who, in days gone by, covered the history of this country with glory. It was the women of India who made heroes of men and inspired them to perform deeds of valour which are sung in the country and are remembered and admired everywhere. Take the history of Rajput heroism or the history of the heroism of Rajput women. It was the Rajput women who inspired their husbands and brothers and sons to do great deeds. They not only defended their minor son's rights with exemplary valour but actually headed troops in their places. Read the historian Ferishta's animated picture of Durgavati, the queen of Gurrah who, like another Boadicea, headed the army and fought a desperate battle with Akbar's general Asaf Khan, in which she was wounded. Scorning flight or to survive the loss of independence, she like the antique Roman in such circumstances, slew herself on the field of battle. Remember how, on the death of the Rana of Chittor on the battlefield of Thaneshwar, his heir Karan Singh being a minor, the queen-mother Korum Devi headed her Rajputs and gave battle in person to Qutubuddin Aibak near Amber (Jaipur), when Qutubuddin was defeated and wounded. Jawahir Bai, another queen-mother of Chittor, in order to set an example of courageous devotion, headed a sally during the seige of that fortress by Bahadur Shah of Gujerat in which she was slain. The unparalleled heroism displayed by the mother of Fattah during the seige of Chittor by Akbar is unforgettable. Says Colonel Todd:

'When the Saloombra fell at the gate of the Sun, the command devolved on Fattah of Kailwa. He was only 16. His father had fallen in the last shock and his mother had survived but to rear the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old she commanded him to put on the saffron robe—the robe that Rajputs put on when determined to die in a fight—and die for Chittor: but surpassing the Greecian dame she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft compunctious visitings for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed the young bride with a

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lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chittor saw her fall fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajputs became reckless of life.'

Another instance of how Rajput women compelled the men to defend their country and die in its defence is related by the French traveller Bernier. When Maharaja Jaswanta Singh of Jodhpur, after losing the battle of Fatehabad about the middle of the 17 century, retired with only a handful of following to Jodhpur, his queen refused to see him. Bernier says :—

'I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jaswant Singh after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle, that he had fought with all possible courage, that he had but four or five hundred men left ; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat ; instead of sending some one to condole with him in his misfortune, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gate of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter ; that he was not her husband ;..... in a word, he was to vanquish or to die.'

The magnificent example of woman's valour and devotion to her country so finely displayed by that heroine, Queen Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, during the days of the Sepoy war must ever inspire you to remain true to your ideals.

I will not tire your patience with more examples of woman's courage, sense of duty and devotion to her country. The noble traditions of heroism left by your forbears should ever be kept untarnished. Let the sons and daughters you rear, be such as would uphold the honour of the country and restore to your motherland her past grandeur and glory. There was a time when in my part of the country the ideal of motherhood was embodied in the famous line—

'O Mother, let thy offspring be either a great benefactor or a hero.'

My appeal to you, young men, is to break the bonds of convention and custom. Fight against evil and pernicious practices. Emancipate the women. Cultivate the spirit of self-denial of the Brahman of old, become as fearless and as devoted to duty as the Rajput of mediaeval times. Remember also that a sound social system is the only basis for a lasting political structure to be raised on it. Forget not that an enormous amount of social work has to be done in the country. Let every young man in India work the unshakeable resolution born of the conviction which inspired William Pitt at the age of 24 to declare, 'I know that I can save England and I know that no one else can save it.' Lay to heart the sound advice of the great Goethe, and act accordingly :—

Ponder well and know the right
Onward, then, with all thy might.

RESOLUTIONS

Denominational Institutions Condemned

Re-assembling on the next day, the *27th. December*, the Conference passed important resolutions. Sir Muhammad Shafi moved a resolution appealing to all communities of India to take steps to promote mutual harmony and concord which were essential for social solidarity and inter-communal cooperation.

Sir Abdul Qadir and Dr. Gokul Chand Narang made strong speeches supporting the resolution. Dr. Satyapal and Mr. Duni Chand (Congressmen) emphasised that the attitude of the communities towards each other had a great deal to do with the country's claim for political freedom.

Some speakers opined that denominational institutions were a great source for inculcating in the minds of the younger generation feelings of jealousy and mistrust towards each oher. They suggested that to give practical proof of their willingness to help the cause of the country, they should admit 50 per cent students belonging to communities other than their own. It was also suggested that in future the Government should make no grants to institutions of a denominational character.

Widows' Inheritance Bill

Considerable discussion centred round a resolution expressing the support of the conference for Hindu Widows' Inheritance Bill. Mr. Harbilas Sarda's explanations removed all misgivings about the bill.

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Mrs, Shah Nawaz told the audience that, athough the personal law of the Musalmans did not debar the Mahomedan women from inheriting their husbands' property, the customary law in the Punjab did. At her instance the conference adopted an amendment that the Bill, if passed. should also apply to Mahomedan widows in the Punjab.

PURDAH AND POLYGAMY

The other resolutions passed referred to the abolition of 'purdah', promotion of inter-caste and inter-provincial marriages, and abolition of polygamy and requested the Government to help nation-wide reform in diet by asking the educational authorities to impart instructions on the lines suggested by the conference.

A resolution was also passed urging the appointment of a committee of enquiry to euquire into the causes and treatment of tuberculosis.

The All India Shia Conference

The 22nd session of the All-India Shia Conference commenced on the *26th December 1929* at Allahabad in a specious pandal under the presidency of Mr. Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay.

The delegates who attended the conference included several distinguished Muslims from distant parts of the country. Among the non-delegates present were Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, Nawab Muhammad Yusuf, the Minister of Local Self-Government, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, the Commissioner of the Allahabad division and Pandit Shyamlal Nehru.

Chairman's Speech

Khan Sahib Agha Ali Khan, the chairman of the reception committee, in the course of his speech welcomed the delegates and referred to the varied problems concerning the community.

Referring to the question of the protection of the rights of the minority communities, Mr. Agha Ali Khan desired to mention the fact that the Shia community had not been able even to secure seats in provincial councils and local boards in proportion to its population.

'This is the reason,' he asserted, 'for the birth among the Shias of a group of persons who plead for the reservation of seats for the Shia community. It can also not be denied that if the matters on the basis of which this group is born are not rightly settled, then they would not only impede the progress of the country but would be liable to create a great split among the Muslim community itself."

Syed Hyder Mehdi, seconding Khan Sahib Aga Ali Khan's motion regarding the presidential election, made a forceful speech on the question of the equal rights of the different communities irrespective of communal considerations.

The Shia Conference, he said, had not been dealing with active politics and was not a body politically active. The reason was that there could be only one politics and that was the Indian politics. 'We shall sink and swim, he asserted, with other communities. Our relations with other communities have always been cordial and you have contributed to the growth of all shades of political opinion. We stand only for equal rights and equal opportunities to develop ourselves for the service of the country. The reason why we have gathered here separately is that we are weaker than other communities and we want to strengthen ourselves to be able to walk shoulder to shoulder with others.'

Presidential Address.

Mr. Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan, president, then delivered his address in Urdu of which the following is an English translation :—

I for one welcome the last declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy which has to

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my mind served to clear the political atmosphere in this country. No community can advance in material prosperity without securing political advancement. Members of other communities, more particularly my Hindu brethren, are doing their utmost to advance and to take the fullest advantage which their majority affords to them in democratic bodies and institutions. They have a natural advantage over you. In every walk of life you have been left far behind. We stand to-day at the parting of the ways. The Simon Commission has visited India and its report is being awaited.

If the Round Table Conference takes place as proposed I for one firmly believe that much good will come out of it. To refuse to join it would be to my mind an act of political folly. Swaraj is in sight and it may come sooner than some expect. The question is, will the Moslems (all the Moslems of India) realise their responsibility, make a spurt and take their proper place in the Councils of the country, or will they lag behind and become hewers of wood and drawers of water? The plain question is, are you going to take your legitimate place in the life and politics of this country by preparing yourselves for shouldering the responsibilities and performing the duties of the position and attain to that high status which your past history and past connections with this country entitle you, or are you going to follow the same policy of sloth which has brought you so low and which will take you more and more down the abyss of ignorance and misery?

There can be no political advancement in a community without education. Political advancement and education are closely inter-twined. What steps have you under taken to introduce even primary education among all the members of your community? Look at the injunctions contained in our religion. In my view the injunctions are so strong as to make it compulsory on every Moslem male or female to educate himself or herself. What have you done to educate yourself? What is the percentage of the educated among you? I am unable to speak about these percentages among the Muslims of all India. But I know figures for Bombay. The number of Muslim students in the colleges in the Bombay Presidency is less than the number of women students of the other communities I want a band of selfless workers who would in the way of the Lord be ready to devote their time and attention to the advancement of their brethren. Our arts, our sciences, our literatures (Persian and Arabic) are being rapidly forgotten. The Persian language was the court language of this country during the Moslem rule. The original histories of Moslem rule in India are written in that language. Some of the greatest names in Persian literature are the names of those who wrote books and poetry under the Moslem rulers. May I mention the names of Abul Fazal Fyzee, Amir Khusrow Iraqi and Urfi? To turn to Arabic, a language rich in learning. Our holy Quran is written in Arabic. The great commentaries in the Quran, and authentic Islamic histories are in Arabic. Our ethics, philosophy, Ahadis, Fiqh are enshrined in that language. I feel that it is absolutely necessary that at least a certain percentage of our intelligent youths should devote themselves to the acquiring of these languages and keeping alight the lamp of Arabic and Persian learning.

Before parting with the subject of eduction may I point out that we Shias hold in our hands a powerful instrument for the imparting of general education (more particularly in Islamic history and Islamic religion) in the Roza Khani or Majlises that are being held all over India during the two months of Mohorram and of Safar, as well as on Thursday evenings, during the rest of the year. The great love of a Shia for the Imams and particularly the Lord of the martyr Imam Husein will preclude general lectures on history, philosophy or ethics being given during the first twelve days of the Mohorram, but after that if care is taken to have men of real learning to go on the pulpit and to convey religious instruction and introduce their audience to Islamic history and to principles of Shariat ethics, and of philosophy, a great advance will be made in generally educating the people to think rightly and to act rightly. I have the honour of being the managing trustee of the Persian Mosque at Bombay. I have made it a condition with our leader of prayers (a gentleman of considerable learning and ideal moral character) to preach on the principles of the Shariat every evening for half an hour after the Isha prayers. He has been doing it for more than half an hour every evening, but I am sorry to say that the response we have so far received is not in accordance with our expectations. If the same is done in at least some of the principal mosques of the great cities of India,

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and there is a propaganda to attend these meetings in general and the prayers in particular, a great advance will soon be made in the people's knowledge of the principles of our Shariat and of Islamic history.

To turn to the education of girls. In this the Moslem girls are lamentably backward. I am told that in the U. P. even the richest zemindars make no serious attempt to educate their daughters. This is surely against the spirit and the letter of Islamic law. The Prophet said that 'paradise is at the feet of your mothers'. Praise of woman could no further go. How can you advance when one half of your community is sunk in the darkness of ignorance? The goal set before India now is that of responsible government. We hear Dominion Status, independence, etc. freely talked about. But with power comes responsibility and how will you be able to discharge your responsibility to your country, to your families, and to yourselves if your women by reason of their utter ignorance are unable to assist you?

I want action and not words. I want self-sacrifice and not a desire to take credit when none is due. Look at the strides the Hindus have taken. Look at the Servants of India society at Poona. Look at the advance which the Moslems made by self-sacrifice and endeavours of a single patriot, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. My next point is that you must resolve to take, and take, concerted action. For, without concerted action there can be no advance. You must also resolve to assist each other, for without assistance you can not get on. Remember that every rupee that goes in the pockets of your brother in Islam is to that extent a source of strength to Islam and every rupee which might not have gone into the pocket of a Moslem but goes into other pockets is to that extent a weakening of your Moslem brother which means to that extent a weakening of Islam itself.

Now, to briefly take stock of our position. The work that we have done is :—

(a) The eastablishment of the Shia Orphanage at Lucknow. (b) The starting of the newspaper "Surfraz". (c) The foundation of a national press. (d) The foundation of a branch of this conference for the preservation of our Holy tombs and buildings. (e) Tanzim so far as the Shia community is concerned.

The work which you have done so far goes to show that we are practical, but unfortunately there is no financial backing up and there is no reserve fund, with the result that the above institutions run the risk of ceasing to exist on any day. It therefore behoves us to see that the continuance of the orphanage, the newspaper, and the press, is secured by making proper financial provision for each of them. When we have undertaken and established national institutions, it is our duty to see that their future continuance is properly provided for first before other schemes are undertaken. I would suggest the formation of a financial committee of this conference charged with the duty of carefully examining the whole question and recommending to your standing committee the measures to be undertaken for securing financial stability for all these institutions.

But we cannot rest content with what we have done. The rapid advances which the non-Moslem communities are making from day to day must awaken you to a sense of responsibility and the necessity of your taking concerted and disciplined action to secure Moslem advancement. It is not possible to stand where you are. You must either advance or retrograde. I have already referred to the steps to be taken for the spread of education. I understand that His Highness the Mir of Khairpur has made a grant to this conference and has promised to make further grants when necessary. Allama Hindi Saheb in order to promote Tanzim has during the last 18 months travelled in the North, Sind and Kashmir and has established district committees. On the frontier in Sind, Kashmir and Bengal, district conferences have also been established. I trust these efforts will not only be maintained but will be redoubled.

You have also done good work in the cause of the preservation and enforcement of Wakfs. But there is still much lee-way to make. There are still many Wakfs that are unknown and the condition of many Muslim endowments throughout India is deplorable. In Bombay there is a Wakf Act that has been in force for some years. It has done and is doing much good, I understand, than that in your province. You have succeeded in getting an inquiry committee established under a resolution of the provincial Council. This committee is making enquiries and will in due course make its recommendations to the Government for the better manage-

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ment of Muslim endowments in your province Personally, I think, that in every province of this country there should be charity commissioners on the lines of the charity commissioners in England to look after charities. I have no doubt that when the committee makes its report its recommendations will be carefully considered and legislation will follow by which it is hoped that the condition of the Muslim endowments will be greatly improved.

As for the activities of the Anjuman for the protection of the holy tombs and buildings : Disappointment has been caused in some quarters over the treaty entered into by Persia with Ibn Saud. I am not prepared to condemn Persia for the treaty. The Persians know their own interests better than we do and besides one needs to have all the facts before him ere he form a proper opinion. It is not necessary for me to enter into any elaborate account of the Najdi history. By now every one of you knows the barbarities practised by them in the beginning of the last century, and the fate they met with in the end. Two years ago you passed a condemnatory resolution which could not be acted upou.

There is not a Moslem heart in this country or throughout the world which does not desire a reversal of the Balfour Declaration. The whole Islamic world has protested and is protesting against it. The recent disturbances were most deplorable. But the Balfour Declaration was at least one of the potent causes that led to them and it will be the duty of Parliament to consider its recall.

Moslem opinion on the question of Sarda Act is divided. Your committee has already passed a resolution condemning the Act. There will be a discussion on this bill at this conference. As I have the honour of being your president and as such will have to keep the course of the debate, I have no desire in this speech to express my own views.

Concluding, the president said :

There is on the Moslem community the stigma of being a backward community. We, who were at one time at the head of affairs in India for more than 800 years, have fallen and are still falling low. May I therefore once more appeal for an awakening amongst you and all other Moslems, that you will cast off this lethargy of sloth and Phoenix-like rise with vigour and life from your ashes ? If we organize and correlate our efforts the time will not be distant when we shall no longer have this stigma of being a backward community and shall take our proper and legitimate position in the councils of our country and the governance of this great empire and in shaping the destinies of our dear motherland."

RESOLUTIONS

On reassembling on the next day, the *27th December*, the conference recorded a resolution strongly condemning the cowardly bomb outrage on the Viceroy's special.

The Sarda Marriage Act aroused a controversial and animated discussion but the conference after a long debate recorded a vote against the legislation, holding it as a measure interfering with the Islamic religious laws and, therefore, requesting the Government to exempt the Muslims from its operation.

The opposition to the motion condemning the Act was led by Syed Haidar Mehdi. He said that the law only gave the right to give the girl in marriage, but it never limited the age at which marriage should be celebrated. The reason why the Islamic law did not fix age limit for marriage was that the attaimment of puberty varied with the conditions of the different countries and climes.

The resolution against the Act was recorded by an overwhelming majority.

Joint Electorates

The only other subject of importance which the conference considered was the joint electorates and the conference recorded almost unanimously, on the motion of Dr. Syed Mahmudulhasan of Rae Bareli, a resolution urging that the next Assembly, Council and Local Board elections should be held with joint electorates but the seats for the Muslims should be reserved.

After transacting some other business, the conference adjourned.

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European & Anglo-Indian Conferences

The European Association Conference

Addressing the annual conference of the European Association which was held at Bombay on the *12th December 1929* Mr. W. L. *TRAVERS* surveyed the political situation and restated the objects of the Association. There was one trend, he said, in the political events of the past summer which had struck him very much. It was a movement in what one might describe as the left centre of Indian politics. There had been a cleavage, and a movement to the right on the one hand and to the left, on the other. There was in every province a considerable number of Indians who, while being ardent nationalists to the core, were yet even more ardent as social reformers, among whom there had been a move to the right. He believed that many of these were prepared to co-operate in future and he thought that the Viceroy's declaration was issued, in an attempt to accelerate and cement this move to the right and to gain their cooperation by removing all doubts and conceding them a Round Table Conference. The idea of such a conference came originally from Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Travers wished that Mr. Das were alive to find his great wish realised.

After referring to the movement in the extreme left, the speaker proceeded to declare that the present seemed to be a moment when the objects and policy of their Association should be once more defined. 'The main objective is defence,' he declared, 'but never will it be defiance. We shall defend—should they attack—our rights in this country. We shall defend our legitimate livelihood, our trade, our commerce and we shall defend with all the vigour, energy, and resistance whereof the British are capable ; but we hope and trust that our rights will not be assailed, for in the future as in the past we earnestly desire cooperation with the Indian fellow-subjects in all that represents progress. Especially do we desire to aid in what I may term as social reform, in the fight against disease, in the improvement of agriculture in order to bring more real wealth to the people; in other words, to help to raise the standard of life of the poor. To this service, in all its branches we ardently desire to devote ourselves.'

Turning to the domestic affairs of the Association, Mr. Travers said it was obvious that the Association must in future expand. He refuted the suggestion that the Calcutta executive committee took too much upon itself and added that despite the criticism of the constitution of the Association, a reference to the branches had shown that they appreciated the present system and desired it to remain.

After the presidential address, Mr. *GAVIN JONES* (U. P.), congratulated the Council of the Association on sending a message to the Secretary of State supporting the Viceroy's announcement. The spirit and substance of the message should have the whole-hearted support of every European and Indian, but he would have been happier had the pharse "Dominion Status" not been used, for it would aggravate the very misunderstanding which the Viceroy was anxious to remove. What Indian politicians understood by Dominion Status was virtual independence ; but it was quite impossible for India to attain that status within any time that could reasonably be defined. He feared the Viceroy's announcement, coming immediately after the Congress demand for Dominion Status within a definite period, was likely to be misunderstood as the immediate grant of Dominion Status. He did not want hopes to be engendered that could not be realised.

Mr. Chambers (Madras) and Sir Reginald Spence (Bombay), also spoke, expressing approval of the message to the Secretary of State.

The London Sub-committee

The Conference then adopted a resolution recording its approval of the work of the London sub-committee of the Council appointed to examine possible safeguards against legislation in India which discriminates between any race or creed. The conference approved of the temporary arrangements to continue the London com-

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mittee's work for the next six months and requested the Council, in consulation with its branches, to make some such organisation permanent.

THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

The Conference, while welcoming the procedure which will follow the publication of the Simon Report, considered that any conference, to be effective, must of necessity be one to which all important interests in India should be given an opportunity of nominating representatives.

The Conference also urged the Council to see that the European community were effectively represented at any conference which might take place in London and its representatives afforded the requisite legal and secretarial assistance.

DEFINITION OF "EUROPEAN"

The Conference considered it essential that the existing definition of "European" and "Anglo-Indian" be examined by the Council with legal assistance both in India and England with a view to seeing what, if any, changes are desirable and to secure such changes as may be necessary in any amendment of the Government of India Act.

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

By another resolution, the Conference expressed its readiness to support any other political party in India willing to work the reformed constitution with justice and equity to all communities and political minorities.

The Conference also resolved that the Association should make the defence of the rural interests the main point of its concern.

PROPOSAL FOR LADIES' AUXILIARY

The Conference recommended the establishment of a ladies' auxiliary organisation within the Association.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION

The Conference urged that the Council should consider the desirability of introducing a private bill in the Assembly to deal with the subject of European immigration.

The St. Andrews' Day Dinner

Presiding over the St. Andrews' Day Dinner held at Calcutta on the *30th November 1929* Mr. *A. J. F. BLAIR* delivered the following speech :—

The toast of "The Viceroy and the Land we Live in" is one which must appeal strongly to the imagination of every Briton who comes to this country. India has on the whole been fortunate in her Viceroys, and can point to a succession of distinguished statesmen who have given her ungrudgingly of their best. His Excellency Lord Irwin is the worthy inheritor of a great tradition, to which he brings his own contribution as an Englishman of high character and deep sincerity, and a statesman of the widest sympathies. It is to us—as I have no doubt it is to His Excellency—a source of regret that he has been prevented from visiting Calcutta this cold season, for I can imagine no finer tonic for a statesman who is weighted with Lord Irwin's vast responsibilities than to come into contact, even if only for a few weeks, with the British and Indian citizens of the second city in the Empire. But, gentlemen, as the Viceroy faces those vital problems that now clamour for solution I feel sure he may rely at all times upon the sympathy and co-operation of the great mercantile community of Calcutta, with its strong seasoning of Scottish grit and its long tradition of Scottish loyalty.

BRITISH INDIA—A "JOINT CREATION"

It can hardly be said that the discussion of those problems is opening under the happiest conditions. The recent pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy was obviously and specifically intended to clear the air. Actually it has raised a political dust-storm which has raged from Dan to Beersheba and has once more enveloped the issues in a haze of party controversy. It has, of course, saved the

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face of those Indian politicians who had gaily undertaken. for the second time in ten years, to liberate their country on the first of January ; but whether that result is sufficient to justify the flouting of the Simon Commission is a matter that only time can decide. Already the ultra-extremists profess to regret their acceptance of the Viceroy's olive branch, and are once more talking big about independence. Gentlemen, we shall be well advised to measure the present threats by past performances and not to start packing before our extremist friends have begun to compose their own little differences. In the meantime two facts or rather one fact and a moral—emerge from the latest episode. The moral is that you cannot reconcile the irreconcilable, and that it is worse than useless to try. The fact is that the whole of the differences which divide what may be called the Conservative from the Radical point of view—in other words the British from the extreme Nationalist point of view—are capable of being reduced to one : and that one is the time factor. We Britons fully share the confidence of the most perfervid Nationalists that India, with its vast resources and its gifted peoples, is moving to a destiny greater than it has ever known. But surely to the student of history it must be obvious that destiny is not waiting for it round the corner. It is at present a distant ideal, which can neither be forced nor rushed ; and the India with which we are dealing to-day is not the India that is to be. The India of to-day is British India, which is a joint creation, which could only have been built up as it has been over two centuries through the willing co-operation of the British and Indian elements and fabric. It is, as Lord Reading has recently pointed out, a partnership ; and the terms of a partnership cannot be varied by either party at will and without reference to the other, nor is it feasible for the junior to dictate to the senior, or to grab the entire assests of the latter. These facts are apt to be neglected in the turmoil of controversy and in the impatient quest after an ideal which, between ourselves, has never yet been realized anywhere on land or sea. But they govern the situation and they cannot be safely ignored.

"Rights" Must Be Respected

While we in Calcutta are engaged in the pious rites associated with the anniversary of St. Andrew, the Simon Commission in London is doubtless putting the finishing touches to its long expected report. I belong to the small minority who are not deep in the confidence of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, and, therefore, am unable to hand you the latest version of their forthcoming recommendations. But, speaking as a private citizen, I think we are entitled to demand that when they do emerge into daylight they will safeguard the legitimate interests of every community in India—the British community not excepted. Any proposals which would open the door to a policy of expropriation or to the glutting of racial animosities, would be resented and resisted to the very uttermost. Hitherto the British community in India has co-operated loyally with the Government and with other communities, in order to make the reforms a success. We have given up voluntarily most of our former privileges—such as they were—but our plain rights as citizens and as man of business remain, and those rights must be respected. We ask no more ; we can accept no less.

Right To "Firm Government."

Chief among them is the right to live under a stable Government. We claim that so long as the King's writ runs in India the King's Government must govern. We complain that ever since the War it has, with few exceptions, shown an increasing reluctance to do so. Nor is this opinion confined to ourselves. It is shared, we believe, by thousands of those level-headed Indians who have joined us in the work of commercial, industrial and scientific development and whom we specially greet to-night in the person of that great captain of industry, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee. Behind these enlightened business and professional men stand 250 millions of the most honest and hardworking peasantry in the world. I have been too long in this country to dogmatize as to the mental processes of the Indian peasant. I could not tell you off-hand whether his favourite author is Adam Simith or Karl Marx, or whether he is or is not a convert to the whole gospel of western democracy. But I think we may safely assume that whether he has anything to lose he values good government more than anything else on earth—and that to him good Government spells firm

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government. I believe he would rather be governed sternly than governed weakly, because he knows from age-long experience that a week government is almost worse than no government at all.

"Inter-Racial Friction."

It ought to be a relief to turn from politics to those social and economic questions which enter much more intimately into our daily life, but it is just here, as it seems to me, that the perplexities, and even the dangers of the present situation are most acute. For more than 30 years I have watched the currents of anti-British feeling growing and expanding until to-day they are merged in what might almost be described as a great river of racial unrest. That river has been fed by many streams of which perhaps the most poisonous is the daily and weekly propaganda that pours from the Indian press. And yet, gentlemen, I can recall the time when it was so small a rivulet that it might easily have been dammed up or diverted by the efforts of a dozen sympathetic Englishmen or Scotsmen in Calcutta. When I came to India 35 years ago I found the educated Indians as a class not only desirous but eager to cultivate their British fellow-citizens. They admired us, they respected us, they paid us the compliment of desiring to be like us. If the overtures which were then made for a measure of social equality had been received in a generous spirit, I venture to say we should have had very much less inter-racial friction than there has been during the past 25 years. Unfortunately, at the critical time, the spirit of racial ascendancy was much more prevalent among Europeans than it is to-day. There was no answering gesture ; and for 30 years I have watched the bitterness engendered by that and by other rebuffs, intensifying and fostering until it has infected the entire field of inter-racial contacts.

"Birds of Passage"

Gentlemen, if these deplorable conditions are to be retrieved we must face the facts ; we must see ourselves as others see us, and we must consider where we have been to blame ; for depend upon it, where these acute differences exist it is worse than folly to impute the blame to one side only. And therefore, with your permission, and even at the risk of overtaxing your patience, I will go on to indicate one further source of discontent.

We have been called "birds of passage". Let us examine the accusation and see where it takes us. Putting aside Government officials—who of course have always been altruists to a man—what, gentlemen, is the aim and object of the average Britisher who comes to India to engage in trade, in commerce or in one of the professions ? Correct me if I am wrong, but is not it generally this— to make as much money as he can in the shortest time possible, and then to make tracks for home at such a pace that you cannot see him for the dust ? I am speaking of the average British citizen who comes out to this country. There are exceptions—and I take off my hat to them—there are Englishmen and Scotsmen and Welshmen and Irishmen in Calcutta and in other parts of India who has always taken a living interest in the country, in the people, in their places of residence and in their civic responsibilities. There are men in this company who have given unselfishly their time and money—their time which is money—to service on our municipal bodies, on our legislative bodies, and on our charitable institutions. There are other British citizens who have given liberally to the cause of charity, of education, and of agricultural development. As President of the Caledonia Society I am proud to tell you that the most princely benefaction that has ever been made this year by a member of our Society, who has given to the cause of charity and education in Bengal a sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees. He has forbidden me to divulge his name, but I feel justified in disclosing the fact of his generosity as an incentive to the hundreds of budding millionnaires I see around me, who are going to make their fortunes in India in the course of the next twenty years.

But these cases are exceptional. So far as most of us are concerned, I am afraid we are quite content to make our pile as big as possible, and then to cart it all away with us when we leave the country. That may be good business, but I ask you, and I ask myself—is it good citizenship ? So long as it can be said of us that we are

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"birds of passage"—on the make—I see little hope of any permanent improvement in inter-racial relationship.

The case would be different if it were possible for us to settle in the country and identify ourselves with its interests as did all our predecessors in the empire and the Government of India. One has heard that some of those who were in such a hurry to depart have been disappointed by the conditions which greeted them on their return to Britain. It might have been worth their while considering whether, on one or other of India's marvellous uplands, they might not have obtained many of the conveniences without most of the drawbacks of retirement to Europe at the present time. But if this were impracticable, for reasons of health or education, then they might have considered how far they were justified in clearing out of India, bag and baggage, without one gesture of gratitude or regret. I am convinced of this, that if British citizen on retirement from India had made even a small voluntary public contribution to the welfare of his Indian fellow citizens, the aggregate sum subscribed would by this time have been enormous, and fruitful source of bitterness would have been removed.

NOT "THE LAND OF REGRETS."

Gentlemen, "the land we live in" has also been called "the land of Regrets." And yet it is, in every sense of the Scriptural phrase, "a good land"—a land flowing with milk and honey. It is a generous country which has supported us all in comfort and has enabled many of us to lay by for our old age. It is a land of greater variety than is to be found anywhere else on earth, unless on the American continent—possessing as it does every kind of climate, every kind of scenery, every kind of game, every kind of wealth, vegetable and mineral. It affords unexampled opportunities to the statesman, the administrator, the soldier, the engineer, the merchant, the artist, the scholar. It is for most of us the country where the best years of our manhood are spent. It is or it ought to be for all of us "Mother India", whose salt we have eaten, and will be faithful thereto. How can such a country be a land of Regrets if we are prepared to do our duty by it? On the contrary, I maintain that if we quit ourselves like men and like citizens; if we acknowledge and endeavour to repay the debt of honour which we owe to India; if we learn to love India as the most generous of foster-mothers and her children as bound to us by ties of affection and gratitude—India will be no land of Regrets, but a land of glorious opportunities and a land of splendid memories, not only to us but to those whom we leave behind us when at last we have to go.

The Governor's Speech.

His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, in the course of his speech, said :—

I listened to Mr. Fraser Blair's eloquent and striking speech with much interest. Mr. Blair has had a long experience in this country, having come out 35 years ago, the same time that I paid my visit to India. His calling has enabled him to devote much time to the study of India—her history and her problems, and his views must be listened to with interest and respect. In his speech I was sorry to hear that he thought that the habit of Europeans leaving this country in a hurry was to some extent responsible for the resentment and ill-will which has shown itself amongst Indians. I do not propose to dwell upon it as it appears to me that no good could be done by discussing the truth or falseness of the old accusations which when originally made was not intended to be complimentary, nor do I think it would be calculated to assist in promoting that atmosphere of good-will which we hope is making its appearance from better understanding, but I should like to say that my experience of men who have made a success of their business and received a suitable reward is not that they are anxious to run away from India, but did circumstances permit, they would much prefer to stay. It appears to me the conditions of their services here are to blame rather than the individuals. Half a dozen names occur to me of personal friends, and they may be regarded as typical of a large majority, whose services to Bengal and India are on record, and these

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services are in themselves a sufficient refutation of the worthiness or justice of any such charge.

During his long experience Mr. Fraser Blair has seen great changes taking place in India. I dare say looking back he may feel that if certain events had not happened, and other things had been done or dealt with differently, it might have been better and the problems with which we are faced to-day would have been easier of solution. That may be, but although we cannot divest ourselves of our responsibilities for the past, and we do not wish to, I think we must at this moment be more concerned with the future, and as to how, taking things as they are to-day, we can best assure the future progress and prosperity of all peoples in India, consistent with the interests of that Commonwealth of Nations which make up the British Empire, of which India is a part and should, we hope in the fullness of time, be a partner.

VICEROY'S STATEMENT

Since we last met a year ago, much of great political importance has happened. At the end of last year and the beginning of this for nearly 6 months, the Simon Commission were in India, several weeks of which they spent in Bengal. The general response accorded to them in this Presidency, though not enthusiastic, was not marred by any untoward event and they received a fair measure of assistance. Having finished their mission in India, they are now nearing the completion of their report, and until this is presented to His Majesty's Government, no good purpose can be served by attempting to anticipate their recommendations. On the return of the Viceroy to India early this month, after consultation with His Majesty's Government, he issued a statement in which he re-affirmed the purpose underlying the well-known Declaration of 1917 and announced the decision of the Government, after the publication of the Simon Commission's Report, to invite accredited representatives of political thought in British India and representatives of the Indian States to a Conference in London with His Majesty's Government. At this Conference it is proposed that the views of all parties should be put forward and discussed, individually or collectively, with a view to assisting the Government to place proposals before Parliament for the constitutional advance in India, which might be regarded as providing a wide measure of general assent.

INDIAN LEADERS' RESPONSE.

There appears to be no question that this statement has had an arresting effect upon the attention of all people in India interested in India's welfare and political progress. It was with genuine satisfaction that we read a resolution passed at the Conference of prominent leaders of political opinion in India which, though containing certain qualifications, had every appearance of being an appreciative response to what they regarded as an honourable endeavour to meet the Indian opinion and dispel misunderstanding and mistrust which clouded previous conditions.

HOPE OF CO-OPERATION.

This decision inspires the hope of co-operation which may help to transform the constitutional and political outlook and discredit the methods of agitation based upon suspicion, mistrust and racial hatred. It is only right that we should recognise that such a condition has been largely made possible through the confidence and respect which Lord Irwin's straightforward and sympathetic handling of Indian problems has created. It is to be hoped that the invitation to the Conference will be accepted in the spirit in which it is offered and that meanwhile every effort will be made throughout India to foster the atmosphere of good-will and trust which has made its welcome appearance and which, if allowed to continue, must undoubtedly facilitate the difficult task of solving India's political problem.

THE 'IRRECONCILABLES."

It is not possible to estimate to what extent this ray of sunshine has penetrated the clouds of mistrust and antagonism which hang over Bengal. I fear it cannot penetrate far until the broader views of statesmanship prevail over the narrow and short-sighted attachment to political opportunism which at present holds the field ;

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but there are signs that the prospect of direct approach to His Majesty's Government has appealed to all but the irreconcilables who still cling to the belief that they can attain their ends by methods as unstatesmanlike as they are impossible.

MINISTRY PROBLEM.

I would like to refer to the constitutional difficulty with which I find myself faced in this Presidency. As you are aware, since the election six months ago, the Government has been carried on under special emergency powers, without the assistance of Ministers responsible for the Transferred Subjects. This has been mainly due to a lack of indication that any Ministry I might appoint would be able to rely upon that support which might reasonably be expected to assure its stability. This state of things has gone on long long enough and I am faced with the position of either asking the Governor-General in Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council under the provisions of Devolution Rule 6 to suspend or revoke the transfer of the Transferred Subjects, that is, to continue the present arrangement indefinitely on the ground of not being in a position to appoint Ministers, or to appoint Ministers and take the chance of their obtaining the support of majority in the Council.

TO REVIVE DYARCHY.

I feel I cannot resort to the first of these alternatives for two reasons :—Firstly, I am not prepared to admit that the Constitution has broken down and secondly, the new Council must have an opportunity of exercising its constitutional rights. I believe that the majority of the present Council desire that Ministers should be appointed. I personally feel that in the general interest there should be Ministers responsible for the Transferred Subjects, and I propose, at the earliest possible moment, to appoint Ministers, who, I hope, may prove to be generally acceptable.

GOVERNOR'S THREAT.

There is just one other matter to which I feel I must refer. For some time past Government have been concerned at the persistent indication in statements in the Press and on public platforms that endeavours are to be made to fulfil the terms of a resolution which was passed at the All-India Congress meeting in Calcutta last Christmas. It is probable that much will depend upon the outcome of the discussions at the All-India Congress to be held in Lahore next month. In view of the change of outlook amongst certain section of public opinion which has appeared since the proposal for a Conference was made by His Majesty's Government, it is hoped that better counsels will prevail. If this is so, it will be found that this Government will quickly respond to any indication that the spirit underlying the Delhi Resolution has permeated into Bengal ; but on the other hand in case of any general disturbance of the normal life in this Presidency, the Government have very clear and definite duties to perform. Whilst ready to regard generously any orderly and legitimate expression of political feeling, they must also be prepared to meet any emergency which in any way threatens to disturb or interfere with the performance of the peaceful avocations of the inhabitants of the Presidency.

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The A. I. & Domiciled European Association

Col. Gidney, in the course of his presidential address at the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association's annual general meeting held at Calcutta on the *12th. July 1929* observed :—

We are at present engaged in drafting a suitable clause or note for submission to the Indian Statutory Commission for securing economic protection. In this connection I feel I must, even if it be to strike a jarring note, raise my voice of emphatic protest against the supplementary note recently submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission by the London Anglo-Indian Association in which an effort was made to suggest a statutory projective clause. I have no doubt that the effort was well-intentioned, though it was based on an utter lack of knowledge of our true economic position to-day. The note demands that our protection should consist in retaining the economic position we occupied in the various grades of Government services on 1-1-1929 and that this protection should last for one generation, i.e , about 30 years. Now such a suggestion is bound to do us more harm than good because it is based on a wholly incorrect conception of the economic position we occupied on 1-1-1929, and in utter ignorance of the fact that this position in the various services had already been exposed to and prejudiced by the ravages of the effects of a decade of Indianisation. The date suggested should have been 1-1-1919, but as it is obviously impracticable to turn the hands of the clock, the alternative suggestion should have been made, viz, that the recruitment of Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, should be so ordained that within five years' time from 1930, it regained the economic position it occupied in the various Government services on 1-1-1919 with the stipulation that this proportion be maintained for another thirty years.

Unfortunately this is not the first time the London Anglo-Indian Association has incorrectly reported itself as representative of the community in India and has arrogated to itself, unauthorised and without consultation with the Association in India, the issuing of the policy of the community. Though I value the co-operation of the London Association and appreciate its desire to help us, yet I would be utterly failing in my duty were I to hesitate to ask this Conference to express in words that brook, no doubt, its disapproval of the unauthorised interference on the part of the London Association and to inform it that the community in India will under no circumstances permit its policy to be dictated by the London Anglo-Indian Association. This is the prerogative of the community living in India and not of a few permanently retired Anglo-Indian residents in England. I go further and say we must repudiate this protective clause submitted by the London Anglo-Indian Association and inform the Indian Statutory Commission that it has not our authority or approval.

It is high time the London Anglo-Indian Association was made to understand that it cannot and must not assume duties which are solely and entirely ours and that it must mind its own business. The existence of the London Anglo-Indian Association is only recognised and justified by its representation under our aegis of any communal matters which can be more conveniently handled by men on the spot, but this in no way allows the *carte blanche* interference from which we have recently suffered.

Relationship With Other Communities

Our relationship with other communities continues to be friendly, but I feel the time has come when the community must look for and cultivate its points of contact with other communities rather than develop its points of differences. Here, I would like to make an appeal to everyone present and ask each delegate to convey it to the members of the branch. It is this. During the last Legislative Assembly session, Mr. Jayakar, M.L.A., for whom I have a great regard, complained of the discourtesy of Anglo-Indian Railway employees to Indian passengers. It was admitted that this discourtesy was much less than formerly, but that it still existed. The entire Indian block of the Legislative Assembly was loud in its denunciation of this treatment. I am not prepared to admit that it exists to a large extent to-day, but that it does

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exist. I feel sure and it is to remove this charge that I venture to appeal to the Anglo-Indian Railway employees and travellers to treat all Indian passengers from the humblest to the highest with that decorum and courtesy which we would expect from them. After all India is our home and Indians, our brothers. They often look to us for advice and help and what could cultivate that feeling of *bon comradie* better than courtesy and kindness to our Indian fellow citizens ? I feel sure that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears. For, indeed, the time has come when we must associate ourselves more closely with the Indians and perhaps eventually ourselves, to the Muslim and Indian Christian communities with whom, as a minority community we have many points in common requiring a common protection.

By the largess of Government we have hitherto been more securely firmly established in our appointments, but to-day we have to meet the clash of competition and nothing will avail us unless we can meet it fortified, strengthened and buttressed by the ability to prove our equality of fitness. I claim that European education must be examined and treated on its merits and its efficiency to place employment on a basis of self-respect and stability and not as an incubator of an Indian inferiority complex.

I have for long seen the mal-adjustment of the present-day antiquated system of European education with the economic organisations in India and the unemployment that has thereby resulted in all communities. United India must protest against this and I therefore warn you because I want to prepare you now while there is time for a struggle greater in its consequences than we have hitherto experienced—a struggle we are called upon to meet with antiquated weapons and old fashioned tactics.

Education in India from the highest to the lowest standard is based on Western ideals and pedagogy and is therefore to a large extent unsuitable to India where the social and mental outlook of the people are entirely different from those of the West. The same applies to the economic organisations established in India to-day, with the concurrent result that the Indian and the Anglo-Indian or the country-born European is looked upon as inferior to the imported European. We find this belief being put into practical effect in every department of Government from the mechanic trained in the Indian Railway shop, to the covenanted migrated workmen from England, from the imported European teachers and Anglo-Indian teacher with Indian degrees as also the Indian recruited members in all the superior services. The Government apparently share the belief that its superior effects and administrators, especially those in selection committees must be Europeans and when advertising for superior appointments openly call for Europeans and those having British qualifications. What does this mean ? Nothing but an avowal of the inferiority complex of the Indian trained man. And yet no serious effort is made to so alter the system of education as to elevate and improve the training colleges and the degrees given by our universities to the standard of similar European institutions. The result is that our schools, colleges and universities are throwing out into an inhospitable country its annual supply of thousands of ill-trained youths, branded as misfits. Why, I ask, should India be the only British possession whose sons are required to proceed to Europe at a prohibitive cost to be trained there for employment in their own country ? Again, I ask, in view of the avowed policy of the Government of India to secure equality between European and Indian degrees, why should all selection committees place a premium on European degrees and a discount on Indian degrees ?

PLEA FOR "INDUSTRIAL SWARAJ"

India has both men and material to supply all her wants and vast tracts of unexplored country, mineral, agricultural etc. Its natural resources have hardly been tapped. It is to-day crying for rapid expansion of railway, roadway and waterway systems. But its commerce and industries are in the hands of a few monopolists, mainly, non-Indians, who help to drain it and enrich themselves. Its highest scientific and other appointments are in the hands of non-Indians. Its superior educational, engineering, legal, medical and other needs are still being administered by recruits from Great Britain and her colonies, with the result that whilst other parts of the Empire are keeping abreast of the times, India through no fault of her own is static. Whether this has been the studied policy of the Government in the past or not, there is no

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doubt that the time has come when the old order must give way to the new and that united India must demand and be given equal facilities and opportunities to train and recruit every officer from the highest to the lowest in India. In short, India must be given industrial Swaraj. Only when this is done, will education and employment adjust themselves and the economic distress of the country and our community in particular be relieved.

The present Labour Government in England has a very alluring and extensive project of railway extension, house building and road-making schemes which, it is anticipated, will considerably relieve the present day condition of the acute unemployment in that country. I have the imagination to suggest that something similar must be projected in India to mitigate, if not to remedy, the same evil in India. I prognose the time is not far distant when the Government will find itself compelled to adopt some such policy. For no question is ever settled until it is settled in accordance with justice and the permanent principles of Government and as far India is concerned, the question of the most vital importance is the settlement of its economic problems, which are far more acute and dangerous than anywhere else in the Empire. It is in the solution of India's economic problems that the adjustment of India's communal differences has the attainment of peace and security and it is here, that the Government, in conjunction with the businessman must be ready to play its part in the initiations of an intensive and far-sighted policy towards the progress of India's industrial and commercial advancement.

There is no doubt that in another decade all the present day differences between the ruler and the ruled both in British and Feudatory India, between the Government and its legislators and between the employer and the employee will be governed by the all-important bearing and influence Labour will exercise. It needs no imagination to visualise the day when the Labour Party will completely control the future development and destiny of India and it is to this end I would draw the attention of the Anglo-Indian community. Labour and its wages are reaching a common level in India for all communities ; this condition exists already in most other countries of the world, but I want the community to face these facts squarely so that its future activities will be directed towards achieving economic unity with the rest of India, co-operating with the rest of India, co-operating with her peoples in the demands of equality of recognition and treatment with the rest of the other Dominions of the British Empire. The year under consideration has been a memorable one in the history of the community and I feel sure our people rest satisfied in that their problems have been forcibly represented and their interests zealously guarded by those in whose care they have been entrusted.

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Women's Conferences

The All-India Arya Mahila Conference

Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi in the course of her presidential address at the All-India Arya Mahila Conference, which opened its session at Lahore on the *26th. December 1929*, observed :—

This conference of women is met here to-day to shape the destiny of the coming generation of young men and women. Its deliberations may not only have a weighty influence on the women's movement in India, but may also help to formulate a "Declaration of Women's Rights" so as to safeguard their interest. This period is a period of growth and advancement for us women, a period of rebellion against certain encrusted customs—rebellion in the sense that we have to fight to regain our lost ground. Unlike the Feminist movement in the West where women's very rights are questioned and where keen competition between man and woman prevails, our movement is not so much the question of fighting for our rights as of fighting against meaningless customs and usages. The Indian Women's movement is a necessary concomitant to the gradual evolution of our national life and thought.

There could not have been a more momentous time than the present when far-reaching political and social problems are before the public. I remember during the early days of the movement there was a time when Women's Conferences were apologetically held. But now times have changed and with the influx of ideas it is felt that progress is a many-sided one. It means freedom for every individual. Recognition of women's capacity and social and economic status are some of the privileges which women are clamouring for. The realization that we have a part to play in the larger yet comprehensive life of our country has dawned upon us. Women no longer need to be spoonfed. And they feel they are fit to take their legitimate and rightful place not only in the social and political field but also in administrative affairs. There is no blinking the fact that women felt that urge of progressive advancement with lightning speed. They have realised that they have the will to achieve, the will to suffer and sacrifice to the fullest measure. Now that opportunity is afforded us to meet, discuss and arrange matters that affect our welfare. What is urgently needed is the mobilisation of our forces in the interest of our advancement and progress.

The women's movement is but a part of the larger national movement for liberty. The desire to share equally with man the responsibilities, as well as the power and the benefit that will accrue to an independent India is increasingly felt.

Coming to social evils that confront us, I should like to draw your particular attention to one or two evils which strikingly stand out here in the Punjab. One of them is the Purdah system. Its evils as affecting women's education and physical development are so well known that we should do everything in our power to abolish them. We cannot say who were responsible for its introduction, whether Hindus or Mahomedans. Suffice it to say that whoever introduced it or under whatever circumstances it might have been introduced, this evil custom to be stamped out requires effective propaganda, particularly through women.

The Arya Samajists have admirable work to their credit, having started educational institutions everywhere and more than all in having succeeded to a large measure in their fight against caste prejudices and untouchability. They have also succeeded in creating a spirit of nationalism among the masses and in having implanted a deep love of the motherland.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

One unhappy feature of the North Indian politics is the Hindu-Moslem tension. I do not wish to paint in black colour the evil but we do wish to bring to your notice that in the interest of our country and in view of the coming struggle we would be wise to close up our ranks and in a feeling of brotherhood work for the common cause of liberating India. Can anybody deny that mutual toleration and co-operation are the only solutions to this communal trouble ? We can never hope to live in peace if we are going to quarrel eternally over petty matters, like the beat of a drum before a

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mosque or the passing by of a procession with music as if these matter very much. Hindu-Muslim unity is not a mere catch-word or a vote-catching device. It is more than a mere truce. A little more forbearance, on either side, may result in the happy settlement of differences and may lead to the establishment of an Indian Raj where Hindu and Mahomedans will enjoy equal opportunities. It is well worth noting that so long as there is a third party affecting to keep the balance, Swaraj will be but an empty dream. Hindu-Muslim unity ought to be the chief item in our future programme of our work, and the chief plank of our political platform.

For sometime past Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Bill has been agitating the minds of people. Now that it has been passed into law, it has not come as a surprise upon one to hear of protests from orthodox Hindus and Mahomedans or from Sanatanist Conferences held here and there.

Before the Act will come into operation on the first of April 1930 the Local Boards and Municipalities have been called upon to do propaganda in support of the measure. To evade the law thousands of marriages of children of a very early age are being performed from now, not knowing the unwisdom and the irrationality of such a procedure. The Kulin Brahmins of Bengal, the Nam budris of Malabar and a few Brahmins of South India with progressive views perform post-puberty marriages by following the texts of the Smriti period. They do not consider marriages as anything sinful. But curiously enough the Die-hards seek the assistance of the very same texts which they interpret in a manner that will help to justify their action. According to Islamic law, there is nothing which militates against the Sarda Act as no mention about the fixing of marriage and consummation is made in the Quoran. Legislation on this point is therefore not at variance with the teachings of the Prophet.

Right of Divorce for Women

Divorce is as important a question as the abolition of polygamy, and it has recently evoked much controversy. At a conference of women held quite lately in Madras, a resolution was passed demanding legal separation and equal divorce law. Even though very many women were opposed to it, yet there is no reason to believe that it would carry with it evil consequences. They refuse to see the justice of it. We do not plead for any sort of licence, but wish to have it as a safeguard against the tyranny of and ruthless treatment by husbands. A great majority of cases of maltreatment of wives escape the notice of the public, the victims very often having the commisseration and the kindness to absolve their husbands from such crimes in their dying declarations. There must therefore be radically something wrong with our marriage system. I do not for a moment blame such husbands but I blame the very system which gives room for the practice of such cruelties. Hence the agitation for a Divorce Law.

Nothing is more supremely important and of greater moment than the consideration of the Economic Independence of women and equal inheritance laws. Under the existing Hindu law there are many disabilities affecting women in matters like guardianship of children and adoption, inheritance and maintenance, right of buying and selling property, Stridhanam and succession etc. It is undoubtedly admitted that the present law as administered is imperfect and inequitable. It has therefore to be modified so as to bring it into harmony with modern conditions so that women may find their rightful place in society.

Let me close with the earnest hope that situated as we are in the midst of a political crisis, we would be able to fulfil the mission of redeeming our country from subjection and usher into existence a freer and greater India.

The Gujerat Provincial Women's Conference

The fourth session of the Gujerat Provincial Women's Conference met at Ahmedabad on the *8th. December 1929* amidst great enthusiasm, Mrs. Indumati Diwan presiding. A large and representative gathering of ladies of all stations

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in life had mustered strong to express their opinions on the various burning problems affecting the life of Indian women.

Amongst the prominent people present were Lady Chinubhal, Lady Vidyagauri, Srimathi Shardaben Mehta, Lady Tanumati, Dr. Madora, Drs. Sumant and Hariprasad Desai, Mr. Ramnarayan Pathak and others.

Lady Vidyagauri, in proposing Mrs. Diwan to the chair, eulogised her services to the cause of women's uplift and expressed the hope that she would give the best in her to the services of Gujerati women.

Presidential Address

Mrs. Indumati Diwan in the course of her presidential address said :—

Sisters and Brothers,—I beg to tender, at the outset, my most sincere gratitude and thanks to you for having selected me to guide your deliberations this evening.

Education is the bed-rock on which is based the re-construction of society and its cultural attainments. Look at Russia ! Not only primary but even secondary education in Russia is free and compulsory.

To-day in our country, nearly ten lakhs of children are receiving their education in primary and secondary schools and colleges of which only 8 per cent receive their training in the higher classes of primary schools, in secondary schools and colleges. It means that a vast majority receive very nominal education. The figures of those receiving higher education are simply deplorable.

The present educational system has been specially contrived for those who desire to be clerks, pleaders, doctors, engineers, and teachers. The Government finds crores of rupees for military expenditure and yet for the education of the rural population which amounts to 77 per cent it finds no money.

If a selection is to be made between the two sexes for education may I venture to say, from the view point of our present and future renaissance, I would certainly demand a preference for our sex.

CHILD-MARRIAGE

Our present institution of marriage has proved a great handicap in our development and progress. At the tender age of twelve and thirteen when a girl can hardly be said to come out of her teens and when her sister in other countries of the same age knows nothing but gay enjoyments and innocent games and her education, she is sent away to her husband to shoulder the responsibilities of his house. She has hardly been trained for it. And what is the result ? You find that her physical development is stopped and the poor creature is crushed under the heavy load of her household troubles.

We, in India, are faced by a terrible death-toll among children. The child death-rate in India is comparably much higher than in other countries. The cause of this terrible toll can be traced to the ignorance of the girl mothers. If any religion sanctions child marriage, I would make bold to say that the religion needs to be overhauled because the religion is nothing if not the creation of the time. The woman in the Hindu Society has been dislodged from her rightful status. She doet not hold to-day that position in the family that she rightly ought to.

In our present day arrangement, the man earns the bread and subsequently enjoys supremacy over the woman. The woman labours the whole day in looking after his house and his children. In the new organisation, the man shall be required to share the responsibilities both of the household and children.

More deplorable is the lot of a widow in our society inasmuch as she can claim no inheritance in the family estates if she has no issue.

The new woman must now begin to earn to acquire economic independence. She will thus make herself more useful to the society ; and will contribute her mite to the nation's prosperity.

It is very essential that the outlook of woman should undergo a radical change. To-day women themselves believe that it is proper for them to do certain work and improper to do others. From the very infancy they are taught to look upon themselves as weak and defenceless, that every woman must perforce marry, that it is dangerous to remain unmarried. This inferiority complex must be got rid of. There is a great need in our public life of a large number of women social workers,

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There are several activities which can be efficiently managed only by securing full time women workers.

An Outline of Future

In order to improve and spread education amongst women, it will be necessary to collect them together in different parts of towns and villages and give them lectures, short informal talks and educate them through pictures, magic lanterns, cinemas and theatricals. An effort should be made to teach them such practical things as would be useful in their house-hold management. It is also necessary to provide occasions for sport and enjoyments. They should receive useful instruction in child-rearing, in hygiene, cleanliness, sanitation and such other useful subjects. To women who are employed in factories, it is necessary to provide useful education and means of recreations.

Women should be made to realise that in marriage the rights and responsibilities of both men and women are equal.

We have to abolish the hideous evil of child-marriage and marriage of old men with young girls. We have also to prevent the marriage of girls against their will. If there is any widowed sister of ours who wishes to re-marry it becomes our duty to provide facilities for her to do so. And if she desired to spend her life in social welfare work, we must make arrangements for her to qualify for such duties. The society should study the conditions under which our women teachers, nurses, mid-wives, factory women have to work and if there are difficulties in their honourably following any profession we should make an attempt to remove them. We should start, conduct and improve educational institutions because it is only through education that we can sow seeds of national regeneration and reform.

It is my earnest appeal to you, Sisters and Brothers, that we must seriously set ourselves to work and present a decent account of ourselves at the end of the year. I earnestly pray that we may have the strength to carry our ideas into execution.

Resolutions

Resolutions urging an early amendment of the law of inheritance, requesting Government to enact legislation preventing men from marrying more than one wife, urging the abolition of purdah, asking for the appointment of inspectresses to supervise conditions of factory women, urging early steps to expedite the spread of higher education for girls and raising the standard of efficiency of the teaching staff and congratulating Mrs. Mehta on her election to the Syndicate of the Bombay University, were passed.

Eloquent speeches were delivered in support of the various resolutions, striking amongst them being those delivered by Lady Vidyagauri, Srimati Shardaben, Mrs. Kanta Desai, Miss Harbala and Dr. Madora, the last named supporting eloquently the Sarda Act and examining its clauses in their different aspects.

The President, in concluding, once again earnestly urged the delegates to set themselves to work to eradicate the various evils of Indian social life and give the best in them to the services of their less unfortuate sisters. She promised on her part to do her bit. With a vote of thanks to the chair the proceedings terminated.

The Andhra Mahila Maha Sabha

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, presided over the Andhra Mahila Maha Sabha held at Bezwada on the *3rd. November 1929*. In the course of her address she said :—

"I cannot believe that a country that has produced men of the type of Tagore, J. C. Bose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Gandhi, Syed Ahmed, Prof. Raman, men of International fame and name, could be barren of men with character, intelligence and capacity to guide, control and administer their own affairs. Therefore, I am firmly of opinion that further constitutional advancement and extension of the franchise is

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an inevitable necessity in the interests of national progress and national efficiency. In a famous passage the immortal Mr. Montagu who inaugurated the new era in India boldly stated that the one object that Lord Chelmsford and he had in devising the reform was to stir the Indian masses from the pathetic slumber into which they have fallen which conception is both noble and correct. Constitutional reform should always aim above the existing requirements and reach the level of future requirements. Do Indian women deserve an extension of the franchise? The women desire, no less than the men, a larger measure of self-Government and provincial autonomy. Patriotic and eminent Indians from the great reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy downwards to Mahatma Gandhi, have courageously defended the Indian women's cause and fought for their rights."

At the outset she paid warm and glowing tributes to Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Pandit Vidya Sagar, Sir Bala Gangaram, Lala Lajpat Rai, Rai Bahadur Verrasalingam Pantulu and others for the service rendered by them to the cause of Indian women. Here she also referred to the Christian Missionary agencies in India and said: "More than the direct educational and the cultural contribution made by these missionary agencies to the Indian nation, the noble and self-sacrificing examples of their men and women who, infused with a spirit of love and service for the suffering humanity and true to the teachings of their Prophet, face obstacles and live very often a single lonely life, cannot but have a very beneficial effect upon the men and women of this country."

Reviewing the present position of Indian women to-day and the work ahead of them she said:—"We have been given municipal and legislative franchise. We can face election on equal terms with our men and those of us who have had the necessary education and training should be prepared to shoulder the full responsibilities of public and social life and co-operate with our men to promote the welfare of our people. We should seek speedy remedies for all our social evils, some of which we share in common with the rest of the civilised world and some are peculiar to India, such as the custom of Child Marriage, the stigma attached to early widowhood, the practice of purdah, the dedication of young women to a life of shame in the name of religion and holy custom."

Speaking on social and moral legislation she referred to the Sarda Bill and observed:—Rai Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, the author of the Child Marrage Restraint Act, will go down to posterity as a great humanitarian and saviour of Indian womanhood because the Child Marriage Restraint Act is nothing but a measure to protect the rights of children. To marry a child of 8, 10 or 12 and to make her a wife and mother at that tender age should not go in the name of religion. In other civilised countries abuses of parental authority which endanger the bodily or mental welfare of the child, are punishable, the hightest aim of the State being the protection of the future generation. His Excellency Lord Irwin and Viscount Goschen, the two eminent British statesmen. have earned the love and gratitude of the present and future generations for their noble and courageous stand by this humanitarian measure."

Proceeding she referred to the evil custom of dedicating girls to the temples and pleaded for the intervention of the State with an effective machinery and with a suitable legislation to protect the minors. In this connection she thanked the Madras Legislature and the Government for having passed her Devadasi Bill into an Act and appealed to the Government to immediately enforce the Act and thus save in time thousands of innocent girls from a life of prostitution.

Speaking on Women's rights and their education she said:—"The ancient Hindu legislators realised that both sexes were equal and said before the world that women had equal rights with men. So the laws depriving the Hindu woman of her rights and privileges and assigning her an inferior place in society must be only of recent origin. I feel sorry to observe that the Hindus in particular have become creatures more of custom or habit than of reason or true religion. No enlightened woman with any self-respect can put up with such one-sided laws which have placed us in an inferior position even to our Muhammadan and Christian sisters. To modify such unjust laws and to make it suitable to the needs of the present day society, a reformed society should be started for the uplift, protection and help of the Hindu women."

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Need of Education

"Education of our women", she continued, "on the right lines, is our greatest need at the present moment as we are made to realise every minute that no reform whether social, sanitary or health, is possible without the willing co-operation of the women in the home. Nor can we expect an illiterate mother ignorant of the modern science of life to train her children to be useful and patriotic citizens." She felt that it was the system of women's education that was responsible for the present sorrowful state of affairs in the country.

Concluding she said :—"With the examples of Japan and Turkey, which countries with the help of their national Governments are combining social with political advancement and in our own country the model Native States like Mysore and Baroda—with such examples before us, who would not wish for a larger share in the Government of their country or full responsible Government ? Freedom and responsibility bring out all that is best in the individual and in the race. Since the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the giving of municipal and legislative franchise to women, there has been a tremendous awakening among the women of India as the result of which their activities have spread educational, social, economical and political spheres of life. The full development and the full expression of an individual as well as a nation is possible only under a full measure of self-government. We trust and hope that India's legitimate aspirations would be fully realised during the Viceroyalty of His Excellency Lord Irwin."

The Oudh Women's Conference

The third annual session of the Oudh Women's Conference on educational and social reform was held at Lucknow on the *23rd November 1929* under the presidency of Mrs. Iravati Mehta. The Conference was attended by many Moslem and Hindu women, some of whom spoke strongly in favour of the Sarda Act. The Dowager Rani of Mandi opened the conference with a humorous speech.

Mrs. Bhatia, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of her welcome address, referred to the President's life-long service to the Benares Orphanage.

The *President*, delivering her address in English, said the chief feature in the March of social reform in 1929 had been the passing of the Sarda Bill which had now become Act XIX of 1929. It would rank in social legislation with the age of consent and stoppage of sati. Marriage in future would not be a mockery. It would cease to be the plaything of parents and grand-parents in their dotage. It would regain its place as a sacrament performed by parties fully capable of taking decisions of a momentous character.

"Our task at this moment is threefold. The first is the forming of district societies in different districts of men and women interested in seeing that the provisions of this law are respected. They will co-operate with the authorities in bringing abuses to the notice of Government. The punitive provisions will be, we are sure, enforced with tact and it will be the duty of society to see that no one was harrassed.

"We should not allow the guilty parties to escape the consequences of their defiance of the law. We should try and get a popular commentary issued in vernacular on the Act so as to make people in general thoroughly conversant with the provisions of the Act. There is no reason why a bench of honorary magistrates, consisting of men and women, should not be able to take up these cases and why investigation under the Criminal Procedure Code should not be made over to a recognised society of the type referred to above. We must also arrange, on proofs being available, to get certificates of age issued to parents giving the ages of their sons and daughters.

The second task before us is to see that legislation on similar line is undertaken in the Indian States so that persons may not go across the border and defy the law with impunity.

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"Our third task is to prepare the people for the application of the present law of compulsory registration of births, deaths and marriages to Hindu and Moslem communities just in the way our Parsi and Christian sisters have done. This will leave the fact of marriage out of dispute and there would be little trouble in finding out the date of birth of either contracting party.

"Hitherto girls' education did not prosper because she was withdrawn much too early from school and yoked into marriage. Until now the problem was to give some sort of an educational whitewash by the time the terminus was reached. The curriculum could not admit of teaching subjects useful to a girl when she, in the fullness of time, would become a mother.

"I have always felt that the secondary education of girls is intended at present not for future mothers but for unattached persons seeking the teaching career. We have to train the future mother principally and, secondly, the future servant of the State. It would be necessary to associate parents more and more with teaching by professional teachers in order that an all-round training of the desirable type may be forthcoming,

"The purely vernacular secondary course should have a cultural subject like Sanskrit or Persian. There should be more of biological science and domestic economy in place of pure hygiene in rural areas. Our sisters are still left with untrained *dais*. We should try and help in the formation of these societies at the headquarters of tahsils.

"You will be interested to know that the Co-operative Department have appointed a woman inspector for forming better living societies for women. This woman inspector trains local female teachers to be secretaries to these societies and, I am sure, my sisters will make up their mind to help the woman inspectors.

"In this connection I must also state that the Public Health Department are prepared to supply stock medicines in handy boxes to enable first-aid to be applied before the patient in a serious case is brought to hospital.

"We understand that Mr. M. R. Jayakar is interesting himself in the improve- of our rights to property. He outlined his scheme in his Calcutta address. Let us all lend our support to him so that women, who is like the washerman's dog, neither welcome at home nor at the ghat, may become a sharer in her husband's property without losing her birthright in her father's property."

Resolutions

The first resolution passed by the conference cordially welcomed the action of the Legislative Assembly in passing the Sarda Bill and thereby preventing the evil of early marriage. This was moved by Begam Habibullah in a long speech and was seconded by Mrs. P. Shukla.

The next resolution stated that efforts should be made to get the Hindu law of inheritance so altered as to enable daughters and widows to get a definite share respectively in their fathers' and husbands' property. This was moved by Miss Champavati Misra and seconded by Begam Wazir Hasan.

Another resolution requested the Local Government to open a work-house in every town where the poor and unemployed should be given industrial training to enable them to earn a respectable living and expressed its great disapproval of the educational policy of those provinces which had done practically nothing for the advancement of girls' education within the last decade.

The next resolution supported the Swadeshi movement and earnestly requested all women in these provinces to use Swadeshi goods and persuade others to do the same.

Another resolution requested the Government to make provision in all educational institutions for enlightening pupils regarding the harmful effects of intoxicants and requested all women to create public opinion against the use of intoxic ants.

Finally the Conference resolved that a deputation of women should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy to request him to pass executive orders to prevent the Sarda Act, on the one hand, from becoming a dead letter and on the other, to see that its provisions did not, in the beginning, cause harassment to the people.

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The Madras Women's Social Conference

The Madras Women's Social Reform Conference was held at Madras on the *17th November 1929* under the presidency of Mrs. Srinivasa Iyengar. The President in the course of her speech said :—

Women belonging to the older generation like herself, although they did not want any social reform for themselves, did not want to throw obstacles in the way of the younger generation trying to adjust the society according to the changing times. Social reform which aimed at elevating the status of women was indispensable. But she wanted to impress upon them the desirability of achieving their object by educating public opinion rather than by forced legislation and propaganda calculated to wound the feelings of other schools of thought. They should also remember the essential principle that any reforms which they wanted to bring about should be consistent with economic principles and the ideas of the nation which was their rich heritage. In their efforts to reconstruct the society they should try to conciliate the public opinion and take it with them. It should not be their aim to satisfy a minor section of the society by passing legislations on the lines of western ideals, which were unsuited to the Indian ideals. It was absolutely necessary that they should enjoy equal status with men. But at the same time they should also remember the fact that women had been enjoying equal rights and liberal ties with man and this truth was borne out by the fact that Goddess Parvathi was occupying the left part of Lord Parameswara's body. Women should no longer have the inferiority complex which made them go a-begging for reforms. As individuals of society they were entitled to get freedom and enjoy it. Social reform could not be achieved by legislations and conferences alone. If they wanted to reach their cherished goal they should carry on propaganda in the nooks and corners of villages and start societies. They should gain first-hand knowledge of the actual conditions and the reforms they wanted should be based on their rich and ripe experience. Their endeavour should be to convert their sisters in villages to their own views.

Proceeding, the President said that all the draft resolutions, except the one relating to the introduction of a divorce law for women, were acceptable to her. If such a divorce law was enacted, it would work a serious hardship on wives and their issues. It would have so much evil influence on the wife's mind that she would be encouraged to give up the idea of ministering to the wants of her husband. The question was if all such women as sought divorce, would get themselves married again. If they were not able to get married, they would be driven to the necessity of protecting themselves. Under the existing circumstances, even though man could get himself divorced from his wife, he was in duty bound under the law to protect the children. But if this divorce bill was passed, then the husband would escape that responsibility. This would also give an inducement for him to marry many times. They should not agree to a legislation which would satisfy the minority and would affect detrimentally the majority of women. This legislation would do more harm than good and also cut at the very root of their Dharma. It would be desirable if they enacted a legislation which would effectively prevent man from having polygamy.

Concluding the President dwelt on the evils of untouchability and opined that it was fast disappearing from their society.

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Youth Conferences.

The U. P. Youth Conference.

The first Provincial U. P. Youth Conference commenced its session on the 15TH SEPTEMBER 1929 under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at the Ganga Pershad Memorial Hall, Lucknow.

Chaudhury KHALIQUZAMAN, *Chairman, Reception Committee* welcoming the delegates and specially Mrs. Naidu who had taken so much trouble to attend from distant Bombay said that it was youth who had freed their country from bondage in every country. Political advancement of a country he said, was impossible unless communal feelings were wiped off and patched up. Youngmen were the fittest people to remove communal hatred from the masses of India. The present atmosphere of India was pregnant with feelings of communal jealousies and youngmen should make it a point to root out communalism tooth and nail India stood in need of persons who might give their all for the country's cause. Referring to the unfortunate death of Jatindra Nath Das he said that how firm he remained on his pledge in spite of every effort made to induce him to give up hunger-strike and therefore he pleaded that youths of India should learn to be firm on what they intend to aim.

The Secretary of the Reception Committee then read out messages received from Messrs Govind Ballabh Pant, Dr Alam and others.

Pandit Jawaharlal NEHRU, as he rose to speak, was given a great ovation. He said that their province was fortunate enough to have Mrs. Naidu as their president. Referring to the youngmen and the part they played in the matter of development of their country he said that students should not be happy only with their books and studies. They had a still greater part to play in the matter of development of their country.

On formally being proposed to occupy the chair Mrs. NAIDU rose amidst loud uproar and cries of 'Jai' to deliver her *presidential address*. Referring to her continental tour she said that while she was travelling in America she had seen many a youngman who had been doing a lot for the happiness of their country.

Paying warm tributes to the sacrifice of Jatin Das she said : "Your own comrade by what he has done has shown real faith in the freedom which you aim at." She exhorted the youngmen that freedom was bound to come to India through the living examples of youths who could lay their lives for their country. She wanted them to give up meekness which was another name for cowardice. She opined that the time had come when they should understand thoroughly the meaning of "Give me liberty or death." She said that the youngmen of the country should show to the world that they were not imitators but followed what was good, whether it came from the land of Lloyd George or Lenin. All over the world the only one problem before them was reconstruction of society.

Referring to the Sarda Bill she said that the Bill itself was a shame for India and how more shameful it was that people still fought over the question.

In conclusion she advised the youths to break off the caste restrictions and possess a wider outlook in every social matter. What they should follow was honesty.

Referring to a motto hanging on the wall she said that what she believed about women's part in the making of a society was women who should emancipate men first and men for women's responsibilities were more in the making in the coming generation. Indian youngmen and women should cease to think in narrow terms and coloured spectacles.

A resolution was then moved from the chair expressing sorrow at the death of Jatindra Nath Das and passed the whole house standing. The Conference then adjourned.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference re-assembling on the next day, the 16TH SEPTEMBER.

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Removal of Social Disabilities Urged.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following resolution: "This Conference is of opinion that the people of India can only attain freedom when all exploitation of one group by another ceases, and a new order of society is built up, based on mutual co-operation for the public good. In order to help building this new social order, all antiquated social, religious and economic customs which have outlined their usefulness and at present sap the vitality of the nation and prevent its healthy growth must be put an end to. In particular, the Conference condemns (1) the brain worker or the manual worker in the field, factory or elsewhere being exploited and deprived of a great part of the fruits of his labour, (2) the caste system based on heredity and birth, which has enfeebled Hindu Society and divided it into innumerable sections. (3) the existence of the so-called depressed classes and the cruel and unsocial custom of untouchability, (4) the disabilities of women, both social and legal, which prevent them from taking part in the social life of the community and (5) the law of marriage and marriage customs requiring large expenditure and waste."

Treatment of Political Prisoners.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and carried unanimously: "This Conference notes with grave and anxious concern that, in spite of the supreme sacrifice of Mr. Jatin Das, the demand for humane treatment of political prisoners has not been agreed to by the Government, and in consequence Bhagat Singh and Dutt have had to continue hunger-strike, and are now in a critical condition. The Conference endorses their demand for the better treatment of political prisoners, and congratulates them on their heroic stand."

Unemployment Problem.

A resolution relating to unemployment which was adopted ran as follows: "Whereas it is the primary duty of every Government to provide food and clothing for its subjects, and since the number of unemployed educated youngmen is swelling everyday, the Conference strongly condemns the apathetic attitude of the Indian Government, and calls upon young men in the country to unite and celebrate an Unemployment Day, on a day to be notified hereafter, by arranging processions, demonstrations and public meetings and urging the Government to provide employment for them or else to maintain them from the public exchequer."

Communalism in Politics.

The Conference also passed another resolution condemning the intrusion of communalism in political and economic matters and calling upon the youth of the province to combat the sectarian spirit which puts the interests of a group or class above the interests of the nation. The Conference believes that the narrow interests of a group or class can best be served by promoting the welfare of the nation, which includes the group as well as others. The Conference is therefore of the opinion that no member of the Youth League should belong to a communal organisation which seeks political and economic rights for a group on the basis of religion.

Raising of Marriage Age Urged.

A resolution was moved welcoming the attempt being made to raise the age of marriage as a step in the right direction, and suggesting that the minimum age for boys should be 21 and for girls 18.

An amendment was moved suggesting that the age of girls should be 16 for marriage, instead of 18.

Miss Krishna Nehru, who supported the original motion, said that the amendment was brought by men who had no right to speak for women. It was the women's concern to decide their age of marriage.

Pandit Jawaharlal, supporting the original motion said that the proposal in question was not to bring any crisis in society. It was false pleading to say that society was not prepared for the change.

On the votes being counted it was found to have resulted in a draw. The president gave her casting vote against the amendment. The original resolution was carried by a clear majority of votes.

It was next decided that the next session of the Conference should be held at Cawnpore. The Conference then terminated.

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The Bombay Youth Conferences.

The third session of the Bombay Youth Conference commenced at Ahmedabad on the 14TH DECEMBER 1929 amidst great enthusiasm. The spacious pandal was very gaily decorated with flowers and buntings. Among the mottos hung in the hall were the following :—" Bardolise the whole country ". " Long live revolution," and " All power to the Soviets".

The spacious pandal was crowded to its utmost capacity and there were about 4,000 persons present, including a large number of ladies.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of the " Bandemataran " song.

Dr. Sumant Mehta then read his welcome address. At the outset, he explained in detail the circumstances under which Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose could not attend the Conference.

Mr. Rohit Mehta then proposed Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhya to the chair. The motion was duly seconded and supported, and she took up her seat amidst vociferous cheers.

The *President* said that the tasks facing the youths were innumerable, but could be summed up as the establishment of freedom in the country. The controversy Dominion Status versus Independence was needless. Freedom or Swaraj could mean but one thing, the establishment of a system of Government in the country which would give the fullest possible opportunity for each individual to grow physically, culturally and morally such laws and conventions as tended towards demoralisation of humanity.

So far as India was concerned it mattered very little who sat in Westminster or at Whitehall. Every political party in England was an imperialist party and stood solidly for imperial interests. The Labour Party was a little more dangerous than others as it came in the garb of a friendly group.

" India must realise clearly and strongly that she will never get freedom so cheaply as through a Round Table Conference." She continued : " We have recently had an explosion in the shape of the Viceroy's announcement. It was a most ingenious and well calculated device to strike a fatal blow to the unity and consolidation of all forces in the country that would undoubtedly have resulted in the launching of a strong campaign next year. The move has fulfilled its purpose. The Viceroy has been thanked for his sincerity to his country, its cause and its imperial interests." Proceeding, Mrs. Chattopadhya said : " We are fond of holding up ourselves as ready for martyrdom, but when the time comes for bearing our neck we retreat and say : Wait till the next blow. Each time the coward gets the better of it. Start civil disobedience, declare an independent republic, establish a parallel Government, do it at any cost and any sacrifice."

Mrs. Kamaladevi asked the youths not to merely pass resolutions even at the risk of being called traitors. It was most dishonest and demoralising to pass resolutions unless they were prepared to carry them out, by some definite plan of work. The youth must take a bold leap for better or worse. Did not Ireland fight for one hundred years ? If the youths meant to declare that they stood for the freedom of India, they must sit down and draw up a course of action for launching the movement. It would be attacked mercilessly ; it would be crushed, but out of each such ruin would rise a newer and better spirit, chastened and refined by each martyrdom.

Referring to the question of Indian States, the President said that she could not imagine a free India where the autocratic rule of the Princes was tolerated.

Mrs. Kamaladevi asked the youths to fight against the many social evils rampant in society. She said that all temples must be nationalised.

The President continued :—" The term " Red " is much abused and misunderstood. It usually means fighting with guns, but with us it can only mean a great upheaval through moral force, for a disarmed nation has no choice in the matter, even apart from the ethical, moral or the practical view point. Thus, I am sure, youth will recreate an India, far glorious than she has ever been in the past.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference re-assembling on the next day, the 15TH DECEMBER :—

(1) A resolution was passed to the effect that the regime of ruthless repression started by the Government served as an incentive to the youths to take further activities all over the presidency.

The Viceregal Pronouncement.

(2) Mr. Bhatt of Bombay moved the following resolution :—" The youth of the Bombay Presidency, assembled in Conference, after a full consideration of the recent announcement

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of India and the debates in both the Houses of Parliament, emphatically declares that the statement issued means nothing to India and is calculated only to rally the moderates and appeals to the Congress leaders not to be guided by the statement but to declare independence as decided upon by the Calcutta Congress."

Mr. Meherali of Bombay moved an amendment, declaring that the immediate objective of the youths is complete independence and recommending to the Congress to declare independence at the ensuing session at Lahore and asking the leaders not to compromise with the Government and warning them that if they did, the youths will not hesitate to disown and repudiate them and carry on the fight inspite of them.

Mr. Kikabhai Desai moved another amendment putting after the words "Parliament" in the original resolution the following words "supports the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee."

Vehement speeches were delivered both by the supporters of the resolution and the amendments. The Conference passed Mr. Meherali's amendment after three hours' debate by an overwhelming majority.

(3) Resolutions exhorting all Youth Leagues to accept wearing of Swadeshi cloth as a necessary condition for membership of the Youth League and declaring religion to be a matter of personal and private conviction were passed.

Removal of Untouchability.

(4) Resolutions were also adopted favouring removal of untouchability, asking the youths to take up prohibition work, welcoming the Anti-Child Marriage Bill as the first step in social reform, but asking the youths to agitate for an Act to be passed raising the age of marriage from 14 to 18 years for girls.

(5) The Conference also passed a resolution declaring that it stands for the abolition of feudal States for the growth of a strong peasantry in the States and for linking them with the anti-imperialist struggle of the people in British territory

(6) Resolutions were passed urging the establishment of Rifle Clubs and the abolition of all distinctions between classes.

Repression in States Condemned.

(7) Before the Conference concluded its sitting it passed a resolution condemning the autocratic suppression of popular rights of free speech in the Indian States and declaring that the people of the States have the constitutional right to dethrone a prince and establish any form of Government the people think best.

A resolution was moved, condemning Pandit Jawaharlal, but it was lost by a majority.

President's Concluding Remarks.

The President, in her concluding remarks, said that the one thing that appeared to her significant and momentous was their decision to really launch some organised work in the coming year. She was personally in favour of working and co-operating with the Congress which was the premier political organisation in the country because it was necessary that all the forces in the country should join hands. If the leaders of the Congress failed to fulfil their expectations and their promise to the country at the ensuing Congress, the youth would take the initiative in starting work. After the Congress session, the Presidency Youth League would meet and decide the course of action for the coming year. They would then know whether they were in a position to work hand in hand with the National Congress. But in any case they would launch their campaign of work.

They must show, declared the President, by carrying on a campaign against old convention, priestcraft and the oppression of religion and other social customs, that the youth movement was going to be a great national movement. She said that they must do away with imperialism wherever it existed, but asked them to start with putting down imperialism in their own homes by improving the conditions and status of their women, socially, economically and physically. How could they have one standard of morality for men and another for women? She asked them to do away with the present nequality of sexes existing in society at present. Concluding, she appealed to the youths o carry out all the resolutions they had passed and be ready for next year's work.

The Conference was then dissolved.

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The Behar Youth Conference.

In the unavoidable absence of Sj. Subhas Ch. Bose the Behar Youth Conference was held at Monghyr on the 12TH DECEMBER 1929 under the presidency of Pandit Prajapati Misra. Exhorting every young man to take to Khaddar the President said :—

"Khadi represents much more than a mere piece of cloth, handspun and handwoven. It is a real symbol of revolt against the present order of things. It stands for equality and fraternity, it aims at the uplift of the poor and for so many other things"

Proceeding the speaker said that the first thing the youth of the country needed was the culture of 'Sadhana' and 'Sanjam' and so long as there was no 'Shadhana' and 'Sanjam' all talk of Swaraj was needless. Swaraj, he said, lay in the cottage of the poor, the down-trodden and in the hearts of the millions of Kisans in the villages all over the country.

Continuing the speaker said that the youth movement aimed at what was called propagating new ideas, ideas about the future reconstruction of the society and the country and every young man from now should, therefore, cease to think in terms of Brahmans or Rajputs, Hindus or Musalmans, or of any caste, community or religion.

Concluding the speaker said that young men must first learn to be workers, soldiers of freedom before they aspired to be a leader.

Resolutions.

The Conference then passed the following resolutions:—

1. This Conference expresses its pride on the self-sacrifice of Jatindra Nath Das and Phungi Wizya and appeals to the youths of Bihar to follow their examples in suffering and sacrifice for the cause of the country.

2. This Conference heartily welcomes the measures of repression launched by Government and congratulates those who have suffered incarceration.

3. This Conference proclaims that India's goal is nothing but independence.

4. This Conference enjoins on the youths of the province to give equal status to women in matters such :—

(A) Equal right of inheritance. (B) Equal education. (C) Equal civic rights, etc.

5. This Conference settles to work out the following programme :—

(1) To establish youth leagues, physical institutions and libraries.
(2) To propagate the idea of nationality and full independence.
(3) To propagate Swadeshi.
(4) To carry on a campaign against intoxicated drinks and drugs.
(5) To remove untouchability, communal feelings and caste distinction.
(6) General propaganda through magic lanterns.
(7 To organise volunteers by inducing young men to join Hindusthani Seva Dal.

(6) This Youth Conference of Bihar resolves to start a Jatindra Memorial Fund in memory of the self-sacrifice of Jatindra Nath to strengthen the youth movement in Bihar and urges the Bihar Youth League to take up the work in right earnest.

The C. P. Youth Conference.

The first C. P. Yo th Conference was held at Nagpur on the 29TH NOVEMBER 1929 under the presidency of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose.

Mr. P. Mooniswami Naidu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the Conference, stressed the importance of the Youth League movement.

Mr. Bose then delivered his address in the course of which he said :—

"There are people in this country; and some of them eminent in public life, who look upon the Youth Movement of to-day with some degree of disfavour or confess that they do not appreciate the purpose and significance of this movement. There are other people who do not realise the inner meaning of the Youth Movement but who nevertheless have joined this movement probably out of a feeling that a movement should not be allowed to grow in which they do not play some part.

"From the dawn of the present renaissance in India up till to-day, several movements and thought-currents have appeared one after another, That in addition to these move-

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ments another movement should come into existence in the shape of the Youth Movement, is in itself a sufficient proof that such a phenomenon was called for. There is certainly some fundamental craving in the soul of the individual and of the nation to satisfy which the Youth Movement had to be carried. What is that fundamental craving? It is the desire for freedom and self-fulfilment.

Significance of Youth Movement.

"The country needs to-day a movement which will vouchsafe to the individual and to the nation complete emancipation from bondage of every kind as well as the fullest power of self-fulfilment and self-expression. There are people who would like to convert our Youth Conferences into the back benches of the Indian National Congress, but little do they understand the purpose and significance of the Youth Movement.

"The Indian National Congress, being primarily a political body, is naturally restricted in the scope. Even with regard to the political problem its objective has not yet been declared to be full independence. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that youngmen and young women, who see life as one whole and who desire freedom in every sphere of life, should feel dissatisfied with a purely political body like the Indian National Congress and would hanker after a movement which endeavours to satisfy all the cravings of the human soul and the needs of our life. It therefore follows that while the Youth Movement is not merely political, it is not non-political. In its scope it is as large as life. And since the whole includes all its parts, it is certain that the growth of the Youth Movement will stimulate our political development as well.

Emblem of Dissatisfaction.

"The Youth Movement is an emblem of our dissatisfaction with the present order of things. It stands for the revolt of Youth against age-long bondage, tyranny and oppression. It seeks to create a new and a better world for ourselves and for humanity by removing all shackles and giving the fullest scope to the creative activity of mankind. The Youth Movement is not therefore an additional or an exotic growth superimposed on the movements of to-day. It is a genuine independent movement, the main-springs of which lie deeply embedded in human nature.

"This movement has come into existence because it fulfils, or strives to fulfil, a crying need of the times and the cravings of the human soul. If one does not realise the inner meaning and purpose of the movement, he can do nothing by merely joining the movement or by "capturing" youth associations. To my mind any association of young men and young women cannot deserve the name of youth association unless it has all the characteristics of the latter. As I have already hinted, all youth movements are characterised by a feeling of restlessness and of dissatisfaction with the existing state of things and they seek to usher in a better order. They stand for freedom from bondage and for revolt against custom and authority, where custom and authority militate against the promptings of the human conscience. Their motto is self-confidence and self-reliance—as against blind homage and unquestioning obedience to our elders. In these circumstances one cannot be surprised if some of our elders view these movements with dislike or disfavour.

"The purpose of the youth movement is to re-create our whole life and to breathe into it the inspiration of a new ideal. It is this ideal which will give a new meaning and significance to the life that we create. That ideal is full all-round freedom and complete self-fulfilment. Freedom and self-fulfilment are intimately and inseparably connected. Without freedom, self-fulfilment is not possible and freedom has value because it leads to self-fulfilment.

A New Creation.

"The youth movement is in its scope co-extensive with life itself. It therefore follows that the youth movement will have as many departments as there are aspects in our life. If we are to rejuvenate the body, we shall need sports, athletics and gymnastics. If we are to emancipate and re-educate the mind, we shall need a new literature, a higher and better type of education and a healthy conception of morality. If we are to rejuvenate society, we shall have to do away ruthlessy with hide-bound ideas and customs and substitute new and healthy ones instead. Further, we shall have to revalue the existing social and moral values in the light of the ideal of the age and in all probability we shall have to introduce a new scale of values which will govern the society of the future.

"In striking out a new line of thought and action it is but natural that we should run up against existing ideas and vested interests and against the powers that be. But we should not be afraid of that. The progress of the Youth Movement will have to be effected in the teeth of opposition and in the face of numerous obstacles. Occasions will arise when we shall be hemmed in from all sides and it will appear as if we stand by

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ourselves cut off from the rest of the world. In such crisis we should remember the pregnant words of that great Irish patriot who in the face of imminent danger cried out triumphantly—"One man can save Ireland, just as one man redeemed the world." As an exponent of the Youth Movement, the moment you apply the principle of freedom to every walk of life, you at once create enemies on all sides and all the vested interests affected by your propaganda may combine for the purpose of crushing you. It is easy to fight even a formidable enemy on one front, but it is difficult to fight your enemies on every front simultaneously. The rank and file of the Youth Movement should therefore be prepared to face enemies more formidable than those whom the political workers may have to encounter.

Cross of Misunderstanding.

"There is another difficulty which we in the Youth Movement should anticipate and against which we should be forewarned. In a political movement or in a labour movement, you will have to handle large crowds in order to preserve your control over them. You may have to play to the gallery on certain occasions. You may also have to bring yourselves down to the level of the masses on certain occasions in order to keep up your communion with them. In the Youth movement on the other hand, you will have to say good-bye to love of popularity—if you happen to possess that failing. On occasions you will have to take the responsibility of creating public opinion or of stemming the tide of popular feeling. If you wish to solve the fundamental problems of your national life, you will have to look miles ahead of your contemporaries. The mass mind is often unable to cut itself off from present-day moorings and visualize the future. If you propose remedies to anticipate and counteract future evils, it is not improbable that the mass mind will refuse to accept your prescription. On such an occasion you must summon courage to stand out, alone and unfriended, in the presence of the cross as it were, and fight the rest of the world. One who desires to swim with the tide of popular approbation on all occasions may become the hero of the hour—but he cannot live in history; neither can he create history. If we aspire to become the makers of history we should be prepared for any amount of misunderstanding and for any degree of persecution. For the most unselfish actions we should be prepared to get abuse and villification; from our closest friends we should be prepared for unwarranted hostility.

Life and its Value.

"But human nature is at bottom divine. The day of misunderstanding, abuse and persecution, however long it may be, will therefore have its end. Even if we have to meet death for the sake of our sincerest convictions, we shall through death attain immortality. Let us therefore be ready for any emergency. The rose is thrice beautiful because of its thorns and so is human life. Would not life be stale and insipid without sacrifice, suffering and persecution?

"Broadly speaking the Youth Movement has five aspects—*viz.* political, social, economic, physical and cultural. The aim of the movement is a two-fold one—to break this fivefold bondage and as a result of this emancipation to give an impetus to self-fulfilments and self-expression. The movement is therefore both destructive and creative in character. Without destruction you cannot have a new creation. That is why everywhere in nature we find destruction and creation going on side by side. If we think that destruction is bad and construction good and if we believe that construction is possible without destruction, we shall be sadly mistaken. So also shall we err if we regard destruction to be an end in itself. The growth and expansion of the freedom movement in any sphere of life means destruction and sometimes ruthless destruction. There can be no compromise with untruth, hypocrisy bondage and inequality. We shall have to strike and to strike hard if we have to break these shackles and we should not falter or look back when our only duty is to march ahead.

"If there is life within us—if we are not mere "clods of clay untroubled by a spark," destruction will unfailingly be accompanied by creative activity.

Radical Transformation Wanted.

"Many of the movements that we witness to-day in India and abroad are reformist in character. These movements touch the fringe of our life without radically transforming it. But we want not reform—but radical transformation. The whole of our life—both individual and collective—has to be recreated. In order to fulfil this rejuvenation we want a new conception of freedom to inspire us. Freedom has had a varying connotation in different ages and in different climes. In fact in our own country, as elsewhere, there has been an evolution of the conception of freedom. To-day, freedom has at last come to mean complete all-round emancipation. At least that is the interpretation which appeals to the youths. We can no longer be content with a half-way house. We want the fullest dose of freedom and we want it in every sphere of life. If we love freedom and love it for its own sake, we cannot possibly tolerate bondage or inequality of any

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sort. Whether in the political, or in the economic, or in the social sphere—we must be prepared for a full application of the principle of freedom. Every human being—man or woman—is born equal and he or she shall have equal opportunities of develooment—that should be our dictum. This is a principle which it is easy to utter but difficult to act up to—in view of the enormous difficulties we shall have to encounter in giving effect to it.

"Friends, I shall not take up your time unnecessarily by referring to the detailed programme of work which should be adopted by those who desire to help the growth and expansion of the youth movement. My task is over when I have dealt with the principles, aims and objects of this movement. Our ideal is an exceedingly ambitious one—probably the most ambitious that one can concede of. We want to transform our whole life and to create a new world and better world for ourselves and for humanity. In order to achieve this, we must rouse all the best that is in us. It is the magic touch of freedom which alone can awaken our dormant faculties and galvanise us into ceaseless activity. How we can rouse this desire for freedom in ourselves firstly and then in our countrymen is our first and foremost problem. We must feel the stings of slavery and the pangs of bondage—if we are to cry out for freedom from the bottom of our heart. When this feeling becomes acute, we shall realise that life without freedom is not worth living and as this experience grows, a time will come when our whole soul will be consumed with the longing for liberty.

"It is at this stage that we can become missionaries for preaching the gospel of freedom. As freedom-intoxicated men and women, we should then go from door to door, from village to village and from city to city to preach the new cult of freedom. Every walk of life will feel the breath of life as a result of this propaganda. Destruction and creation will begin. The body politic, the economic order and the social order will be stirred by a new impulse and a new ideal—namely the ideal of freedom and equality. False standards, hide-bound customs and age-long restrictions will be pulled down and a new order will gradually come into existence. If we succeed in bringing into existence this new order—based on liberty, equality and fraternity—we shall solve not merely a national problem—but also a world-problem.

"India is an epitome of the world. India's problems are world-problems in miniature. The solution of India's problems is therefore a solution of world-problems. India lives to-day in spite of untold suffering and misery and in spite of numerous invasions—because she has a mission to fulfil. India has to save herself because by saving herself—she will save the world. India has to attain freedom because a free India will be able to make a suitable contribution to the culture and civilization of the world. The world is anxiously awaiting India's gift. Without that, the world will be all the poorer.

"Friends, our responsibility is great. In every age and in every clime youths have been the torch-bearers of liberty. We have to live up to the example of youths abroad. What they have achieved elsewhere, certainly the youths of India can achieve here, if only we rise to the occasion We are living in momentous times and the fate of India is in the hands of her youths. I have no doubt that the youths of this country realise the great responsibility that rests on them. I have no doubt that through their sacrifice, suffering and labour, India will before long be a free country—a country where men and women will be born free and will have equal opportunities for education and development. India shall be free—of that there is not the slightest doubt. The only question is, when she will be free. We have all been born slaves but let us all resolve to die as free men. And if we are not to see India free in our own life-time let us at least die in the attempt to free India.....The path to freedom is a thorny path—but is also the path to immortality. To this noble path I invite you—my sisters and brothers of the Central Provinces."

Resolutions.

The Conference then passed resolutions expressing condolence for Jatin Das' tragic death, advocating the removal of the ban on the return of Indian exiles, particularly Prof. Khankhoje, congratulating Awari and Dandekar, condemning the Government's repressive policy, congratulating the Poona and the Dacca Satyagrahis, urging temple entry by untouchables, condemning the orthodox attitude, disapproving the Leaders' Manifesto on the Viceregal Announcement, urging equal social and political rights for women, advocating the boycott of the Whitley Commission, urging to promote the economic and social uplift of the Indian agriculturists, advocating national education and supporting the Sarda Act.

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The Bundlkhand Yonth Conference.

The Bundelkhand Youth Conference opened at Jhansi on the 6TH JULY 1929 under the presidency of Dr. Mohammad Alam. Dr. Alam, in the course of his address appealed to the young men to help to carry out the programme of the Congress and rid the country of political slavery which, he said, was worse than slavery in the ordinary sense and insidiously affected all aspects of human life. As future administrators of India he required the young men to take a prominent share in the moulding of the political life of the country. He strongly appealed to the youths to revolt against the demon of communalism and thus end political slavery. He said that communalism was sapping the very life of the nation and was responsible for the backwardness. He deeply deplored the fact that the many so-called national leaders were not able to steer clear of this evil. He advised young men to refuse to listen to such men and worship principles instead.

The speaker regretted that the meaning of religion had been deliberately misconceived by some communities in India who were using religion as a political weapon. This led to injurious results from the national point of view. According to the speaker the common bond of the same motherland must be the strongest community and it should rank above all. In his opinion the first duty of India's youth at the present time was to get rid of the demoralisation and degradation which had resulted from the communal practices.

He called attention to the unhealthy atmosphere wherein the children of India were brought up from the very beginning. He also cursed a section of the press that was enriching itself at the cost of India's national life. Concluding, Dr. Alam advised the youngmen to adhere to the Congress creed and kill communalism wherever they happened to find its obnoxious germs.

The Andhra Youth Conference.

The Andhra Youth Conferenee assembled at Bezwada on the 3RD NOVEMBER 1929 under the presidency of Mr. K. F. Nariman. There was great enthusiasm among the young men who attended the session in large numbers. The proceedings commenced with the singing of National songs.

Mr. Nariman then delivered his PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS in the course of which he said :—

"This Youth Movement is a new phase in the political and social life of the world, and if we take a survey of recent events, either in the east or west we will find that great revolutions have been brought about mainly by these new organisations and the awakening of the youth of different countries.

"I, therefore, want to impress upon you, young friends, that first and foremost, you must be sincere and honest in your dealings no matter what the consequences may be."

Referring to the election of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the National Congress, Mr. Nariman said. "I find that youths naturally feel elated at what they rightly consider to be a great triumph and recognition for their activities. But at the same time I must warn you, and very gravely remind you, that this compliment, tribute or honour to the youth carries with it its grave responsibility, its very serious duties which go hand in hand with the privilege. I ask you in all earnestness, and through you, the youths of the whole country, now that the helm and stewardship of national affairs is placed in the hands of the youth, are you or are you not prepared to fulfil the big promises, the tall assurances that you have been giving to the nation and the country for years past? Now that the opportunity has been given to you, will you come up to the expectations and lead the country to the desired goal, a goal for the attainment of which the elders, both in and outside the Congress, have been struggling for generations past? The choice is yours; either you attain the highest glory or you fail, and if you fail you sink back into the mire, and then for God's sake talk no more of the grand performances and the great achievements of the youth, if this god-sent opportunity given to you is not availed of to its fullest extent.

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"Therefore, the first function and duty of the youth movement in any country and more particularly in India, is to remove all degenerating causes that are disastrous to the natural and healthy mental development.

"It is not only your right and privilege, but it is your first and last duty to take active part in all the burning political, social, and economic questions of the day, for after all you are the future lords of the land, and as such none is more vitally affected by this question than yourself, and it is preposterous and absurd to ask you to be unconcerned about matters that are going to affect your every-day life in future.

"We must be prepared for the grave struggle, for a determined opposition, for enormous sacrifices and for daily sufferings, without which no country and no nation has attained its freedom.

"My young friends, the choice is yours. In the words of the great poet "there is always a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads, on to fortune." Such a tide in the affairs of the youth of the country is now appproaching. If you seize the opportunity and take the tide at the flood, it is bound to lead you to fortune, and what better or greater fortune could you desire than the fortune of attaining your goal of freedom? Make a firm resolve from to-day, before you leave this place that though you are born a bondman and a slave under foreign domination you shall not die in bondage but shall attain freedom and emancipation, both political, social and economic at any cost."

The Madura Ramnad Youth Conference.

The Madura Ramnad Youth Conference was held at Madura on the 19TH DECEMBER 1929 under the presidency of Dr. G. Ramiah. The president in the course of his addiess said :—

"The youths of to-day are bound to be the citizens of to-morrow having to shoulder burdens of great responsibility. Youth should be a time of preparation for the battle of life. Young men should equip themselves to bear a useful part in the public life of the country and to be of benefit to their fellow-countrymen. For this end they must pay particular attention to the development of their physique and their character. Healthy living, a genuing love for knowledge, humility and absence of all communal hatreds should be studiously cultivated from early years of life. Pride of birth and status in life should be sternly curbed and every one should acquire a broad outlook on life.

Proceeding he said :—There was necessity of doing research work in our ancient culture and of assimilating all that is best in modern knowledge in the various arts and sciences. Education should be made universal so that the darkness of ignorance could be dispelled and most of blind practices and superstitous ideas might be done away with. There was a tendency on the part of the public to be led away by pseudo-patriots who exploit the weaknesses of the public for achieving their own selfish ends. There was therefore great need for educating the masses on the political problems and the way in which Government is being carried on. Compulsory elementary education could be beneficial in this respect. Much headway had to be made in regard to agriculture which sustains the major portion of the population. Not only is there necessity for the adoption of new and modern methods of agriculture but the burden of taxation should be reduced."

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference :—

(1.) This Conference is of opinion that there is no necessity to change the goal and creed of the Congress which are the attainment of complete Independence by peaceful and legitimate means as these are quite statesmanlike and appropriate to the political condition of the country.

(2.) The Conference then resolved that an intense agitation should be started for prevailing upon Government to withdraw the prosecution against the accused in the Meerut Trial in view of the treaty recently concluded between the Government of great Britain and the Government of Russia.

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(3.) By means of another resolution the Conference conveyed its sense of appreciation of the patriotic spirit and self-sacrifice shown by the accused in the Meerut trial and the Lahore conspiracy case.

(4.) The Conference strongly condemned the repressive policy of Government against political workers all over India and especially in Tamil Nadu.

(5.) The Conference again emphatically condemned the action of the police in attacking and dispersing a peaceful procession of Congressmen and volunteere on the evening of 10th December, 1929 when the Viceroy visited Madura.

(6.) The action of the British Government in refusing passport to Mr. Saklatwala to visit India to attend the Indian National Congress at Lahore also came in for severe condemnation, at the hands of the Conference.

(7.) A resolution appealing to all the young men of the districts of Madura and Ramnad to take up the work of spreading khaddar and removal of untouchability and drink was also unanimously passed. Before dispersing an appeal was made to the public for liberal donations to the Jatin Das Memorial Fund.

The Non-Brahmin Youth Conference.

The second session of the Madura and Ramnad districts Non-Brahmin Youth Conference was held at Madura on the 25TH AUGUST 1929 under the presidency of Mr. N. Sivaraj. The following are extracts from the PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS deliverd by him :—

The Non-Brahmin movement, as I understand it, does not and ought not to rest upon the slender foundation of office, but upon the solid rock of eternal justice. It stands for the equal treatment of all human beings: for the abolition of caste, and caste monopoly; for natural rights as opposed to custom; for man against a system. It is opposed to the mode of social conduct known as Brahminism, which fixes for ever a man's station in life by the accident of his birth. Many believe that the Non-Brahmin movement is against only the predominant caste, the Brahmins, and are content with attacking the supremacy of the Brahmin, without in their turn giving up the system which I call Brahminism, and of which they are more particular than the Brahmins themselves. I am inclined to call every one who sincerely or otherwise believes in the system, a Brahmin. Considered thus the majority are Brahmins; only they fall into two categories, the threaded and the threadless.

Talking of youth, you will permit me to say what I understand by the term "Youth". To me it does not signify merely a section of the population who by reason of some arbitrary age limit come to be called so. Nor does it refer solely to the student population. It includes the labourer in the fields, the worker in the factory, the petty trader and the rich Zamindar. It knows no barriers of caste, creed or colour. It is rather with reference to the spirit and outlook upon life that youth has to be distinguished from other categories into which humanity falls. Hope and enthusiasm, freedom from prejudices and love of liberty, boundless energy and liveliness, these are the distinctive characteristics of youth. The youth of a country, on account of these, forms its most important asset. It is needless for me to tell you the part that youth has played in the history of the world. The pageant of youth through the ages is the most inspiring theme. Youth has very many achievements to its credit. It has undertaken many a mission and carried it out successfully. But it has always been at the bidding of the elders. Now however it has acquired a self-consciousness. Youth has organised itself all the world over, and stands on its own feet. It is seeking to solve, all by itself, not merely national problems, but international problems. Its methods are different from those of the elders. Diplomacy, intrigue, formalities and ceremonies—these it abhors. Youth thus has come to play a new role in the world. The League of Youth may succeed where the League of Nations fails.

In our country more than in any other the youth have a new role to play. They have to stand up against the rule of custom. Custom is a huge octopus griping India in its tentacles. The country must be freed from its grip, before it can advance and march along with the other countries of the world. The task is one which requires boundless energy, enthusiasm and a real love of

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liberty. To search for these qualities in any quarter but that of youth is to search in vain. The spirit of friendly rivalry so peculiar to the young folk is another factor which renders them fit to undertake and accomplish this difficult task. With these observations I appeal to you to take up the work of social reconstruction.

There is for instance the curse of untouchability. I need not waste your time by recounting to you the evils resulting therefrom. Enough has been said about the necessity and desirability of removing that curse. But I merely wish to point out that in order to realise the ideal of the dignity of man, untouchability must go. Further, it is necessary that it should be blotted out, if you want to give equal opportunities to all. I wish you to know what a great drawback it is to be an untouchable. The legitimate doors of free and fair competition are shut against the untouchables in practice. The so-called untouchable does not derive the full benefits from society to which he is entitled. Why, he is altogether outside the pale of society. It is up to you to redress this grievance. The problem is one which must be tackled by the young and is capable of solution only at their hands.

Then you have to educate the people on the dignity of labour. No man ought to be condemned as low by reason of the work he is engaged in. In our country, it is very essential that people ought to understand this ideal. Work of any kind should not be despised. Work is not a curse, it is the prerogative of intelligence, the only means to manhood and the measure of civilization. Savages do not work. The growth of a sentiment that despises work is an appeal from civilization to barbarism. It is because people have not felt what is dignity of labour, that in this country, work is regulated by caste, the higher castes taking to better kind of work, the lower being doomed to the meaner ones. Why should it be ? Every man should be given the freedom of choice of profession. Capacity, not caste, should decide what work a man is fit for. It is for you to spread this idea to the ignorant masses of India.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference re-assembling on the next day :—

The first of these expressed loyalty to the King Emperor and sense of relief and joy at the recovery of His Majesty. The second resolution was one of condolence on the deaths of the Raja of Panagal, the Raja of Ramnad and Dewan Bahadur O. Thanikachelam Chettiar. The Conference then resolved that a Society on the lines of the Servants of India Society should be started for working for the amelioration of the conditions of the Non-Brahmins. Another resolution requested Government not to sanction the proscription of such of those text-books in schools as tended to perpetuate and spread superstitious ideas and meaningless practices of old. An appeal was also made to Non-Brahmin authors not to bring out such publications. A request was also made to Government to appoint a special committee to recommend the exclusion of portions from books prescribed by the Text Book Committee which were likely to spread meaningless superstitious ideas. Special treatment was prayed for the education of Muslim boys in the Madura and Ramnad Districts and the adoption of Urdu and Arabic as optional subjects for Mahommedan boys was urged.

The Conference extended its cordial support to the recommendations of the Committee which had been appointed by Government for reporting on the age of marriage and consent for girls, and appealed to the members of the Assembly to gather support for the Bill. The Conference urged that absolutely no differentiation of treatment should be given to the public in public institutions such as choultries and chavadies and in railway refreshment rooms. It was resolved to appoint a propaganda committee for spreading the ideals of the Non-Brahmin self-respect movement among the masses and to request Government and private bodies to appoint Non-Brahmin teachers and headmasters in all schools to the exclusion of Brahmins

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Students' Conferences.

The All-India Students' Convention.

The All-India Students' Convention opened on the 30TH DECEMBER 1929 in the Congress pandal, Lahore under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. A large number of student delegates from all parts of India took part. Among the prominent persons present on the dais were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Kitchlew, Swami Prakasanand, Mou ana Zaffarali. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Govindkanta Malaviya and professors of the local colleges.

Mr. Ranbir SINGH welcoming the delegates paid glowing tributes to the Bengal Students' Association from whom they derived inspiration. They had only a short time to make arrangements. Their Secretary Mr. Sukhdev Raj who was working unceasingly was arrested only a few days before the Convention. When the students shout "Long live Revolution", people think that they would rise in arms against the Government. This was not true. What the students want is to bring about revolution in thoughts and ideas. Tethered to the heels of a foreign power, it seemed that life had oozed out of their veins and what students want is to bring in new life in the country.

Pandit MALAVIYA then read out messages from Mahatma Gandhi amidst loud cheers. The message ran as follows: "The first duty of the students is self-control, discipline and promotion of Khadi work."

Pandit Jawaharlal NEHRU then mounted the rostrum and as he began to speak, cries and counter-cries were raised from different parts of the pandal for speaking in Hindi or Urdu. Pandit Jawaharlal, however, preferred to speak in Urdu promising to give a version in English. He said that there had been so much said about the youth movement and awakening of the youths and that the leaders who are old fossils must clear out. Many of these criticisms, the Pandit said, may be justified to some extent. The elders have got the habit of getting rusty. The youths say that they must take charge. But are the youngmen ready to take charge? To-day the spirit of youth is criticism and restlessness rather than the spirit of shouldering responsibility. The youth movement is of recent growth and lacks experience. Enthusiasm is essential for any work but they must see that this was not wasted. The youths of our country sadly want discipline. There had been too much bickerings, too much fight for the leadership.

In conclusion Pandit Jawaharlal urged the students to develop themselves and their organisations so that the people may realise that the youth movement is not only a movement of words but also of deeds. He deplored the apathy of the students towards cultivating Hindi or Urdu, which was one of the greatest languages, not only of India but also of the world. "If deliberations of our country are not carried on in our tongue progress is impossible. The western people love their own language. When Gen. Botha went to see the King he spoke in Dutch although he was perfectly at home in English. When the Irish delegates went to the League of Nations, they spoke in Gaelic, although there was no third person to understand their tongue. He therefore asked the students to learn their "lingua franca" and carry on the deliberations only therein.

Sardar Vallabhai PATEL addressing the meeting said that he did not know English and whatever he knew he studiedly forgot it. He asked the students to go back to the villages, to see how the peasants live there and to try their level best to ameliorate their condition. He advised the students to speak little and to work more. Battle of freedom, said Sardar Patel, was won by deeds and not by words.

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Maulana ZAFFAR ALI KHAN in course of a stirring speech exhorted the students to shun off the fear of death, now that the battle of independence is to be fought. He said that the youngmen must discard fear. He asked the students to remember the words of the Koran and of the Gita on the battlefield of Kurukshetra: Krishna roused the drooping spirit of Arjun by saying that the soul is immortal and death is nothing but the transformation of form.

Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA then delivered his presidential address extempore. He asked the students to equip themselves fully well before going out in the battles of life. He further advised them to be religious, to discard communalism, and to be true to their creed. Love of country is their first duty.

In conclusion Panditji assured the students that they would gain Swaraj in 1930 if they followed the advice of the leaders.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were passed by the Convention :—

(1) Resolved that an All-India Students' Union be formed with the object of promoting. (a) The physical, intellectual and moral developments of the Students of India on National lines. (b) To protect the interests of students in every part of the country. (c) To promote patriotism, and education, and citizenship among the students of India.

(2) This Convention urges students of all colleges and schools to form Unions of their own and to affiliate them (Unions) to the All India students' Union through their respective provincial Union.

(3) Resolved that an Organising Committee with power to co-opt be appointed for the purpose to be stated hereafter, with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as the President, and with the Secretary of the Punjab Students' Union as the Secretary, consisting of four representatives from each province to be nominated by the Working Committee of the Provincial Union, if any, and when such Unions do not exist, to be elected from amongst the delegates as represented in this Convention by themselves, the upper limit being fifty.

The objects of the appointment of the Committee are :—

(a) Drawing up a constitution for the proposed A. I. S. U. (b) Carrying on systematic propagand and popularising the idea of the A. I. S. Union.

(c) Drawing up a programme of work.

The place and time for the meeting be Benares, by the majority of delegates present in the Convention.

(4) Resolved that the future session of the A. I. S. U., be held in the place where the Indian National Congress will hold its session by the provincial Students' Union of such a province as will invite the A. I. S. Union.

(5) Resolved that students being the future citizens of India, should keep themselves well acquainted with the politics of their country, and towards that end should arrange academic lectures and discussions in their Union, and invite publicmen to address them on such subjects.

(6) Resolved that in the opinion of this Convention Vernaculars should be made the medium of instructions, and as far this country as whole Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu) written in Devanagri or Persian Script should be that Vernacular.

(7) Resolved that it is unfair and inpolitic not to allow a student, who is under-trial, to sit for his examination during the period of his detention ; this conference (Convention) expresses the hope that such unfairness shall be avoided in future.

(8) The Convention appeals to all students of India to take a vow to use Khaddar and to avoid the use of foreign goods as far as possible.

(9) The Convention strongly condemns the present evil practice of stipulating a marriage, and appeals to all patriotic sons of India to refuse to be party to a marriage where any dower has been stipulated for.

(10) This Convention regrets on their colleagues Sukhdev Raj and Virendra being arrested just before the All-India Students' Convention.

(11) Resolved that the Convention places on record its high appreciation of martyrdom of our Colleague Jatindra Nath Das and it condemns the action of the Government in having failed to accede to his legitimate demands.

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The Punjab Students' Conference.

About 3,000 students and others listened to the addresses of Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose and Miss M. M. Zutshi, President and Chairwoman, Reception Committee, respectively, of the second All-Punjab Students' Conference which met at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore on the 19TH OCTOBER 1929.

Miss ZUTSHI, in the course of her address, advised the students to take up the work of rousing the sleeping masses and she asked the girls to take more interest in sports. Turning to politics she said :—" Some people hold that students ought to study politics but keep aloof from political activities. This is true in so far as the student's chief object of study is concerned and anything that diverts his attention from a student's interest and pastimes should be avoided. But we cannot help feeling difficulties in facing our parents, friends and leaders nor can we always look on them as passive spectators. Let us, therefore, pray that we may always have the will to do what is right.

Mr. Subhas Ch. BOSE then delivered his presidential address. In the course of his speech he said :—

Friends, I shall make no apology if in this discourse I refer at length to political questions and endeavour to answer them. I know that there are people in this country—even eminent personages—who think that " a subject race has no politics "—and that students in particular should have nothing to do with politics. But my own view is that a subject race has nothing but politics. In a dependent country every problem that you can think of, when analysed properly, will be found to be at bottom a political problem. Life is one whole—as the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das used to say—and you cannot therefore separate politics from economics or either from education. Human life cannot be split up into compartments. All the aspects or phases of national life are interrelated and all the problems are, as it were, interwoven. This being the case it will be found that in a subject race all the evils and all the shortcomings can be traced to a political cause—viz., political servitude. Consequently students cannot afford to bind themselves to this all-important problem—the problem of how to achieve our political emancipation.

I do not understand why a special ban should be imposed on participation in politics if no such ban is imposed on national work in general. I can understand a ban on all national work but a ban merely on political work is meaningless. If in a dependent country, all problems are fundamentally political problems —then all national activity is in reality political in character. There is no ban on participation in politics in any free country—on the contrary, students are encouraged to take part in politics. This encouragement is deliberately given because out of the ranks of the students arise political thinkers and politicians. If in India students do not take active part in politics from where are we to recruit our political workers and where are we to train them? Further, it has to be admitted that participation in politics is necessary for the development of character and manhood. Thought, without action, cannot suffice to build character and for this reason participation in healthy activity—political, social, artistic, etc.,—is essentially necessary for developing character. Bookworms, gold-medalists and office-clerks are not what universities should endeavour to produce—but men of character who will become great by achieving greatness for their country in different spheres of life.

The students' movement of to-day is not a movement of irresponsible boys and girls. It is a movement of responsible, thorough-going men and women who are inspired with one ideal—viz., to develop their character and personally and thereby render the most effective and useful service to the cause of their country. This movement has, or should have, two lines of activity. In the first place, it should deal with the problems which relate exclusively to the student population of the day and endeavour to bring about their physical, intellectual and moral regeneration. In the second place, looking upon the student as the future citizen, it should endeavour to equip him for the battle of life and for this purpose, it

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should give him a foretaste of what problems and activities are likely to confront him when he enters the arena of life.

There is one suggestion I have to offer to which I should like to draw your attention. I wish our Students' Associations could start co-operative Swadeshi Stores within their respective jurisdiction for the exclusive benefit of the student population. If these stores are run efficiently by the students themselves, they will serve a dual purpose. On the one hand, Swadeshi goods will be made available to the students at a cheap price and thereby home industries would be encouraged. On the other hand, students could acquire experience in running co-operative stores and could utilise the profits for advancing the welfare of the student community. For advancing the cause of student-welfare other items in your programme would be—physical culture societies, gymnasiums, study-circles, debating societies, magazines, music-clubs libraries and reading-rooms, social service leagues, etc.

The other, and probably more important aspect, of the students' movement is the training of the future citizen. This training will be both intellectual and practical We shall have to hold out before the students a vision of the ideal society which he should try to realise in his own lifetime and at the same time chalk out for him a programme of action which he should try to follow to the best of his ability—so that while performing his duties as a student he may at the same time be preparing himself for his post-university career. It is in this sphere of activity that there is a likelihood of conflict with the authorities. But whether the conflict will actually arise or not, depends largely on the attitude of the educational authorities. If the conflict does unfortunately arise, there is no help for it and students should once for all make up their minds to be absolutely fearless and self-reliant in the matters of preparing themselves, through thought and action, for their post-university career.

If we are to bring about a revolution of ideas we have first to hold up before us an ideal which will galvanise our whole life That ideal is Freedom. But freedom is a word which has a varied connotation and even in our country the conception of freedom has undergone a process of evolution. By freedom I mean all-round freedom i. e,, freedom for the individual as well as for society; freedom for man as well as for woman; freedom for the rich as well as for the poor; freedom for all individuals and for all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth, abolition of caste barriers and social iniquities and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance. This as an ideal may appear utopian to hard-headed men and women—but this ideal alone can appease the hunger of the soul.

Freedom has as many facets as there are aspects in our national life. There are individuals who when they talk of freedom think only of some particular aspect of freedom. It has taken us several decades to outgrow this narrow conception of freedom and to arrive at a full and all-round conception of it. If we really love freedom and love it, not for some selfish end, but for its own sake the time has come for us to recognise that true freedom means freedom from bondage of every kind and freedom not only for the individual but also for the whole of society. This, to my mind, is the ideal of the age, and the vision that has captivated my soul is the vision of a completely free and emancipated India.

The only method of achieving freedom is for us to think and feel as free men. Let there be a complete revolution within and let us be thoroughly intoxicated with the wine of freedom. It is only freedom-intoxicated men and women who will be able to free humanity. When the "will to be free" is roused within us, we shall then proceed to plunge headlong into the ocean of activity. The voice of caution will no longer deter us and the lure of truth and glory will lead us on to our cherished goal.

India is bound to be free—of that there is not the slightest doubt. It is to me as sure as day follows night. There is no power on earth which can keep India in bondage any longer. But let us dream of an India for which it would be worth while to give all that we have—even life itself—and for which we could sacrifice our dearest and nearest. I have given you my own conception of freedom and I have tried to portray before you the India as I want her to be. Let a completely emancipated India preach to the world her new gospel of freedom.

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Even at the risk of being called a chauvinist, I would say to my country-men that India has a mission to fulfil and it is because of this that India still lives. There is nothing mystic in this word "mission." India has something original to contribute to the culture and civilization of the world in almost every department of human life. In the midst of her present degradation and slavery, the contribution she has been making is by no means a small one. Just imagine for a moment how great her contribution will be once she is free to develop along her own lines and in accordance with her own requirements.

There are people in this country—and some of them eminent and respectable personages—who will not agree to an all-round application of the principle of freedom. We are sorry if we cannot please them, but in no circumstances can we give up an ideal which is based on truth, justice and equality. We shall go our own way, whether you join us or not—but you can rest assured that even if a few desert us, thousands and even milions will ultimately join our army of freedom. Let us have no compromise with bondage, injustice or inequality.

Friends, many of you must be now training yourselves for joining the ranks of the Indian National Congress The Indian National Congress is undoubtedly the supreme national organisation in this country and in it all our hopes are centred. But the Indian National Congress itself depends, or should depend, for its strength, influence and power on such movements as the Labour movement, Youth movement, Peasant movement, Students' movement, etc. If we succeed in emancipating our labour, peasantry, depressed classes, youths, students and women-folk we shall be able to rouse such a force in the country as will make the Indian National Congress a poignant instrument for achieving our political salvation.

Resolutions.

When the Conference re-assembled on the next day, the 20TH OCTOBER, three resolutions were passed condoling the deaths of Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Raghubardayal, Principal, Sanatan Dharma College, and Jatindra Nath Das.

After the resolutions had been adopted all standing, Mr P. C. Bali moved a resolution advocating the use of Swadeshi by students. At this stage a Mahomedan gentleman, who, it was alleged, came with about 50 men and who were at first refused admission as yesterday they were suspected of creating a row, but were subsequently admitted on the assurance of the City Magistrate and D. S. P. on duty, wanted to speak on the resolution. But as the gentleman was neither a student, nor a delegate, he was not allowed to speak. This was a signal and a pandemonium of great uproar and confusion prevailed.

Undesirable elements, it was alleged, from the visitor's gallery took the clue and the gentleman himself began brandishing stick. Some students wanted to eject him and in the melee that followed he was reported to have sustained injuries on the face and the head. The injuries would have been severer but for the intervention of Lala Duni Chand and some students. The City Magistrate, who was present in the hall all the while, sent for the Police who soon arrived and occupied the hall. Dr. Dharamvir, trustee of the Bradlaugh Hall who arrived at this stage was apprised of the whole incident, and asked the City Magistrate to take the Police force out of the hall. This was complied with and the proceedings commenced.

Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose rising to speak said that as long as he was the President he was the authority and the whole responsibility lay on him. He asked the students not to be cowed down and advised them to take any measure they liked to exclude undesirable elements including even the Police, but they must always remain non-violent.

The Conference then adjourned till 3 p.m. in the afternoon.

Compared with the morning the afternoon session was perfectly peaceful. Resolutions congratulating Rai Saheb Sarda for his Marriage Bill, Dr. Alam and Dr. Gopichand for giving up Council seats as a protest against grievances of the political prisoners, recommending complete independence as the goal, protesting against certain malicious misstatements in the "Civil & Military Gazette" were passed.

An appeal was made for Jatin Das Memorial Fund which met with good response.

Rising to deliver his concluding speech Sj. Bose was greeted with thunderous applause. He asked the students to decide once for all what is to be their role in the fight for freedom.

Referring to the ensuing Congress Sj Bose said: It is much more than a mere accident that ten years after the Amritsar Congress, the Congress would be held in the Punjab to give a new message to the whole of India. As the Amritsar Congress gave birth

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to non-co-operation and carried us long towards freedom so also Lahore would give the whole nation an impetus which would not only carry us long towards freedom but enable us to reach the final goal of independence.

Thus was concluded one of the most successful sessions which will remain a landmark in the history of students' activities in the Punjab.

The All-Orissa Students' Conference.

The 14th Session of the All-Orissa Students' Conference met at Berhampore on the 20TH OCTOBER 1929 under the presidency of Mr. O. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University. In the course of his address Mr. Reddy said :—

The question may be asked in what manner can the sentiment of idealism with which patriotism is often combined be turned to practical account in student life. It requires the co-operation of elders and teachers. A patriotism which does not prepare you for trained efficient service is not worth having. The nationalism which does not induce you to take the steps and undergo the discipline by which you become a valuable citizen is not worth entertaining. Further, mere individual worth cannot go very far. These are the days of science and organisation. The great lesson that we have to learn from the West is the virtue of organised effort. It is the capacity for organised work that tells. The revolving ages have emphasised with every turn of the cycle that scientific and organised effort is the only effective means of progress. So the tests we have to apply to the situation are these. Has your emotion or sentiment led you firstly to the formation of good habits of personal conduct? Secondly, has it enabled you to learn team work? The life of Indian students has not been a success from this point of view. In the European Ueiversities there are Union societies, boat clubs, cricket clubs which are more than a century old and which own large properties. Have you anything corresponding to that in India? Can you say that your societies or other volunteer organisations function even for a few years without interruption? If you develop the spirit and discipline required for sports clubs and debating societies which would last—that would be a valuable trait. Then again Cambridge and Oxford, though they do not talk of self-sacrifice, they have been maintaining for the last 30 or 40 years settlements in the poorer districts of London in which undergraduates carry on social service. Our college students have done very little in this direction. From the point of view of sustained organisation we have cut a very sorry figure. In these annual Conferences we gather like clouds, precipitate a downpour of speches and resolutions and disappear. What you should do is to organise a Central All-Orissa Students' Union which will carry on organised work throughout the year. It seems to be effectual. If a Conference meets under the auspices of a well-organised and permanent Union it will be good for both. I am told your teachers hesitate to take part in these extra-mural activities of students? They should identify themselves with all aspects of student life. Even with such limitations we can build up suitable societies. The president should be one of your leading publicists or Principal, Vice-Presidents some leading publicists, Principals, Head-masters and some senior students, Treasurer, one of your public men or a teacher. I advise students not to have anything to do with the purse. Moreover if you want stability of organisation, finance must be left in the hands of a permanent element and not of students whose college career is normally one of only four years. But the students must be associated as corresponding secretaries with the permanent Secretary. I suggest also that in connection with each high school you have a union thus composed of the gentlemen, the staff and the students. Similarly in connection with your colleges. You are fortunate in that you have only one First Grade College which should be strengthened. Even in high schools one thing must be done. The Municipal Chairman, the Taluk Board President and practical administrators should give talks to the boys on the existing facts of the several departments. The Revenue Officer might tell them about revenue laws, your Municipal Chairman about municipal laws, and difficulties in collecting the taxes if he stands as a candidate for election. In the colleges, unions under the guidance of the Central Union should undertake a more ambitious programme. I would suggest sports such as Hockey, Cricket, Football, etc. You can have matches between one grade and another and one college and another. You cannot develop this side of student life too much. You can also arrange for lectures and debates on current questions. Practical civics may be taken up and night classes and rural education attempted.

(Here he gave details of the organisation proposed).

He then continued :—Take up one or two villages in which to deliver lectures during your vacation on subjects like Indian History, Indian Geography. I can give you a regular programme in case you decide to organise.

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Curiosity is a strong element in rural character and they would like to know what you young fellows have come to say. It will also be an education to you and bring you into touch with real life. Avoid politics and propaganda. Give knowledge and trust to its creative propensity. Knowledge easily becomes a motive force. Now do not think of politics and propaganda but broadcast knowledge in the villages during the vacations. Elementary science, hygiene, histories of different religions, geography of India and such subjects are enough. If each college student can take up two villages per vacation and spend a fortnight in each village, the total number of villages taken up will be quite large. Since 1924 I have been very anxious to get some students to take up this work, and see what can be done. Sitting together, criticising elders, expounding big ideals, passing resolutions and then going home and doing nothing is no use. So far as social service work and the village lecturing work are concerned, I speak from practical experience and assure you that under my scheme and procedure your studies won't suffer in the least.

I know Orissa is the poorest province in India. Your distress is great. I am told your despair is greater, that you are of a hopeless temperament. Poverty and other difficulties are a call for more and better organised vigour. You should not despair. Never despair. The Bengalees were derided as cowards by Macaulay, Kippling and other Western writers. For a long time the fiction was spread that the Bengalees were a very timid people. Has not Bengal conquered that base imputation by her heroic actions? Can you not similarly vindicate yourselves. You excel in the power of your affections. You have a big heart and you must make it a stout one as well. There is no need to despair.

I want your teachers to be associated with all these unions. If they refuse, march under other leaders. But you should so conduct this organisation as to remove all suspicion of political propaganda so that men of all parties might be with you. Charge it with the spirit of pure humanitarian service.

Resolution.

The following resolution as redrafted by the president was passed by the Conference :—

The Conference after considering the statement made by the President regarding the necessity for a standing organisation of Oriya students and his proposals for the formation of students' unions, passed the following resolutions :

There shall be a Central Union of All-Orissa students with headquarters at Cuttack with federated unions at college and high school centres.

College Unions :—The organisation shall be on the same model as above excepting that the Secretary or Secretaries shall be students of the colleges concerned and there shall also be a Managing Committee composed of students.

High School Unions :—There shall be some organisation as above. Admissions are to be confined to IV form and upwards.

There should be no officers of the Conference as heretofore but a special President should be chosen for each annual General Conference. Such Conferences shall be organised by the Central Union, the President of which will open the proceedings of the annual General Conference and make a statement on the progress made during the year.

Funds shall be raised by small subscriptions from students and donations from the public.

The progress reports of each union may be published in the Orissa papers.

A provisional committee with power to add to their number be appointed and requested to organise unions on the above general model and send quarterly reports of progress to the President.

As close co-operation between the teachers, students and public is necessary, teachers should be invited to accept places of responsibility and help in conducting the unions.

The C. P. & Berar Students' Conference.

The C. P. & Berar Students' Conference was held at Amraoti on the 1ST & 2ND DECEMBER 1929 under the presidentship of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose. The president in the course of his speech said :—

What we want is an awakening from within, which will bring about a radical transformation of our life. Tinkering reform will not do—superficial remedies will be of no avail. What is wanted is a transfiguration of our whole life,—a complete revolution, if you will. Do not fight shy of the word 'revolution.' We may differ in our conception of 'revolution' but I have yet to see a living human being who does not believe in revolution. There is no inherent difference between "evolution" and "revolution,"

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Revolution is evolution compressed into a shorter period; evolution is revolution spread out over a longer period. Both evolution and revolution imply change and progress and in nature there is room for both. In fact, nature cannot do without either.

I have said that we shall have to alter many of our notions of good and bad. I have also said that we want a radical transformation of our whole life. This is necessary if we are to become great as a nation and occupy a seat of honour among the foremost nations of the world. Life has meaning, worth and significance only if it is lived for the sake of an ideal. A nation need not live—in fact it has no right to live—if it does not want to progress and should achieve greatness merely to fulfil a selfish national purpose; it should aspire to become great in order to make humanity great—so that the world may become ultimately a better and a happier place to dwell in.

India possesses all the resources, intellectual, moral and material, which go to make a people great. And India is still living, in spite of her hoary antiquity, because she has to become great once again—because she has a mission to perform. India's mission is firstly to save herself and thereafter to make her contribution to the sum-total of the culture and civilization of the world. In spite of half-a-hundred handicaps, India's contribution to-day is by no means a small one. Just imagine for a moment what her contribution would be, if she were free to develop her life according to her own genius.

I am sure that our people can achieve wonders if only we could be roused to ceaseless activity. I am also sure that once we are thoroughly roused, we shall be able to outrun even the progressive nations of to-day "the hustlers from the West." All that we want is a magic wand by waving which our whole life could be galvanised. The French Philosopher, Bergson, has talked of the "elan vital"—the vital impetus—which moves the whole world to activity and progress. What is the "elan vital" of our national life? It is the desire for freedom, for expansion, for self-expression. The counterpart of this desire is revolt against bondage. If you want to be free, you must revolt against the bondage that surrounds you—and if you revolt against bondage and revolt successfully, you are bound to win your freedom.

Except those whose moral sense is altogether dead, every human being is bound to feel, more or less, the pangs of slavery and the humiliation of servitude. When this feeling becomes acute, slavery and bondage become intolerable and one develops a strong desire to throw off the yoke of servitude. This desire is further heightened by a taste of the joy of freedom, either through personal experience of free countries or through study and imagination of the happy conditions that result from freedom. The psychological aspect of "tapasya" in the cause of our country's salvation consists in making our mind more and more sensitive to national humiliation and racial discrimination and in intensifying our desire for freedom. This can be effected by the study of history, observation of our present-day degradation, contemplation of the ideal of life and above all by comparing conditions prevailing under the regime of servitude with those prevailing under the reign of freedom.

Baptism, initiation, "deeksha" etc. have to me but one meaning—viz., consecration of our life at the alter of freedom. Complete self-consecration will not be possible in a day. But as we become more and more imbued with the desire for freedom we shall get a taste of joy unspeakable and we shall realise more and more that life has a meaning and a purpose. A revolution will set in—our thoughts, feelings and aspirations will undergo a transformation. Only one thing in life will have value for us—viz. Freedom; and our inner life will be so metamorphosed or recreated as to conform to that ideal. The experience of this gradual transformation is almost indescribable. When this transformation is complete, we shall be reborn; we shall be "dwijas" in the real sense of the term. Thereafter we shall think, feel and even dream only of freedom and all our activity will be permeated with but one desire—the desire to attain freedom. In a word we shall become freedom-intoxicated human beings who live, move and have their being only in freedom.

Once the desire for freedom is enkindled in our hearts, it will need an adequate instrument in order to fulfil itself. For this purpose all our faculties, physical, intellectual and moral—will have to be requisitioned. We shall have to unlearn much of what we have learnt and learn for the first time what we never were taught. The body and the mind will have to undergo a new course of training and discipline in order to be fit for the task of achieving freedom. The external aspect of our life will also change. Luxury, ease and comfort will have to be abandoned, new modes of life will have to be adopted and old habits shunned. Thus will our whole life become a purified instrument for the purpose of attaining freedom.

Man is after all a social being. His self-fulfilment is not possible if he is cut off from the rest of society. The individual depends much for his growth and development

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on society, as society does on the individual. Further, the progress of the individual does not possess much value if it does not carry with it the progress of society as a whole. An ideal which is accepted by an individual recluse, but is rejected by society and is not therefore embodied in our corporate life—has not much worth. If freedom is to be the cardinal principle of our life—the "elan vital" of all our activity—it should also be made the basis of social reconstruction. It will be seen at once that if the principle of freedom is to be applied to society and made the fundamental basis of the society of the future—it will mean nothing short of social revolution. Freedom for the whole of society will mean freedom for woman as well as for man—freedom for the depressed classes and not merely for the higher castes—freedom for the poor and not merely for the rich—freedom for the old; in other words, freedom for all sections, for all minorities and for all individuals. Thus freedom implies equality and equality connotes fraternity. To free society, therefore, woman will have to be given an equal status with man, in law as well as in social matters; the social barriers which put the brand of inferiority on certain sections or castes owing to their birth, will have to be ruthlessly demolished; the inequalities of wealth which stand in the way of social advancement will have to be removed and equal opportunities for education and development will have to be given to all; youth must no longer be considered a crime and young men and young women will have to be given the responsibility of reconstructing society and of carrying on the administrition. In society, in the body politic and in the economic world, each individual should be as free as any other and should enjoy the same status. Equal opportunities for all, equitable distribution of wealth, abolition of all social barriers, including caste and emancipation from foreign rule these should be some of the basic principles of the new society we want to build.

Concluding his speech Sj. Bose said that the vision of a *FREE INDIA* which he has dreamt is "a perfect synthesis of all that is good in the East and in the West." As the heirs of a free India the students have to train themselves in such a manner as to be the pioneers in the social reconstruction and torch-bearers in the path to Freedom. *The path to Freedom is no doubt but a thorny path but it is the path to Immortality "leading to glory imperishable" Students of India unite, "form a happy band and march shoulder to shoulder along its noble path."*

Resolutions.

The following are some of the important resolutions which were passed by the Conference :—

(1) This Conference of the students of the Central Provinces and Berar places on record its deep sorrow at the most lamentable demise of the late Lala Lajpatrai which occurred a year ago at a time when a patriot and a leader of his type was badly needed for the country's struggle.

(2) The Conference pays its respectful homage to the hallowed memory of the great martyr Jatindranath Das who was a student of the Bangabasi College of Calcutta at the time of his arrest and calls upon the students of India to emulate the example of self-sacrifice and suffering set by him.

(3) This Conference is strongly of opinion that the goal of the Indian people should be Complete Independance and that they should not be content with anything short of Complete Independence.

(4) This Conference has learnt with great pleasure the success achieved by the students of Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Comilla, Nagpur and other places in the struggle to assert their rights which were sought to be denied by the authorities. This Conference further urges upon all students to rise to vindicate their self-respect and their right whenever and wherever they happen to be violated.

(5) This Conference pays respectful homage to all those patriots who, in the service of their country, either laid down their lives or suffered and are suffering imprisonment or have been living as exiles abroad. This Conference further condemns the system of Government which has been responsible for so much suffering.

(6) This Conference requests the students of C. P. and Berar to get rid of the temptation of Government service and devote themselves more and more to national service.

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All Bengal Students' Conference.

It was an inspiring address that Dr. Mohammad Alam delivered at Mymensingh on the 30TH SEPTEMBER 1929 as President of the All-Bengal Students' Conference.

He addressed the gathering as "My young mates of the Prison" and said "the fetters of iron and prison walls provide us with a community of equal status." He wondered "how this community is ignored by those who to their best but meanest advantage preach communalism."

Referring to the Congress challenge to the Bureaucracy and the fateful day of January 1, 1930, he exhorted his audience to prepare for the great fight that was coming. He did not know what the command of the Congress would be but "I should only be prepared to lay my life and property both at the disposal of the commanders and await their orders in full obedience."

Dr. Alam paid glowing tributes to the memory of Jatindranath whose death he was not sure whether to rejoice or grieve over. "Who says Das is dead", he asked. "His soul is working in the Punjab and his body which we sent for cremation to you produced those flames in burning wherein I can visualise the tottering of the mightiest imperialism of the world."

Coming to the question of preparation he made a vigorous plea for the abolition of communalism from the country in every shape and form. He said :—

"Your first step in the preparation for the Swaraj struggle must be to abolish communalism from this country in every shape and form. Up with your arms against this greatest enemy of India, with the fullest strength and vigour of youth. To revolt and rebel, I have often said, is the privilege of youth and you have got it. But revolt against this communalism and rebel against this pernicious evil: This demon has eaten up every fibre of our body politic, and it must be annihilated now. We can tolerate it no longer. Let the young men of India boldly face their worst foe, and kill it before the 1st of January 1930. You can, then, ask for anything, and it is yours. You have to change the mentality of the whole country, and it is not an easy task. The poison of communalism is so sweet that the more we eat of it, the more we like to have it in greater quantity. Every one of us seems to have a substantial touch of it, but we do not realise it. Many of our national leaders even are not free from this contagion, and I have often observed that many who talk against communalism are themselves badly affected by it, though unconsciously perhaps.

"Friends, we have been fighting too long over methods of killing a goat whilst others have been busy in the meantime to conquer the forces of Nature. We have carried the humbug of communalism too far. Your national conscience should revolt at the communal division of the free gifts of nature. When do you propose dividing the air into Hindu Hava and Musalman Hava? Stick to your religion with the greatest pleasure, and do not prove false in your relation with the Maker. But religion is not antagonistic with nationalism or love of country. Produce nationalism in the country and banish communalism therefrom. The controversy whether you belong first to your religion or to the country is not only fallacious, but mischievous as well, because it produces a corrupt mentality. Communalism as understood in India is a misconception altogether. Communalism here we get by inheritance. It is developed in denominational institutions, fostered by separate electorates and patronised by the Government. We are living in a vicious circle and transmit the evils to our generations.

"Nationalism at heart and Khaddar are the two requisites for national soldiers in the next fight for the freedom of India. The first wave of a non-violent revolution movement in the shape of non-co-operation passed long ago, without reaching the mark. The second wave is in sight, and is expected to carry us ashore. Will you prepare yourself as national soldiers for the coming fight and produce the two requisites in yourselves?

Origin of Student Movement in Bengal.

In this connection, it would be interesting reading to trace the origin of the Student Movement in Bengal. It may be remembered that during the Swadeshi days, i.e., the days of the Anti-partition, Bengal was in a state of ferment which did not leave the student community untouched. Along with other people, the students of Bengal joined the struggle and made a notbale contribution to the popular victory. The idea of harnessing the patriotic impulses of the students by forming a permanent students' organisation found favour with some public men and a Students Association was formed.

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Subsequentiy the partition of Bengal was annulled by the Government and the ferment of the partition days died out. People took to their usual avocations and the students left politics for books, university honours and successful careers. Their interest in politics became limited to books on political economy or philosophy—in other words, the interest became purely academical. There were, no doubt, students who, led astray by their emotional fervour, joined revolutionary societies and committed acts of violence in the hope that it might help in the emancipation of their motherland and some of them had to pay the extreme penalty of law. They suffered and sacrificed but all that was not student movement. Then came the Non-co-operation movement. The sage of Gujerat waved his magic wand and awakened the country from its age-long stupor. There are very few parallels of this great movement in the history of the world. It was a mass movement embracing every section of the population. The simple student in his class room, the middle-aged teacher with a large family, the lawyer in the lawcourt, the peasant in the fields and the labourer in the factory—the call reached every one and sent a thrilling, maddening impulse through every heart. A new vision of a regenerated India goaded the people on a thorny and perilous path. At the call of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders, students came out of their schools and colleges in their thousands and joined the national movement. Some of them did good work—others could not do much, perhaps, owing to lack of opportunities, but in any case, the part played by the student community in the Non-co-operation Movement was, by no means, insignificant.

Then, after the Non-co-operation Movement was suspended and the country reverted to its normal condition, the students once more went back to their books and classroom lectures. But the idea of harnessing the youthful energy and rich idealism of students was not entirely lost sight of and the impact of new movements in different countries fostered and stimulated it. The student movement in Russia, Germany, China and Egypt placed before the Indian student a new philosophy of life and a new line of action. The fact that this ancient country, enfeebled by years has got to be rejuvenated and that the students, in addition to their academic work, must take some part in the movement for national regeneration, was realised by some thinkers and workers and attempts were being made to build up an active organisation of students. But the environs were not congenial and the movement could not make much headway. The All-India students' Convention was first held at Nagpur. It was held at Madras also. Conferences of the students of Bengal were held at Serajgunj, Faridpur and Krishnagar and attempts made for the formation of a provincial students' organisation.

Things were going on in a humdrum way when a sudden change was brought about rather unexpectedly. The Simon Commission landed at Bombay on the 3rd February, 1928 and in response to a mandate from the Indian National Congress, there was a spontaneous Hartal all over the country and the students also took part in the Hartal. For this they were the victims of repression from which grew a spirit of solidarity amongst them hitherto inconceivable. Some enthusiastic students, with a view to utilising this new spirit for the benefit of the student community and the country, formed the Students' Organising Committee. This committee was formed by taking representatives from almost all the colleges of Calcutta and did a good deal of propaganda work to popularise the student movement. It drafted the constitution of the All Bengal Students' Association and organised the All Bengal Students' Conference. This Conference which was held on the 22 September 1928 under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was of a highly representative character and was a unique success and it brought into existence the All Bengal Students' Association. The idea that was in the minds of the organisers of this association was to develop a country wide organisation entirely immuned and controlled by students which will bring about a true student movement in the country.

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The All India Trade Union Congress.

The tenth session of the All India Trade Union Congress opened at Nagpur on the 30TH NOVEMBER 1929 in the afternoon under the presi entship of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. Messages from the League Against Imperialism, the British Trade Union Congress, the Second International, the Independent Labour Party, the Workers' Welfare League were read. Messages from the Meerut prisoners which asked the Congress to get the repressive legislations against the working class movement repealed and evolve a militant programme was loudly cheered.

Prior to the holding of the open session the Executive Council met in the morning. On the motion of Mr. Deshpande, Secretary, the Girni Kamgar Union the Committee passed by a majority a resolution for the rejection of the Nehru Report which was, in their opinion, meant to perpetuate the British Imperialism in India and urged boycott of the Whitley Commission.

A heated discussion lasting over two hours centred round the resolution moved by Mr. Deshpande for the affiliation of the Trade Union Congress to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat. The House by majority passed the resolution.

This gave rise to speculations as to the effect of passing the resolution, for the Pan-Pacific Secretariat was under the control of the Third International. Feeling was running high among the delegates who did not support Mr. Deshpande's resolution.

In the afternoon at Mr. Joshi's bunglow a conference of a large number of Trade Unionists was held at which it was decided that they would not participate in the proceedings of the Congress. The Conference was attended among others by Messrs. Giri, Shivarao, Dewan Chamanlal, Messrs. Mrinalkanti Bose, Bakhale, K. C. Roy Choudhury and Latafat Hossain. Mr. Mrinalkanti Bose and the Bengal delegates wanted time to consider whether they would sign the statement of Mr. Joshi and others. Subsequently they put in a statement of their own.

In the meanwhile the Executive Committee meeting, which was to be held at 1 p.m., met at 2 p.m. On hearing of the decision of Mr. Joshi and others not to participate in the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress the supporters of the Pan-Pacific resolution wanted to withdraw the same at the open session of the Congress on the next day. The Executive Committee meeting was very thinly attended, their number not exceeding 25. Some representatives of Bengal Union walked out of the meeting as a protest against the action of the supporters of the Pan-Pacific resolution. The committee then slected Mr. Ginwalla as President and Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose as General Secretary for the next year.

The open session of the Trade Union Congress was held at 3 p.m., on the 1ST DECEMBER, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presiding. The President first read out the statement of Mr. Joshi, Dewan Chamanlal, Mr. Shivarao and others and then the statement of Messrs. Mrinal Kanti Bose, K. C. Mitter, K. C. Roy Choudhury and others as also the third statement from the representatives of the Indian Seamen, Mariners and Quarter Masters Unions. There was tense excitement when the statements were being read and it was felt that a split had occurred.

In the open session Mr. Deshpande, mover of the Pan-Pacific resolution in the Executive Committee, withdrew his resolution.

The resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee were then formally moved and recorded without speeches in a thin house.

Mr. Joshi, Dewan Chamanlal and Messrs. Mrinalkanti Bose, Giri, Shiva Rao, K. C. Roy Choudhury, Aftabali and others made statements and withdrew from the Congress.

The election of office-bearers by the Executive Council was set aside in the open session and Sj Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President, Mr. Deshpande Secretary and Mr. Ginwala, Treasurer. The Congress then dispersed.

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The Presidential Address.

In the course of his address as President of the Trade Union Congress Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru observed :—

The last decade has seen strange happenings in India. New forces and ideas have arisen and have come into play even in our ancient country. They threaten not only the present political structure, under which India has suffered so long, but also the social and economic structure. In the political field we have seen the ideology and practice of direct action displace the slow and ineffective methods of an earlier generation. We have seen the growth of a great movement which convulsed the country and shook the foundations of British rule in India, and then weakened and gave place to reaction and mutual strife. We see it again gathering in strength for another and more powerful and determined move forward.

Growth of the Labour Movement.

But great as has been the political achievement of the last decade no less remarkable has been the growth of the labour movement in India. None of us can call our Trade Union movement to-day strong or ready for successful battle. But, who can deny that during a few short years we have covered ground, which it took generations in other countries to traverse? In spite of the great poverty of the worker and the fear born of slavery that possesses him and makes it difficult to organise him; in spite of political difficulties which a foreign Government is ever placing in his way; in spite of the preoccupation of the country as a whole with the national struggle, there has developed rapidly a class-conscious and militant and aggressive spirit in the Indian worker. This spirit has led him to numerous strikes, sometimes ill-conceived; often with failure as certain goal but nothing daunted he has gone on ahead. If he has weakened, it has, not unoften, been due to the weakness of his leaders.

And yet the movement is weak and the work that has been done is exceedingly little, and how much remains? The fact that I stand here to-day and address you as your president is itself a sign of your weakness. Why should I, a new-comer to the Labour movement, and one, who whatever his sympathies may be is not one of you and has not suffered as you have done in field and factory, why should I preside over your deliberations? At your command I am here, and I am grateful for this honour and the confidence which it implies. But you could have given no greater sign of the infancy and weekness of your movement. I shall welcome the day when the worker from the mine and the factory and the field stands in this place which I occupy to-day, and when I, and those who are like me, take a secondary place in your counsels. Only then will you be able to speak with confidence and pride of your labour movement; only then will the true voice of the worker be heard from your forums and council halls.

Objective of National Freedom.

Our country to-day is under the domination of another and the sentiment of nationalism is strong. It is natural that the best and bravest in the country should strive for national freedom, but to how many of our workers does this make appeal? Ground down by poverty and by forces which seem to be unconquerable, with the daily struggle for wages and bread ever before us, how can we think of larger issues? And yet we cannot afford to ignore them for our future is intimately bound up with them. The lot of the worker cannot be improved much by charity nor by the goodwill of an employer or even of a Government. The trouble lies deeper as you all know. It is the system that is wrong, the system that is based on the exploitation of the few and the prostitution of labour. It is the system which is the natural out-come of capitalism and imperialism and if you would do away with this system you will have to root out both capitalism and imperialism and substitute a saner and a healthier order.

What is this ideal that you should have? It will not profit you much if there is a change in your masters and your miseries continue. You will not

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rejoice if a handful of Indians become high officers of the State or draw bigger dividends, and your miserable conditions remain, and your body breaks down through incessant toil and starvation and the lamp of your soul goes out. You want a living wage and not a dying wage. You want to prevent the exploitation of man and to ensure equal opportunities and fair conditions of living for all. It is certain that this cannot be done under the existing system.

We are often accused of preaching the class war and of widening the distance between the classes. The distance is wide enough, thanks to capitalism, and nothing can beat the record of capitalism in that respect. But those who accuse us are singularly unseeing and ignorant of what goes on around them. Is it the socialist or the communist who separates the classes and preaches discontent or the capitalist and imperialist who by his policy and methods has reduced the great majority of mankind into wage slaves who are worse even in many ways than the slaves of old. The class war is none of our creation. It is the creation of capitalism and so long as capitalism endures it will endure. For those who are on the top it is easy to ignore it and to preach moderation and goodwill. But the goodwill does not induce these self-proclaimed well-wishers of ours to get off our backs and shoulders. They only shout the louder from the eminence which they have acquired at our cost. The class war has existed and exists to-day. By our trying ostrich-like to ignore it, we do not get rid of it. Only by our removing the causes are we likely to bring peace.

This ideal then we must ever keep before us and we must try to get our national movement also to adopt it. It may be that before we can attain our full ideal we may be able to gain somewhat better conditions for labour and more opportunities for organising them. These will bring only some little relief but we cannot refuse anything that brings some comfort to the unhappy worker. But we cannot at the same time work for such petty relief or compromise on them. For us the objective can only be a new order under which the worker will have true freedom and opportunity of growth.

The Whitley Enquiry.

To-day you have an immediate problem facing you and you may want me to say something about in on this occasion. Some of you have already decided on your lines of action. Others have not done so. Meanwhile the Labour Commission is going its way and recording evidence as is offered to it. In considering whether we should co-operate with the Commission or not we have to bear in mind many things. Some of these I shall place before you.

Let us consider the circumstances under which the Labour Commission has been appointed. The much advertised Labour Government is in office in England, and Labour everywhere should ordinarily rejoice. But its past record, specially in regard to India, it is difficult to forget. Its present record is fresh in our memory. Having reached the promised land they seem to be content with remaining there and not to do anything which might imperil their existence. We are told from day to day that their intentions are of the best, but what can they do with a hostile majority in Parliament? Meanwhile, like the newly rich, their chief aim appears to be to prove to the world that they are as sober and respectable as those who are the inheritors of wealth. When Prime Minister MacDonald speaks in America or in Geneva is it the socialist or the pacifist that is speaking? He speaks as the representative of Imperialist England and Sir Austen Chamberlain could be no fitter representative. Mr. Snowden at the Hague forgets his socialism and stands for the prestige of John Bull and the glory of the Union Jack. The very triumphs of the Labour Government's policy, such as they are, are the triumphs of imperialist policy. Is it any wonder that Mr. Stanley Baldwin has congratulated Mr. MacDonald for his adoption of Conservatism? Or that Mr. Winston Churchill has tauntingly promised him his "cordial co operation in the Government's self-imposed task of carrying out the Conservatives' policy and making the world easier if not safer for capitalism?" Or that Mr. Lloyd George should call Mr. MacDonald the "last of the Conservatives?" We know the part played by Mr. MacDonald in the appointment of the Simon Commission, in spite of the resolutions of the British Labour Party pledging itself to self-determination in India. We know also

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his part in the Chinese crisis when British troops were sent to Shanghai, and in the Egyptian crisis when British dreadnoughts and cruisers went to Alexandria to overawe the Egyptian Parliament into suspending a measure dealing with internal order.

Recently there has been an impression that the Labour Government has pursued a liberal policy in Egypt and elsewhere. So far as India is concerned, I shall refer to it later. In Egypt the best judges are the Egyptian people and it appears that they do not approve of the draft Anglo-Egyptian treaty. In China extra-territoriality still continues and in Palestine we have recently seen the policy of national suppression of the Arabs.

The Labour Party in England, under Mr. MacDonald's guidance, was the complacent partner of the Tory party in their Imperialist policy. Now that it is itself in the seat of authority it is taking a lead in formulating that very policy. And this policy is all the more dangerous and deceptive because it is clothed in honeyed language. Calling itself socialist, it has betrayed the principles of socialism? Calling itself the friends of freedom in other lands and of internationalism, it has acted in a rigidly national and imperialist way and has forfeited all claim to the confidence of the Indian people.

Prosecution of Indian Labour Leaders.

The Labour Commission is sent to India. Was it as an earnest of peace and goodwill to the suffering workers and a promise of better times to come? If so, the ways of the British Government are strange and past all under-standing. We have had in India during the past year a general offensive against Labour in which the government and the employees have joined hands and co-operated together. The Trades Disputes Act and the Public Safety Ordinance were the first contributions of the Government of India. Then followed the trial of the thirty-two labour leaders and workers in Meerut and large number of individual cases against labour workers. This trial, as you know, has attracted a great deal of attention not only in India, but in foreign countries. It has now after prolonged sittings arrived at the end of the first stage, that of the magisterial enquiry. Apart from the more important considerations in the case, you will observe what vast sums the government is spending in trying to put down respected leaders of the Labour Movement. You will join with me, I have no doubt, in sending them and all other comrades of ours, who are being proceeded against or have been convicted for their labour activities, our fraternal greetings and good wishes.

These are the conditions that face us. Are they the forerunners of peace or of strife? And yet we are asked to believe in the bonafides of the Labour Government and to co-operate with the Whitley Commission. Some of the respected leaders of our movement are in fact so co-operating and I for one will not easily consider them wrong. But with all respect to them I do submit to you that it is utterly wrong for us to offer this co-operation. Indeed the time has come when we should make it perfectly clear that we cannot co operate with any such commission or with the British Government that appoints them.

Question of Affiliation.

The question of affiliation troubles us. If I may venture to suggest it would be best for us not to be affiliated to either International. So far as the Second International is concerned the proximity and the occupancy of office in various countries has made its leaders betray their principles and to become the exponents of a new type of Imperialism, Labour Imperialism, which may not speak in the accents of the Tories but which is none the less thorough. The main pre-occupation of the Second International is no longer the fight against capitalism but the fight against communism. And, in particular, India and the colonial countries have been studiously ignored by it and at every vital step it has sided with the forces ranged against us. I am quite convinced that we should not affiliate ourselves with it, and to do so would be disastrous to our cause.

Should we then ally ourselves to the Third International? Recently all manner of threats have been held out to those who may do so. I hope this

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Congress is strong enough to ignore them and to act regardless of them. It is obvious, however, that affiliation with the Third International is largely a gesture because under the present circumstances it is not easy for us, with various Government restrictions, to develop contact with the Communist International. There is another difficulty that I feel. Personally, I am a strong admirer of the general trend of policy in Russia. Soviet Russia to-day, in spite of heavy blunders and many sins, holds out the bright promise of a better day to the world at large and to the worker specially, more than any other country. The great experiment has already succeeded in some measure and it would be a tragedy if anything happened which interfered with it or put a stop to it. With all my sympathy for the Communist view point, however, I must confess that I do not appreciate many of their methods. The history of the past few years in China and else-where has shown that these methods have failed and often brought reaction in their train. To affiliate with the Third International must mean an adoption of their methods in their entirety. I do not think this is desirable for us and I would therefore respectfully recommend to this Congress not to affiliate itself to either International. This does not of course mean that we should not develop contacts with them whenever desirable.

Round-Table Conference.

Recently, we have had a new diversion. The Labour Government has offered some kind of a conference at some time or other, to discuss something connected with India's future constitution. In spite of the vagueness of everything in this announcement it created some excitement, which is rapidly cooling as subsequent events have revealed the true inwardness of the situation. I shall have something to say about this in another place a few weeks hence and I shall content myself here with some brief remarks. Those of us who stood by independence stand by it still. We do so not because we want isolation from other countries, but because we want the freedom to change the structure under which the worker is exploited. The Labour movement is above all international. It seeks to build society on a co-operative basis not only in the national, but also in the wider international sphere. And political freedom means nothing to it if the present exploitation is to continue. That position it cannot give up and no individuals have the right to compromise it. And by that position those who stand by independence stand to-day and nothing that has happened has made any difference to it. The time is fast approaching when our professions will be put to the test of action and suffering. And the measure of your earnestness and your desire for real freedom will be the measure of the deeds that you can do and not the strong language that you may use.

So I would beg of you to prepare yourselves for the struggle that looms ahead and not to lose yourself in mutual conflict and barren strife.

Pt. Jawaharlal on the Split.

The following statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is an admirable summing up of the situation in the Trade Union Congress and of the important incidents that led to the split. :—

Unlike the National Congress, the Trade Union Congress elects its President for a year at the conclusion of its annual session. The President, so elected, presides at the next annual session. I was elected President last year at Jharia, and my presidentship terminated at Nagpur, where Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President for the next year. I was a new-comer to the Labour movement, and it has been a great privilege for me to come in contact with its leaders and its rank and file. Especially, do I value having met and worked with real workers who are gradually coming to the front as Trade Unionism develops. Although, as subsequent events have shown, the Indian Labour movement is showing signs of cleavage, it was my honour and privilege to have had the co-operation of both sections, and I am very grateful to all my colleagues for it. I am particularly grateful to Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. R. R. Bakhale, General Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the T. U. C., during the past year for their uniform courtesy and co-operation.

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I had hoped in my presidential address that the threatened split would not occur, but even before I had a chance of delivering this address, the cleavage developed, and widened as a result of the decisions of the Executive Council which met before an open session. I deeply regret that this should have been so, for I realise that our Labour movement can ill-afford disunity. But perhaps, a split at this stage was inevitable. I have no doubt that the experience and force of circumstances will bring the two wings together again, so that even though they may differ, they may also act together whenever occasion demands. But, although the split was likely in any event, there is no doubt that many people actively worked for it and forced the issue. On the one side, there was the youthful enthusiasm of some members of the left wing. who wanted to go ahead regardless of consequences, and on the other, the deliberate attempt to push them on so as to widen the breach and thus get additional reasons for seceding.

The seceders did not take part in the open sessions of the Congress on the ground that the resolutions passed in the Executive Council were bound to be passed in the Congress. They need not have been so hasty in their conclusions, or precipitate in their action. It was easy enough for them to withdraw after the Congress had finally decided one way or the other. As a matter of fact, subsequent events showed that, had they attended the Congress, the final decisions might well have been different. Even in their absence, one resolution to which they had taken the strongest objection, the Pan-Pacific affiliation, was postponed to next year.

Credentials were accepted at the Congress on behalf of 51 unions representing 189,436 organised workers According to the constitution, in a division, voting takes place by unions, and each delegate represents 200 members of the Union. There was, thus, a total voting strength of 398. One union with a membership of 1,000 was ultimately not represented. This reduced the voting strength to 933. The seceders from the Congress represented thirty unions with a membership of 36,639, and a voting strength of 478. Those that attended the Congress represented twenty unions with a membership of 91,787 and a voting strength of 455. Thus, it is clear that the seceders had a majority, and could have, if they had so chosen, voted down any and every resolution. But they preferred to keep away.

In the Executive Council, the only resolution that was properly voted upon, was the one on the Whitley Commission boycott. This resolution was passed after prolonged debate by a small majority of 4 votes in a House of 100. After that, it appeared to be the object of some members to vote for resolutions with which they themselves thoroughly disagreed, merely to put the other party in the wrong. Many of the seceders actually voted for the resolutions which they protested against in their subsequent statement. This was a strange conduct, and regrettable enough. Equally strange and regrettable was the conduct of some other members who having taken up a brave and even defiant attitude in regard to certain resolutions later thought that discretion was the better part of valour, and quietly withdrew from the Congress and joined the seceders.

I regret the split, but far more, I regret the manner in which it was brought about. I have no doubt that, sooner or later, the real workers of both the wings will join hands. The trouble comes from those who change colour in the course of an afternoon. I am glad to see that the new President of the T. U. C. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is already trying to bridge the gulf. I may suggest it might be worth while to hold a meeting of the full Executive Council sometime during the National Week in Lahore to discuss the methods of future work and common lines of action. One thing I would beg of all my colleagues in the Labour movement, and that is to avoid mutual recrimination.

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The Associated Chambers of Commerce.

His Excellency Sir F. Sykes, Governor of Bombay opening the eleventh annual conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Bombay on the 16TH DECEMBER 1929 delivered an interesting address surveying the position of trade in India. He laid stress on the need for linking the London-Karachi Air Mail to all parts of India.

The conference was well attended, Sir George Rainy, Sir George Schuster, and Sir B. N. Mitra were present on the dais. The Bombay commercial community, Indian and European, were also present.

Presidential Address.

Mr. G. L. Winterbotham, in the course of his presidential address, observed :—

It is of the first importance that common ground should be found for representatives of all shades of commercial opinion in India to meet and discuss the many problems that arise with a view to the general advancement and benefit of India's trade as a whole. Difficulties and difference of opinion there are bound to be, but I am optimist enough, myself, to look forward to the day when, to use the words of Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas in his presidential address to the Federation of Indian Chambers in December last year, "The distinction between Indian and the British in the commerce and industry of the country will disappear, and both British and Indian industialists and businessmen will work harmoniously together in promoting the economic well-being of the country." I doubt very much whether the extent to which this is already taking place is realised, but there still remains a long way to go before the ideal is attained and no suitable opportunity of progressing towards it should be neglected.

It will be noted, sir, that our agenda contains no reference to political and constitutional matters. This may seem strange at a time when we stand on the threshold of a new political era, but the association is in the position of having made its contribution to the general problem and of awaiting the result. Some of us no doubt await the publication of the Simon Commission's report in that spirit of resolute resignation in which a former Secretary of State for India advised his noble colleagues in a matter wholly unconnected with India, to go into the lobby. Others, and I believe the majority of us, do so in the confident hope that many of the worst features of the situation in India to-day will disappear under a constitution which puts on the elected representatives of the people the responsibility for the good government of the country.

It is only natural that organisations like ours, representing large trading and industrial interests should be solid behind the Viceroy in his efforts to secure the consideration of this great problem by all parties in an atmosphere of political calm. Myself, I echo some recent words of Mr. M. A. Jinnah: "It is now for India to play up and support and strengthen the hands of the Viceroy."

The past year has seen the setting up of two bodies, one permanent and one temporary, on both of which this association is represented and from both of which extremely important results may be expected. I refer to the Council of Agricultural Research and the Banking Inquiry Committee. The former is the outcome of a recommendation by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, while the latter owes its origin, at any rate in part, to the demand for an enquiry into the regulation of banking in this country, put forward by the Association. The enquiry covers a very wide field, and we may hope that it will achieve the result of a wider use of banking facilities a better mobilisation of the country's resources and speedier development on sound lines.

The year has been marked by the inauguration of the London-India Air-Mail and our agenda is evidence, if evidence is needed, of the great interest which

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this association takes in the encouragement and development of civil aviation in India. We are very desirous of seeing internal services started which will link up all parts of India with this London-India Mail, for without them it is not possible to reap the full benefit of the service. While on the subject of the Air, may I be allowed to make a reference to that epic of the Air, the evacuation of Kabul for which, in my opinion, the year 1929 will ever be famous, and to pay a tribute to the Royal Air Force for their truly remarkable achievement.

Special reference must be made Sir, to the Act passed in the last session of the legislature to give relief from income-tax to private provident funds. The history of this thorny problem is contained in the accounts of our annual meetings for the past three years, and in congratulating the association on the successful outcome of its efforts, I desire to thank all other bodies for their whole hearted support and the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster for the speedy and, let us hope, effective way in which he has implemented, on behalf of the Government, the undertaking which he gave us at our meeting last year.

I cannot close Sir, without a reference to the problem which looms largest in the commercial and industrial world of India to-day. I refer to the relations between captital and labour in this country The year has been the passing of the Trade Disputes Act and the setting up of the Whitley Commission. It has also been marked by a further series of disastrous strikes, the effect of which it would be difficult to compute. The Trade Disputes Act provides the machinery for avoiding and settling strikes, and one may be permitted to hope that other Governments will follow the example which Your Excellency's Government was quick to set in taking full advantage o the Act if not to settle, then to determine the merits of disputes at an early stage.

To the Whitley Commission, we extend our welcome and assure them of all the help which we are able to give in their truly Herculean task. It is our hope that they will, in due course, make recommendations which will give to Capital more contented and efficient Labour, and to Labour a better standard of life and a greater appreciation of the fact that this can only be secured by the fruits of better and more efficient work. Is it too much to hope that labour organisations on their part will realise that they have everything to gain by co-operation with the Commission and will refuse to allow themselves to be used as tools in the hands of ignorant or ill-intentioned persons for political ends? The crying need is for the newly formed trade union movement in this country to grow steadily to healthy maturity under the wise leadershis of sober and level-headed trade unionists whose one aim will be to promote the common interests of masters and men. I do not despair of this result though the immediate outlook is far from bright. I now ask Your Excellency to open the proceedings of this annual meeting.

The Governor's Opening Speech.

Addressing the meeting His Excellency the Governor Sir F. Sykes dwelt at length on "the uncertain and clouded financial position of the Presidency." Discussing the causes, His Excellency observed that the Presidency in the past year had been a victim to calamities such as riots, strikes, floods, malaria and locusts. While the general trade and economic condition in India as a whole had been improving, the serious plight of the cotton mill industry had immeasurably retarded the trade recovery in Bombay.

His Excellency gave figures relating to the external trade of the Bombay Presidency from April to October 1929 which showed a decline in the total value of foreign trade, mainly owing to the restricted movements of treasure and a noticeable fall in the exports of foreign and Indian merchandise. The decline was actually 3·13 crores compared with the corresponding period of the last year. The imports advanced by a small margin of eleven lakhs, but the exports recorded noticeable decreases, and from the point of view of Bombay, it was not altogether satisfactory that the chief contributor to the increase in the imports was cotton grey piece-goods, whose imports increased by 91½ lakhs. This was, however, more than counter-balanced by the decrease of 1·3 crores in the arrival of white and coloured cotton piecegoods. The imports of both gold and silver showed substantial decreases, but the fall in the imports of

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of gold was mainly due to the reduced shipments from Natal owing to the diversion of South African consignments from Bombay to Madras by the reason of freight avantages; but His Excellency understood that the disparity in the freigt had since been removed. It was therefore anticipated that Bombay would again become a centre for this trade.

Summing up the situation, His Excellency remarked that the protracted mill-strike in the Bombay Presidency affected a large number of other trades and caused a depression which only lately had begun to move away. The exceptionally good crops of sugar throughout the world and the consequent easy prices led to phenomenally heavy imports which so far as the revenue was concerned, seemed likely to help the position, declared His Excellency.

His Excellency proceeded to refer to the world causes which had their effect on Bombay's position, and said that the world's financial situation, which already was uncertain, had been accentuated by the recent collapse of the New York stock market. The American purchasing power had, as a result, been diminished, while the American industrial programme had not been reduced. There could be no doubt that, in order to absorb the immense production for which demand had suddenly fallen off in the domestic market, the United States would be compelled to resort wholesale dumping of her produce on Europe and Asia. Thus, India would be brought into increasingly direct competition with American industry. The demand for Indian products must then to some extent slacken, and the prices must fall. The outlook was not cheerful, but he was a believer in doing everything possible to put one's own house in order and then turning to see what outside help one might rightly demand. As regards the mill industry, provided that was done and the consumer was safeguarded, an increase in the tariff now being asked for would seem to be of great potential value in tiding over the present temporary difficulties.

Turning to Air services in India His Excellency declared that he always regarded as inevitable that the London-Karachi service must result in extension in India, and he would follow with interest the discussion on the question in the conference. He assured them that any proposals which would lead to linking up Bombay by Air with Karachi and other parts of India would receive his closest consideration.

Resolutions.

After the Governor's speech the Conference adopted a number of resolutions.

The first resolution protested against the Government's recent decision to disallow as business expense in computing profits for income-tax purposes any sums paid by the employer to the employee as bonus or commission on profits unless such payments are obligatory by virtue of the terms of contract or agreement between the employer and the employee.

The second resolution urged the Government of India to recognise when computing income-tax the principle of making provision for business losses and to permit the assessee to carry forward such losses for a period of three years.

The Conference reaffirmed its resolution requestion the Government of India to give effect to the Taxation Inquiry Committee's recommendation that dividends received by holding companies from companies which had already been assessed to super-tax should not again be assessed to super-tax in the hands of holding companies.

Railway Expansion.

Another resolution ran as follows :—In view of the continual necessity of expanding railway communications throughout India, the association is of opinion that funds at the Railway Board's disposal should ordinarily be expended on the construction of new lines rather than employed for the purchase of systems already in existence.

Sir George Rainy, speaking on this resolution, said that the Government of India was not bound down to the policy of buying up the existing lines, but that their transactions depended on the circumstances of each particular case. The resolution was passed.

The last resolution passed on this day recommended to the Government of India that clause XII of the Letters Patent of the Bombay, Calcutta and Madras High Courts be so amended as to enable the said courts to have jurisdiction to entertain suits on mortgage of land and also suits for specific performance of contracts for the purchase of land and for damages for wrongful extraction of minerals from land.

The Conference then adjourned till next day.

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AIR MAIL SERVICE.

The Conference re-assembling on the next day, the *17TH DECEMBER*, Sir B. N. Mitra explained the Government's policy in regard to the development of air service in the course of his speech on the resolution urging extension of the air service from Karachi to Delhi, Calcutta, Rangoon and Bombay.

Sir B. N. Mitra observed that the Government were fully alive to the importance of an internal air service. In the budget of 1929-30, he had managed to secure 20 lakhs for the development of civil aviation, whereof 18 and half lakhs would be spent on the Karachi Rangoon route. It was now pretty certain that the first section of the trunk service, namely, Karachi-Delhi would start working on the 28th December. In accordance with the arrangement which was placed by the Government before the Standing Finance Committee of the Legislative Assembly last September, and approved by them, that service would be a State service and would indeed constitute the first Indian State Air Service. It would work with the help of aeroplanes chartered from the Imperial Airways Company under a chartering agreement. In regard to the Delhi-Calcutta section, the ground organisation was practically ready. If the Government of India's resources permitted it, the organisation would be completed before long and the air service would be extended from Delhi to Calcutta about the middle 1930-1931. Similarly the ground organisation between Calcutta and Rangoon would be completed at the end of 1930-31. It might be possible to start the service about the end of that year or about the middle of 1931-32.

The Delhi-Calcutta and the Calcutta-Rangoon service was now under examination with reference to the point whether it should be a State service carried on by means of aeroplanes chartered from the company or a State service confined in the first instance to the conveyance of mails and worked by means of aeroplanes acquired and maintained by the State. He was not sure if, after providing for the heavy expenditure on these items, it would be possible to allot funds in the budget of 1930-31 for expenditure for the Karachi-Bombay Service. Nevertheless the Government had recently been examining one or two proposals in that connection. One proposal which seemed particularly attractive from the Government's point of view, would have involved no expenditure to the Government, but on a fuller examination the Government entertained serious doubts about its technical and financial soundness and had practically dropped it. They were now examining another proposal which involved a Government subsidy of a not inconsiderable amount and which would not give continuous service until the aerodrome at Juhu was completely ready, at a cost of some 10 lakhs.

Sir B. N. Mitra proceeded to explain that so long as the incoming foreign mail reached Karachi on Saturday afternoon, it might be possible to arrange for the delivery at Bombay on Monday morning even without starting an air service between Karachi and Bombay. By establishing an air service between these stations the incoming foreign mail would reach Bombay on Sunday afternoon and unless special steps were taken for after-noon delivery on Sunday, it would be delivered only on Monday morning. He was not particularly in favour of the latter measure which apart from additional expenditure, was bound to cause a considerable amount of irritation among the subordinate staff in post offices. Sunday delivery was a concession which was not allowed in England and most other countries but only in India to a limited extent. He was not prepared to support the idea of extending the scope of this concession unless and until it was clearly established that a material advantage to the public would be derived therefrom. He admitted that if the incoming foreign mail arrived in Karachi on any other than Saturday, the air service between Karachi and Bombay would permit of delivery in Bombay on the evening of the second day following, instead of the morning of the third day.

The meeting then adopted a resolution urging the necessity of inaugurating at a very early date an air mail service from Karachi *via* Bombay to Southern India and Ceylon to connect with the India-London service.

LABOUR DISPUTES.

The Bengal Chamber's representative moved a resolution drawing the urgent attention of the Government of India to the extent whereto in recent industrial disputes, Communist agitators and unregistered trade unions interfered and reaffiring the Association's resolution passed in 1924 that registration should be compulsorily enforced and the Unions Act of 1926 amended at the earliest possible date.

Sir Bhupendranath Mitra again intervened to explain the Government's position and observed that the subject of the relation between the employers and employees was under investigation by the Whitley Commission. The Government of India could not therefore at present undertake any legislation in the matter. The resolution was withdrawn. The meeting then adjourned. The next annual meeting was decided to be held in Calcutta.

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The Indian Economic Conference

In his presidential address at the 13th session of the Indian Economic Conference which began its session at Allahabad on the *18TH DECEMBER 1929* Mr. N. S. Subba Rao of Mysore dwelt on the subject of "Economic Change and Educational Adjustment" and observed :—

I propose to take as the subject of my address the relation between the Economic conditions in a modern community and its Educational organization with special reference to India. There has been a gratifying recognition that the presence of an academical student of economics is helpful in economic enquiries and investigations set on foot in the country in recent years. Professors of economics have been appointed to the several Committees and Commissions instituted in recent years, an economist is one of the members of the Indian Tariff Board, and this year economists have been appointed to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee as well as to each of the local Committees. One extraordinary, and to my mind inexplicable, exception should however, be noticed, and that is the Royal Commission on Factory Labour. One would have thought that here exactly was the one enquiry in which the services of an academical student of economics, fitted by temperament and training to see "the many in the One the one in the Many," would have been of service to the Commission, which contains men of affairs of great experience, prominent leaders of Industry as well as representatives of Labour. More than thirty years ago when a similar Commission was appointed in Great Britain, the famous Royal Commission on Labour, Alfred Marshall was one of the members, and his influence is writ large across the pages of the report.

It is not necessary, however, unduly to deplore the omission, and to exaggerate the value and significance of these fitful enquiries into different aspects of the economic life of the nation, nor can one be always sure that they have not been sometimes instituted rather on account of political expediency than out of solicitude for the economic welfare of the country, when one remembers that even Morley was not above throwing dust into the eyes of his critics by instituting enquiries.

These Committees and Commissions have their day and cease to be, leaving not a wrack behind, except, of course, bulky reports and innumerable volumes of evidence that nobody ever opens. The time has come for systematic and continuous work, and India may well imitate the example of the United States of America, which has instituted permanent bodies like the Tariff Commission and the Federal Trade Commission and other bodies, which make investigations "suo moto" as the result of a comprehensive plan of campaign. The result is, we have reports which are solid and permanent contributions both to economic literature as well as towards the formation of a definite, consistent and sustained economic policy.

All-India Organisations.

In India, fortunately for us, the materials for a similar All-India Organisation are ready at hand in the Tariff Board and the Department of Statistics and Commercial Intelligence. The Tariff Board has been functioning long enough to furnish ample materials for a doctoral thesis, or a course of special university lectures on, say, "the Part played by the Recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board in the Economic Development of India." It has explored practically all possible avenues, large and small, for granting discriminating protection, and is now engaged on salt. Rumour says it will next proceed to sugar. When this has been done, I suggest that the Tariff Board may be set the task of reviewing its own work in relation to Indian economic development, without limiting itself merely to the field of tariff changes. The result would be far more valuable than hurried investigations in fields of little economic importance for the country as a whole at the request of parties who, after the manner of the King in "Alice in Wonderland," want a perepmtory judgment in their favour rather than a deliberate judicial investigation. The Board may be suitably enlarged, and allowed to appoint sub-committees and individual expert investigators. It should have power to make enquiries and surveys on its own initiative, and submit recommendations to the Government from time to time. In brief, it should serve, in Sir William Beveridge's phrase, as the Economic

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Intelligence Staff" of the country, and may even in due course pave the way for the establishment of a "Department charged to devise necessary social and industrial adjustments that are intended to prevent the very occurrence of a wide-spread or long-continued involuntary wagelessness."

Such a National Board will have a formidable task and will be called upon to raise large issues. Almost the first question the Board will have to consider is the direction in which Indian economic development may be expected to lie. It looks as though the latest Royal Commissions, one on Agriculture and the other on Factory Labour, are intended, the former to direct and the latter to warn!

It is necessary to sound a note of warning with regard to one obstacle in any scheme of development on All-India lines. Agriculture and Industry are transferred subjects, and the temptation for Ministers and local Legislatures will naturally be to regard any proposed scheme of development from a provincial point of view, if not indeed a parochial point of view, and support local centres of production even when economic factors are not favourable. For example, should events make it more abundantly clear that the reign of Bombay as a centre of cotton industry is over, it would not be in the interests of Indian development that the mills of Bombay should be bolstered by artificial aids against the natural development of the industry elsewhere in India. Further, it is wellknown that efficient production in certain lines in the face of keen foreign competition can only be carried on by very large units in localities where the natural and other advantages are pronounced. It would, therefore, be an unpardonable waste of resources to distribute units of production of moderate size all over the country. Cotton spinning and cotton ginning are obvious examples of this wasteful duplication of plant. All this could be availed if business-men were enabled to visualise the development of the country as a whole and could be placed in touch with movements and tendencies in other parts of India. This will be pre-eminently the task of the suggested All-India Organisation, whose one aim should be to allow production to be localized in those parts of India which offer favourable milieu and to discourage attempts elsewhere, which are doomed to failure and will result in loss and discouragement.

The latest quinquennial Review of the "progress of Education" in India says that "a feeling, of late, has gained ground that the educated people should not take up their hereditary occupations, but should try to obtain employment of a clerical nature under Government or some other public body, failing which under some other private firm." The reports of the numerous committees of unemployment in India, and it is highly significant that all these committees are concerned with unemployment among the educated middle classes, corroborate this apprehension. There is not adequate employment of a clerical character to meet the demand, and the applicants have not been trained for other occupations, and they have not, or believe they have not, the necessary aptitude for manual occupations.

This exaggerated tendency to make a living by occupations of a soft-handed character is economic atavism, or it would probably be more correct to say that it is the survival in a modern form of a well-known feature of the Middle ages. In the ancient world the citizen class cherished "a contempt for industrial occupations; every form of production, with a partial exception in favour of agriculture, was branded as unworthy of a freeman—the only noble forms of activity being those directly connected with public life, whether military or administrative. Labour was degraded by the relegation of most departments of it to the servile classes, above whom the free artisans were but little elevated in general esteem." We know that in mediaeval times in Europe and what corresponds to that period elsewhere, the Nobles lived the life of chivalry and the Clergy of devotion, while the serfs toiled for them. The modern economic organization tends to create a class of persons who are able to trust themselves between the primary producer and the consumer, and make a living for themselves in diverse ways.

The foregoing observations are certainly not intended to disparage the significance of "Service occupations" in community, nor does the fallacy underlie them of identifying the wealth or income of a community with material products. It is not suggested, for example, that India would be better off if the energies of its unemployed or employed matriculates and graduates were diverted to production of liquor, cocaine and other intoxicants and drugs. Nor is one oblivious of the fact that there are great wastes in consumption of material goods. Alfred Marshall has drawn attention to the need for "the higher study of consumption", though he has added that "while it may have its beginning within the proper domain of Economics, it cannot find its conclusions there, but must extend far beyond." A student of Marshall cannot fail to recollect passages in which he has pointed out that "there are great wastes in consumption both of the rich and of the poor, and that "the world would go much better if everyone would buy fewer and

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simpler goods and take trouble in selecting them for their real beauty." It will be remembered that Professor Smart similarly pleaded for a more adequate analysis of consumption and its effects than English economists have generally given and suggested "the substitution of a thoughtless and irresponsible one." To admit all this, in no way, affects my position that it is not good for India. While its agriculture and industry are ill-developed, that its educational system should be turning out large and increasing numbers of matriculates and graduates, whose aim and economic salvation consist in obtaining under the guise of clerical or similar work an assured title to a share in the national supply of the essential needs of life produced by others, while they themselves contribute in no appreciable degree towards their production, but merely constitute, in fact, parasites in the economic system. The preceding observations will have served their purpose if they have succeeded in centering attention on the problem of the day in our country: economic changes and educational adjustments so as to secure increasing employment of the right sort for the youth of the country. It will be the task of the National Economic Council or Board to work out a detailed plan, and it will obviously have to examine several factors that help or hamper the desired changes, among others, the existing diversity of industrial organization, currency and banking conditions, the tariffs and the "Labour Problem." Labour indeed offers to the economic reformer not one but several problems, such as the basis of reward for work, including an allowance during periods of enforced idleness, regulation of conditions of work, the place of labour organizations in the control of industry, and last but not least provision for training and systematic recruitment.

Secondary education, even in advanced countries like England, is only for the few, and Mr. Fisher had to point out that it was "one of the weakest points of the English system of education that so small a proportion of the population proceeded to the secondary schools, and that so small a proportion of those who did were able to stay for a full period." The problems of educational reform and adjutstment of the educational system to the economic requirements of a country are many and complex, and before they are examined with reference tn Indian conditions, it is desirable to review briefly the changes that have taken place, or are taking place in the leading countries in the West.

Vocational Education.

The terms, vocational education and vocational guidance, are American, though the ideas underlying them are not. It is America, however, that has, with characteristic thoroughness, developed the theory, the practice and the literature of the subject to an extraordinary degree. One definition of vacational education that will serve our present purpose limits it to "that part of the educative process which directs the activities and controls the environment of the learner to the end that he may acquire the mental attributes and abilities which make him an efficient and happy economic producer."

The progress of vocational education in the United States of America has been remarkably rapid. As a result of the recommendations of a Federal Commission, the Vocational Education Act was passed in 1917, and a federal board for vocational education was organized in the following year. The Board co-operates with the States in the promotion of vocational education in agriculture, trade, industries and home economics, the scope of education being defined as of less than college grade.

Germany has been years ahead of the United States of America. "She has aimed definitely at the building up of a great industrial nation by the systematic training of all grades, from leaders to workmen. The State, the municipality, the employed and the employer have all come to believe in education of all types including compulsory continuation education.

Althongh England can show a considerable number of junior technical schools and higher technical courses, and her special contribution to this branch of education, evening classes, in respect of quality, amount or degree of co-ordination with industry, she cannot be said to have advanced as far as either the United States of America or Germany. In fact, at the present time, she may be said to be more remarkable for aspirations and plans than for achievement. It is paradoxical that although the industrial revolution made its appearance first in England, that country should be the last to adjust her educational methods to the new industrial environment.

There are a number of training centres, where among the industries taught are elementary practical courses in the building trades, in furniture making, and in Engineering. The underlying idea is to prepare for employment in some skilled branch of almost any industry.

Vocational Training in Ireland.

The developments in Ireland are of even greater interest to us in India. The Irish Free State recently appointed a Commission to report on the system of technical education

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n the country in relation to the requirements of trade and industry, including the main industry of Agriculture. The Commission presented in 1927 a very full and informing report, and its conclusions ought to be of special features of economic and social resemblance.

The Commission lays great stress on the need for securing a sound and uniform foundation for the system of technical education, which must be laid in the primary school, and holds that it is essential that the youth of the country should have completed in the 6th standard a definite minimum programme on which subsequent instruction can be based. This is followed by a recommendation for the introduction of continuation schools and classes, attendance at which, wholetime or part-time according to circumstances, should be compulsory up to the age of 16 years. The programme of these schools should be distinguished from that of technical schools and should take into account the special circumstances of town and country life. Technical education should start after the continuation school period, and should take various forms, part-time or whole-time, day or evening classes, according to the specific conditions of apprenticeship in different trades.

It is interesting to note that among the occupations for which they suggest special training are not merely Agriculture and the usual industries, but also hotel and restaurant work. This was taken up by the Commission for active consideration because good hotel service was essential to the successful development of a tourist traffic. The lesson for India is obvious. India is becoming a great favourite of tourists, and probably would become much more so if improved facilities of travel were created in the shape of better hotel accommodation; and the people of the country would be richer if they engaged more than they do in this business.

System of Education in India.

We now come to an examination of the system of education in India in the light of the foregoing observations. Like several other things in India, the system of education contains both indigenous and imported elements. We have the survivals of the indigenous system in the Pathsala, Maktabs and Madrasas, in which education is entirely literary and some time theological. Primary Education, or "mass education" as the Hartog Committee prefer to call it, is essential for the construction of any superstructure of general or vocational education in any country, and the Committee bring out the fact that the present organization of primary education is both inadequate and wasteful. They show clearly that whereas the main educational problem at the secondary stage should be to provide varied forms of training for life and employment suitable for large numbers of boys of varied attainments and circumstances, "all sections of the community with their different occupations, traditions and outlook, and with their different ambitions and aptitudes have little, if any, choice of the type of school to which they will send their children. In fact, the present type of High and Middle English School has established itself so strongly that other forms of education are opposed or mistrusted." They deplore the fact that "there is nothing corresponding to the exodus to the English Secondary Schools into either practical life or into vocational institutions." The inevitable result follows that a large number of boys are wanting time and money by following the existing courses in secondary classes. It should be added, however, in fairness that some effort has been made in the direction of an alteration in the curricula by provision for vocational and manual instruction in the Secondary school system. Instruction is now provided in some kind of manual work, such as wood work, carpentry, metal work, agriculture, tailoring, engraving, rattan work, spinning, book-binding, dyeing, sericulture, market-gardening, horticulture, mica work, smithy, coir work and printing.

It is not only the inadequacy of the provision for vacational branches of education that calls for comment but also the lack of appreciation as to the place of such institutions in the educational organization of the country. On the plane of university education, the Committee draw attention to the well-known fact that "the universities and colleges of India are at present turning out a large number of graduates who cannot find employment," and with regard to the uncritical proposals for extension of technical training of the university standard, which is far more expensive than literary training, they feel bound to point out that "the training of technical exparts only creates more unemployed unless there are industries to absorb them." We all know of the sad fate of young men who have returned home after a laborious and expensive course in some branches of Technology only to find that there are no industries to absorb them.

It is perhaps not fair to be unduly harsh in our criticism of the Indian educational system. Not only was it a great experiment in the unknown, the pouring of new wine into old bottles, but it must also be said that till recently the problem of unemployment was not so acute among the products of the schools and colleges. Further, it is only in the last twenty-five years or so that even Western countries have come to appreciate the need for an organized attempt to impart vocational education. The fact that the evil

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was not foreseen earlier and that other countries till recently have been in no better case than ourselves does not, of course, minimize the acuteness of the present crisis in Indian education. We cannot afford to be always a generation behind the Western nations.

How is India to set about the task of adjusting her educational programme to the requirements of her agriculture, industries and trade ?

Any scheme of industrial education that visualizes the industrial development of India only on factory lines will deal but incompletely with the facts of the situation, leaving a good deal of ground uncovered. The urgent need of the moment is a thorough survey of the position in the country, agricultural, industrial and commercial, with a forecast as to probable developments in the near future. Some work has already been done by several Commissions and enquiries and the report of the Indian Tariff Board supply much valuable data, but they are all disconnected and lack the synthetic vision that sees the Indian economic situation steadily and sees it whole. A satisfactory programme of industrial or vocational education can only be prepared on a national scale, but such a national programme must rest upon provincial and local surveys. Again, I must revert to my plea for a National Economic Commission or Board. I have suggested that it will be its task to view the Indian economic problem as a whole, organize investigations and make recommendations. This work by itself will offer the necessary data for formulating an All-India Scheme of Vocational Education, but there is no reason why one of the divisions of this Board, should not specialize in questions relating to vocational education.

If the human capital of the country is to be most effectively employed, it is necessary to determine what qualities are required by each separate occupation and how the possession of these qualities can most accurately be determined in the child. Otherwise, there will be social waste in a number of ways. Children may be given training leading to occupations for which they may have neither the ability nor the aptitude. When they actually enter the occupation for which they have received the preliminary training misfits will naturally occur and there will be wastage either because there will be a poor level of work or a high rate of labour turnover. Nor is this all. There are numerous other evil consequences of misfits of which a long and uncomfortable list is given : neurotic disorders, delinquency, bad temper, malingering, creation of industrial discontent. It is, therefore, necessary that any scheme of vocational education should be supplemented by measures to study the different aptitudes of children, and direct them to courses of study appropriate for the occupations towards which their abilities and aptitude point.

Vocational Advice Bureau.

Vocational tests are destined to play a prominent part in the social organization of the future. Already in parts of Germany, they are in active operation ; in Hamburg " four-fifths of all the children leaving the school pass through the Vocational Advice Bureau, including children of all social classes, and a large number of these are given psychological tests to assist in the decision with regard to the occupation to be followed in after life. It is a matter for satisfaction, therefore, that the last Indian Universities' Conference passed a resolution in favour of experiments in the application of psychological tests in the Universities and it is to be hoped that the recommendation will be taken up actively as the economic and social value of these tests cannot be exaggerated.

When we have adjusted the educational system to suit the economic needs of the country and even devised suitable tests to select and distribute the pupils in our schools among the varied courses of instruction according to their ability and aptitude, our task is performed but in part. The adjustment of the educational system to the economic organization will still show a gap unless machinery is devised to direct pupils to appropriate places of employment when they leave the schools and colleges. It is obvious that this is a big task, but the problem has to be faced, and it is being faced in several countries in the shape of After-Care Committees, Juvenile Employment Council, Vocational Counsellors and so on.

To conclude, India is on the threshold of great changes, social and political. Those changes require a spiritual content and an economic basis, the most persistent twin interests of mankind. A country that has produced in recent years a Vivekananda, a Tagore, a Gandhi, is not likely to lack spiritual leadership. It is in the realm of economic change and educational adjustment that the country requires guidance, and it is my earnest conviction that no more competent guide can be found than a triple alliance between the educationist, the phychologist and the economist.

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India in Parliament

and Abroad

July–Dec. 1929.

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Labour Government's Indian Policy.

House of Lords Debate—5th. November 1929.

The House of Lords was crowded with many Indians in the gallery and Mr. Wedgwood Benn and other Privy Councillors listened from the steps of the Throne when the debate opened on Lord Reading's motion.

The Marquis of READING, the former Viceroy of India, called attention to the recent statement issued by the Viceroy of India (on the 31st October) regarding the attainment by India of Dominion Status and asked the Government, firstly, to state the reasons for the extraordinary course of making this pronouncement without having consulted the Statutory Commission upon it and before the Commission had reported; secondly, whether the conditions contained in the declaration of 1917 and the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 will remain in full force and effect and be applicable to Dominion Status; and, thirdly, whether this statement implies any change in the policy hitherto declared or in the time when this status may be attained.

Lord Reading said that, to his mind, the change of procedure whereby a Conference of the politicians representing all parties in India would be held before and not after the Government had formulated its proposals was very important. He welcomed it and hoped that it would help to satisfy Indian opinion. Other parties approved of it. But when the Secretary for India made a further proposal that reference should be made to the future of India in language something like the language used in the Viceroy's statement he at once took objection. "Let me make it plain that neither I nor my party object to Dominion Status, it being regarded as the ideal which we eventually hope to reach in relation to the Government of India." He objected to the use of the term because it had never appeared before in any document and because it would be impossible to make a statement of this character without the assent of the Simon Commission. Nevertheless, it was proposed by the Government that a statement should be made which must affect the prestige, influence and authority of the Simon Commission He himself, when Viceroy, had been careful never to use the words "Dominion Status." The very phrase conjured up at once a position which was, to some extent at least, in advance of what might be ascribed to a responsible Government. Such a phrase was liable to be misunderstood in India and by many people in this country. Mr. Lloyd George took exactly the same attitude as himself. The Conservative Party refused assent to the statement regarding Dominion Status. On October 27th he wrote to the Secretary of State for India expressing his grave regret at the proposals of the Government and the Viceroy to make a pronouncement. The statement, unless it were corrected, would be heralded throughout India as a promise to give it at once Dominion Status. He wanted the Government to make it clear without any ambiguity throughout India that the language used by the Government in the pronouncement was only the interpretation of the ultimate goal to which India might attain when various obstacles were surmounted.

Lord PARMOOR, replying on behalf of the Government, said that the reason for the pronouncement made was that in the Viceroy's view it was necessary, having regard to the atmosphere in India and to dispel mistrust regarding British policy. The conditions contained in the Declaration of 1917 and the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 remained in full force and could not be altered except by Parliament. Nothing could be clearer than that it was the Viceroy's intention to retain these old reservations without alteration or exception.

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Questions of policy with respect to the time within which Dominion Status might be attained could not be considered until the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee had reported, until His Majesty's Government had been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider matters in the light of the material available and until the Conference which it was intended to summon had met. The matter would then have to be decided by Parliament. They hoped that in the fullness of time India would become an integral part of the Empire in equal partnership with other Dominions. The Government informed the Simon Commission of the action they intended to take and the Commission did not wish to be associated in this reaffirmation.

Lord Parmoor re-echoed Lord Reading's opinion that it would be the greatest possible misfortune to make differences on Indian affairs a matter of political dispute here. He did not think there was the slightest reason for supporting that. Upon the necessity of keeping political matters out of All-India affairs and questions there was not the slightest difference between Lord Reading and the Government.

Lord Reading would find in the pronouncement the view of the Viceroy that it would be an advantage at present to get a clear atmosphere to prevent a misapprehension and remove the web of distrust in order that our future policy towards India might have the best opportunity of having its conciliatory character understood not only by us but by Indian leaders. "That is the point which I and the Government regard as the most important part of the pronouncement. There is absolutely no difference between the views stated by Lord Reading and those held by the Government and the leaders of Liberal and Conservative parties have concurred regarding this portion of the pronouncement."

Lord Parmoor thought that it would be this part of the pronouncement to which Indian opinion would be more immediately directed.

Lord Parmoor did not consider that any one could read any ambiguity in the pronouncement. It was evidently prepared with very great caution.

Lord Parmoor quoted the Viceroy's statement that the course of action now proposed was the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India a touch carrying with it health and healing and was a method whereby there was the best hope of handling these matters in constructive statesmanship. That opinion, in which Lord Goschen concurred, ought to have very great weight both in India and Britain.

Lord Parmoor emphasised that the conditions contained in the Declaration of 1917 and the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 remained in full force and effect and, having quoted the reservations, asked if there could be any doubt that the conditions remained in full force and effect and were applicable to Dominion Status.

Lord Reading said that the question had been very explicitly answered.

Lord Parmoor continued: "So long as the Act remains unamended and until Parliament sees fit to review it, the conditions stand. Parliamentary statutory conditions cannot be altered except by Parliament."

Continuing Lord Parmoor said that the Viceroy's statement referred to the goal of British policy and the purpose was as stated not only in the Viceroy's announcement but on several occasions by their official speakers.

After pointing out that questions of policy with respect to the time in which Dominion Status might be attained would have to be decided by Parliament, Lord Parmoor asked if anything could be more explicit. He did not think that the Simon Commission had been hindered by an iota or its authority undermined. They desired to treat the Simon Commission with the greatest courtesy possible. He thought that the Government were well advised in leaving the Commission aside in making a statement of policy of the kind. It would be wrong, especially in India, if it were thought that there was any special connection between the Government for the time being and the Commission. It was of the essence of the matter that independence should be maintained. It is easy to undermine the strength of independence if you allow communications apparently to go on the subject between the Government and the Commission.

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Lord Parmoor stated that it was considered by His Majesty's Government in full concurrence with the Viceroy that in view of the impending open invitation to the Conference of representatives of British India and Indian States it was very desirable to state clearly the purpose of Britain in its political relations with India. At one stage it was contemplated to include it in the Premier's reply to Sir John Simon reaffirming the goal of British policy. It was ascertained, however, that the Commission were averse to being associated with the correspondence wherein this reaffirmation would appear. The Government decided that it should be made in an independent document that the purpose was to dispel doubts regarding the interpretation to be placed on Britain's intentions in enacting the statute of 1919 and the Government informed the Simon Commission of the action they intended to take. The Government held that the position of the Commission could not be affected by a re-affirmation of the principle laid down in the preamble. The Government were in very deep anxiety to do nothing in any way to prejudice the position of the Commission. They were also moved by a desire (shared by the Viceroy) to do anything legitimately within their power to pave the way for an unprejudiced consideration by the leaders of Indian opinion of the Commission's report when received.

Lord Parmoor regretted that any of the members of the Commission should have taken the view that we intended to slight them. They had given an enormous amount of time to effect better understanding between India and Britain.

Lord Parmoor concluded by saying: "Our purpose is that we should join together and bring ourselves without undue criticism to feel that Lord Irwin was right and the greatest Viceroy of modern times took the right step. When supported by the Government he issued the pronouncement."

Lord BIRKENHEAD declared that the reason why the statement was issued was that the Government were threatened with a campaign of civil disobedience at the end of the year. Experience had shown that the way to discharge our obligation to India was never to yield to threats.

Lord Birkenhead maintained that it was utterly impossible to carry on the Government of India if they were to accept a policy, which on its merits, appeared to be incapable of defence, because it had been recommended by a Viceroy, however distinguished. He asked how it could add to the appeasement of Indian opinion that it should be informed that they were still precisely in the same situation as left by the Declaration and the Act. The moment in which to make gestures of appeasement was not when threatened by men of influence and authority with a general campaign of civil disobedience. Nobody with character for sanity or responsibility could assign a proximate date for India becoming a Dominion. He considered that the Government mishandled the situation.

Lord CREWE said that he had always deeply regretted that the term Dominion Status had been used in relation to India. There was no accepted definition of it. It was a general term liable to change and there was no country to which it was more important that precision both of thought and expression should be applied than India. He thought that the goal they had in view was that so far as it was compatible with the cotinuance of British India as part of the Empire. Indian affairs should be managed by Indians in India with the minimum of interference. He hoped that Lord Parmoor's statement would do something to dispel the misapprehension but he was not entirely convinced of it. He hoped that further utterances on behalf of the Government would do rather more to dispel what perhaps was a very unfortunate misapprehension in Indian affairs within his recollection.

Lord PEEL regretted that Government seemed a little too anxious to take shelter behind the Viceroy. He hoped that the Simon Commission would pursue its way undeviating and unmoved by irrelevancies.

Lord PASSFIELD, on behalf of the Government, declared that the Viceroy's statement was necessary in order to explain the new procedure initiated by the Simon Commission. As regards the enlargement of the Commission's scope and the holding of the Conference it was never out of time to seek appeasement even if the people were uttering threats. Lord Passfield declared that it was

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absolutely clear that the Viceroy was not announcing a new policy but explaining the old.

Lord Passfield said that the object of making the declaration was not for the sake of using a magic phrase. The Dominion Status declaration was necessary in order to proclaim the new procedure initiated by Sir John Simon. That was the new policy. If that was a change in the policy, it was new. It was that which had created the greatest possible enthusiasm in India.

Lord Passfield continued, "The Viceroy cannot have any idea of departure from the so-called reservations. Government have never had any idea of it." He asked whether anyone challenged that in the fullness of time equal partnership with Dominions was the policy not only of the present but of the last Government. The Simon Commission had not raised an objection to the effect that the goal had been wrongly described as Dominion Status.

Lord Burnham interjected that they never saw it.

Lord Passfield: "I only say that they have no objection. Objection was signified by the members of the Commission that the declaration was inopportune. That is a valid and proper objection."

Lord Passfield continuing said, that surely, the question of its opportuneness, its likely effect in India and the exact terms in which it was to be made must be left to the Viceroy. "I think the Government are entitled to say that they agree with the Viceroy and have accepted his decision as they should implicitly accept the decision of a trusted officer of that kind."

Lord Passfield pointed out that the Simon Commission had not been asked to revise and consider whether the goal should be Dominion Status. They had not been asked to revise the King Emperor's declaration of 1921. "Whilst we wanted to be polite and courtecus in communicating with them, we have not asked them to revise the question of the goal."

He reiterated that the policy of the present Government was identical with the policy of the last two Governments, namely, that, in the fullness of time, India should progress through all the various stages, "at what rate we cannot tell," to Dominion Status.

Lord SALISBURY pointed out that there had been no absolute pledge of Dominion Status. There was a conditional purpose depending on whether conditions were fulfilled.

Lord READING said that he had obtained a clear and unequivocal answer to the two questions which mattered most. "We have cleared the atmosphere of this House and I hope we shall have cleared it in India." He hoped that there would be no adverse comment on the Government's action to the effect that they had been misled by public opinion in India. He accepted what had been said and Lord Passfield's pleas of guilty to want of courtesy or proper attention to the Commission. He was glad that an "amende honourable" had been made and the whole matter explained.

Lord Reading withdrew his motion.

House of Commons Debats—7th. November 1929.

In the House of Commons Mr. BALDWIN (Conservative leader) opened the debate on British policy in India with a statement regarding his attitude towards the issue of the declaration concerning Dominion Status for India. He said on Friday September 20th, the Secretary for India arrived at Pau charged with a letter from the Premier. The Premier asked him to concur in the issue of a statement concerning Dominion Status in the event of the Simon Commission being consulted and agreeing and the consent of all parties being obtained. He replied that, so far as he was concerned, he would concur, but he could not speak for his colleagues or his party. On October 23rd he met his colleagues, and learned for the first time that the Simon Commission had not approved of the publication of Lord Irwin's note. Clearly a new situation had arisen, and therefore he called together the ex-Secretary for India, Lord

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Salisbury, and it was at once decided that he should write to the Premier, pointing out that in all circumstances he could not agree to the publication of the note. It was not a true statement that the shadow Cabinet of the Conservative party insisted that he should formally repudiate his personal pledges and required him to write a letter to the Premier withdrawing his approval and support of Indian Home rule. What actually happened was, as soon as he knew the Simon Commission had refused to take any responsibility for the publication of Lord Irwin's letter, he met his colleagues and told them the whole circumstances of his correspondence with the Premier and then wrote, with their approval and not under coerion, his letter to the Premier.

After pointing out that there was no crisis and requesting for information regarding the composition of and terms of reference of the proposed conference, Mr. Baldwin said that, far away in time, in the dawn of history, the greatest race of the many races then emerging through prehistoric mists, was the great Aryan race and when that race left the country which it occupied in the western part of Central Asia, one great part moved west, founded Athens, Sparta and Rome and made Europe and in the veins of the principal nations of Europe flowed the blood of their Aryan forefathers. The speech of the Aryans, which they brought with them, had spread throughout Europe, over to America and the Dominions overseas. At the same time, one branch went south, passed through the Himalayas and went to the Punjab and India. Ages and ages ago, there sat side by side the ancestors of the English people and of the Rajputs and the Brahmins. Now after ages, the children of that ancestry had been brought together by Providence to set themselves to solve the most difficult problem ever set to any people in the history of the world. The mystery and the romance of coincidence of real life have far transcended that of fiction and this often had struck him as one of the strangest and most romantic coincidences that entered into our public life.

Those who went west and north found their political energies called forth while the tropical climate called forth the passive meditative qualities of that branch of that great Aryan race which moved down into India. The difference between them he illustrated by two proverbs. One was a Hindu proverb, "Life is but a journey from one village to another and not a resting place." The other proverb he used to see in business, "Leave other people to do their business". Mr. Gandhi would find it as difficult to understand the last quotation as Lord Rothermere to understand the first. Our nation was a young nation by the side of India, customs and codes existed which had lasted three thousand years or more and the natural result was that we found there a Conservatism of which we could not dream. From our struggles, we were a politically-minded people. In India, they were not. This great political experiment embodied in the Declaration of 1917, our people had to consider at the time when we were entering for the first time into the complete democracy of manhood suffrage. That did not make our task easier. None could say yet whether we were going to make a success of that democracy. Time alone would show whether the natural capacity of our race would rise to the occasion.

Mr. Baldwin, reminding the House that before our advent the Indian Peninsula was a prey of wars, said that we had given India internal peace, justice and the rule of law. He prayed that those three things might accompany India and ourselves throughout every stage of that long and arduous journey which lay before us now. At best, it was a difficult journey. How difficult it was, those who know most of India knew well. That journey would have to be taken through the tangled jungles of creeds and castes, of ancient interests and immemorial hatreds. The traveller on that road, like ourselves, must train for the journey and no greater disservice could be done to India to-day than irresponsible criticisms on the one hand or ignorant advice on the other. The responsibility laid upon us since 1917 was with us. Nothing was more necessary than that those who desired to play a part in the co-operation of India and this country, should spare no pains to make themselves acquainted with her history. Advice tendered with sympathy was good but sympathy with little knowledge was of no use.

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"We have promised India in our declaration responsible government. Did we mean it or did we not? We would say at once that all the parties in this country were agreed that that pledge should be honoured. It would fall as the most responsible task of the Simon Commission to point out what steps at this moment it was desirable to take. The Simon Commission had made great sacrifices. Their right arm would be weakened and their moral force would be sapped if they could not feel that, all through, they had the united support of the people of this country. He hoped that nothing would be said to-day to weaken in any sense their faith in the sympathy, goodwill, understanding and concurrence of the whole House and of their fellow-countrymen. The will of Parliament was behind them. No man could say of what shape the steps of that journey might be. It might be that there might be modifications of the democratic system as it has evolved in the West. We could not tell. Our desire was that these things should be threshed out by democratic men, representing both parties, as time went on.

"For a short time, after the 1917 Declaration, there was a feeling in the Indian Civil Service that perhaps its day had gone by. Never were better men required than in the future and for this reason, the task was infinitely more difficult. They wanted more than the first class man as his task was not only administrative but to lead the people along a path new to them and difficult to anybody."

Mr. Baldwin expressed anxiety about the employment of the term, Dominion Status, at this time and said, "When Self-Government or Responsible Government in India is obtained, what is to be the position of India in the Empire? None can say when Responsible Government will be established or what shape it will take. These things will be determined by forces we could not control, British, Indian and world forces. Could there be any doubt in any quarter of the House that the position of India with full Responsible Government in the Empire, whatever form it may take, must be one of equality with other States in the Empire?"

"Nobody knew what Dominion Status would be when India had Responsible Government, whether the date would be near or distant. No one dreamt of a self-governing India without a self-governing status. No Indian dreamt of an India with an inferior status because that would mean we had failed in our work in India. No Tory Party, with which he was connected, would fail in sympathy and endeavour to help in our time to the uttermost extent of our ability in the solution of the great political problem which lay before us to-day.

"I hope that whatever expression of opinion may come in th e debate, not a word will be said which, at a critical time like the present, may weaken the authority of the Simon Commission or the Government of India.

"In the great problem, to the solution of which we have put our hands, we have a great ideal set before us. We could not hope to see it realised. Our work must be done in faith. Let us build for the future with the same faith that we work for the present so that when, perhaps, in the long generations to come there were men who would be putting the coping stone upon this building, they might not be unforgetful of those who had toiled with faith among the foundations."

Mr. Lloyd GEORGE pointed out that the Simon Commission, which was in every sense a national commission, had done everything possible to get a full knowledge of facts. Without awaiting its report the Declaration had been issued at such time and manner and with such obscurity that some phases of that had created an impression in India that it was intended immediately to confer full Dominion Status. For the first time, action had been taken which had divided the nation with reference to India.

No declaration should have been issued until the Simon Commission had reported. As a statutory body, established by Parliament, it had a greter authority th: n the Secretary of State, the whole Government and the Viceroy upon that particular subject. The Commission were the only people authorised by law to express opinions. He did not mean that individuals could not express an opinion but the Commission's was the only official opinion that could be expressed unless Parliament reversed the Act.

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Would Mr. Benn categorically state that the interpretation of the Indian leaders placed upon the Viceroy's declaration was not accurate and that they had misunderstood the Viceroy's intentions? Otherwise, the very unwise pronouncement would lead to a complete catastrophe in India. At the Conference, there would be charges of breach of faith and of perfidy. That was the worst thing that could happen in relations between Britain and India. He asked Mr. Benn to make it clear that we adhered to every pledge given in the name of the King-Emperor. Mr. Lloyd George said that he was a member of the Government that introduced the Reforms in India, and presided over the Cabinet that not only sanctioned, but framed the declarations in reference to the future self-Government of India. There was no question, so far as the Liberals were concerned, of going back one single inch from those declarations. Those declarations were considered carefully not only by the British Cabinet. They were considered during the War at the Imperial Cabinet where there were representatives of every Dominion in the British Empire including India. He explained the nature of the pledge which was given to India, and why full partnership was not conceded immediately. It was owing purely to practical difficulties. The first difficuity was that, never in the whole history of India, had India or any part of it ever enjoyed the slightest measure of democratic self-Government until 1919. Secondly 95 per cent of the population was illiterate and thirdly there were as many different races, nationalities and languages as there were in the whole of Europe. All these facts had to be taken into account. The Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, with the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions present, decided that there should be accorded to the people of India a considerable measure of self-Government limited, restricted, experimental and tentative, but they promised and this was where the pledge came in—gradually, if the experiment was successful, to extend it until ultimately India enjoyed full partnership in the Empire on equal terms with our great Dominions." But they made it clear that the ultimate goal could only be reached by stages and that the length and number of those stages must be determined carefully from time to time by the success which attended experiments at each stage.

Mr. Lloyd George regretted that, while the report of the Simon Commission was being awaited, a declaration was issued with the consent of the Government which created an impression in India that it was intended, without delay, to confer full Dominion Status on India.

Mr. Wedgwood BENN, the Secretary of State for India, said : "I an sorry in one way I made the interjection I did just now because I may have contributed something to producing an atmosphere which I am sure is wholly lamentable. I am standing here with immense conscientiousness of the responsibility that rests upon one slenderly equipped, and I have been thinking all the time the debate has been going on of what is going to be the effect of what is said upon Lord Irwin in India in the discharge of his duties. I should like to say that if we ever owed a debt to Lord Rothermere, we owe him the debt of provoking the noble utterance of the Leader of the Opposition this afternoon. I will say, moreover, merely this, in reply to what I consider a most lamentable and mischievous speech which came from the Right Hon'ble Member for Carnavon Boronghs, (Mr. Lloyd George) who in his time had rendered a great service to the Empire. It is only right that the people of India should know, I say it without any reproach or desire to give pain, that the Right Hon'ble Gentleman speaks for but a handful in this house.

"There are two things which I had hoped would have been kept entirely outside the realm of controversy to-day. The first is the position of the Viceroy in his task and the text of the statement which he has issued. As to the Viceroy himself, it is perhaps impertinence for me to say anything after what the Leader of the Opposition has said, but I have sat in this House much longer than the Viceroy and I have known him here and I will say this, that, although my acquaintance with Indian affairs is recent and scanty, yet I am in touch with Indian opinion from day to day and the Viceroy occupies in India by his character a position of respect and affection which is the real pillar of our Empire. As far

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as the text of the statement is concerned, I understand there is no challenge either by Mr. Lloyd George or the Leader of the Opposition. Challenge is as to interpretation as to meanings and opportunities and questions of that kind."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn added : " The second thing I hope may be kept right outside the range of any controversy to-day is the authority and prestige of the Statutory Commission. Everyone in this House knows what sacrifice of time and other great sacrifices have been made by the members of the Commission in pursuing their task and I should wish to be associated with any tribute paid by the Leader of the Opposition to the work of that Commission, which we hope to see concluded, to the manifest advantage of this House which has appointed them. These two things, I hope, are not coming into the discussion.

" There has been criticism from the Right Hon'ble Gentleman and criticism from Lord Reading in the House of Lords which I will deal with to the best of my ability, but the two points I have mentioned at any rate, I hope, are lifted outside the realm of controversy.

" As regards the Leader of the Opposition, he has been forced to give us a short personal statement relating to something which appeared in some newspapers. I should like to say that, as far as anything he has said touches me, every word he has said I can corroborate from my own experience."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn said that the Leader of the Opposition had never approved of the scheme which Government were pursuing, away and remote from his friends. He was asked to give a contingent assent, contingent upon the assent of the other Party and upon the participation of the Simon Commission. " What did he do? He backed his own Viceroy. The only and crowning blunder of the Right Honourable Gentlemen is loyalty. I am afraid he will never make a great leader, as he seems to have a congenital incapacity for playing a dirty game. Now, the conditions on which the Right Honourable Gentleman gave his assent were never fulfilled. The conditions were that the Liberal Party should assent also and that the Statutory Commission should participate. Very well, on that I myself interviewed the Right Honourable Gentleman and in my desire to show the greatest courtesy to the Rt. Hon'ble Member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George) I enquired of him whether he would like to see me. I am anxious that the Right Honourable Member for Carnarvon Boroughs should not think I was discourteous to him."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn said that Lord Reading had made it prefectly clear from the beginning that he objected to his declaration on the ground which he stated in " the other place " on Tuesday and which he placed most clearly before me in letters which he wrote to me and which he has read. From the beginning, Lord Reading has persisted in his opposition to the course which Government wished to take. He persisted on the ground set out and none can say that they are grounds without weight. In the second place, we learn that the Statutory Commission did not wish to be associated with the issue of any such declaration and finally the Right Honourable Gentleman himself, with his colleagues, the ex-Secretaries of State for India and others, dissented most strongly from the course which the Government proposed to take. Therefore we had first Lord Reading from September onwards, then the Commission not wishing to join in, and then the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite on behalf of the Opposition making the most strenuous objection. That was the situation which faced the Government in October. They wished to do this thing and they were faced with this powerful opposition.

" Before I say what they did and why they did it, let me examine for one moment what it was that they actually proposed. They were proposing not to take a new step in the policy but to take in effect an administrative action, namely to declare and interpret, in unmistakable terms, the existing policy. The Liberals were against us and the Conservatives were against us and the Commission were unwilling to participate. What did the Government do? They governed. The Government published on a pre-arranged date the pre-arranged text. That is what they did and that is the gravamen of the charge which is made against them to-day and against which it is my duty to defend the Government.

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Mr. Wedgwood Benn said, "Before I say why the Government acted as they did, I want to say one word about the declaration itself. The declaration was a re-statement and interpretation of the Montagu policy. Lord Irwin's statement must stand as it was drafted and no gloss must be put upon it. It means that it says no less, and no more. The Montagu declaration was embodied in the Preamble to an Act of Parliament and so long as that Act remains, the preamble remains. If and when Parliament sees fit to alter the Preamble it can exercise its sovereign rights and do so. Inasmuch as this standing policy of the last twelve years has not been challenged, I need not support it by quotations from well-known authorities, with which, of course, every student of these matters is familiar. The Montagu policy stands as the cardinal article of faith in British policy towards India:

"There we were and that was what we proposed to do and there was the Opposition facing us. We decided to do it. Why? The first reason was this. We were advised to do so by the Viceroy. But let me make this perfectly plain. I should like to exalt the Viceroy in this matter, because he came to England as an ambassador of peace and has gone back to India as a peace-maker."

Continuing Mr. Wedgwood Benn said: "We do not take shelter behind the Viceroy. He offered advice and we were free to reject it. We did not reject it, because it agreed with our convictions. Why did he offer this advice and suggest this declaration should be made? He said in first place that doubts had existed in India as to the sincerity of British parties in the matter of the Montagu policy. Does anybody doubt that of recent years there has grown up a feeling, and it has constantly been said that the British policy was altering, that the tone was altering, that sympathy was gone, that the days of Mr. Montagu were past. The Viceroy said these doubts existed and that for the removal of these doubts it was necessary to issue a declaration of the existing policy. We did so.

"The second reason he gave was this. He said the Statutory Commission is going to report and we want, if we can, to make a good atmosphere for the report. We want to have an atmosphere of goodwill and that will be better secured if we can clear up the doubts which exist in the minds of Indians, who have been assisting the British Government and co operating with us and helping the work of Montagu schemes and to remove the webs of mistrust which it was necessary to clear away."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn said, "That is the purpose and these were the reasons alleged by the Viceroy and given to the Cabinet as reasons why we should take this course and it was because those reasons appeared to us to be good and sound that Government took the course which they did."

"Now the question arises and it is a practical question. Did we succeed? I do not want to speak about the atmosphere which existed in India. It has been growing steadily worse and worse and I could give many quotations to show that. But let anyone read "The Times" of March 19,thi year.* They will find an article from the Delhi correspondent which gives a sad picture of the spirit that existed in India. I myself was faced, in my attempt to discharge my duties,

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* Presumably Mr. Benn's reference is to the following passage in the despatch of the Delhi correspondent of "The Times," being a review of the Simon Commission's tour:—

'The answer to the question whether the boycott is or is not a success depends on one's point of view. The men who determined upon supporting the boycott policy before even the Inquiry was launched have, as a party, stuck together in that determination. They have gathered in others only recently weaned from extremism to become "responsive co-operators," and they have continuously organized demonstrations against the Commissioners and their co-operating Indian Committees. But such consistency is not necessarily success. The main effect of their policy has been to keep out of contact with the Royal Commissioners a large body of the accepted political leaders of the Hindu intelligentsia. That is in itself deplorable. It means that the Statutory Inquiry will not be able to produce a report that will incorporate and fuse together the best of British experience of self-Government and the best that modern politically minded Indians could have contributed from their personal touch with Indian tradition and custom. Is that success?

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not merely with crime—that is simple crime and incitement to crime. They do not cause disquiet. They will be put down by this or any other Government, but what was alarming was that responsible opinion did not somehow seem to come forward to reprobate crime—and that is a very unhealthy sign.

"The Right Hon'ble Gentleman asked me a number of questions about what people were thinking in India and I would like to answer by giving him one or two quotations from authorities which I think the House will recognise as being good authorities. As to whether Government has succeeded in the attempt to introduce a better atmosphere preparatory to whatever reforms the Statutory Commission may recommend, first I take Reuter's telegram of the day following that whereon the announcement was made. It says, "the response favourable to the Viceroy's announcement is wider than might have been expected. The effect of the statement may be summed up as having, at a stroke, removed the tension from Indian politics and reintroduced the spirit of confidence and trust between the Government and the governed and delivered a blow at the Independence movement, which has hitherto been gaining daily adherents among Congressmen."

"The Timey of India," not a Swaraj organ, says "The Imperial Government made a generous gesture" and the London "Observer," which is not a Swaraj organ, (this is not the article by Mr. Garvin; it is from the Delhi correspondent), says, "Lord Irwin's pronouncement has transformed the Indian political scene. The reported indignation of British Liberals at this pronouncement is simply not understood by Europeans and Indians alike." Finally let me read this telegram addressed to me personally but which appeared in newspapers from the President of the European Association, Calcutta. "We, the Council of European Association, desire you to convey to His Majesty's Government our firm support of the Viceroy's recent declaration. We consider that such a declaration is not ill-timed and that it clarifies an issue already clear to all competent observers. We consider that the Indian Statutory Commission has not suffered in prestige, but, by its work, has alone made possible the contemplated Conference."

"We were told not to do it. We did it—with those results. That is the blunder. That is the grievous interference. That is the mischief. That is to be repaired. I will venture to say, now that it is done, and that the results are manifest, those results of good-will and better understanding are appreciated and welcomed in all quarters of the House.

"The hon. Gentlemen ask: Has there been a change? I have answered the question about the Preamble quite explicitly. The word policy can be used in a loose and general way. Using it in a wide sense, I should say there had been a charge, there has been a new spirit."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn said: "A good deal of jocularity has been indulged in at the expense of the message of the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Lansbury). I wonder if everybody has read that message. Lord Birkenhead, who is an expert in taste, has administered a joke at the terms of message. My friend the First Commissioner has an expansive manner. There is no doubt about that, but when he spoke about love, that is the key-note of British policy. There has been an effort made to make Indian people realise the position which they occupy in British Commonwealth and to give them an assurance of equality.

"I wonder if the Gentlemen opposite have read the letter of Sir Stanley Reed, which appeared in "The Times" yesterday. He is not an inexpert novice on India as I am. Sir Stanley Reed wrote in this letter, and nobody's experience of Indian affairs can be greater: "This passion for equality in the eyes of world is a dominating force in India and if it were to be for ever denied, India would be driven out of the Empire."

Moreover, the policy has engendered a spirit of bitterness and disorder throughout the country which is bound to trouble any Government that bears the responsibility for India'a peace in the future. On the other hand the struggles of the boycotters to produce, in their All-Parties Convention, an agreed Constitution for India revealed more vividly than any ordinary processes of co-operation the essential differences and issues of the political problem. That at any rate is a measure of usefulness if not of success.

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Mr. Wedwood Benn said: "The first change has been a change in spirit. We have got rid of the Birkenhead tone and also as the people of India do not always understand exactly what values are in this country, I will just remark in the hope that my words may be passed on, that Lord Birkenhead occupies no official position whatever in the Government of this country and I understand that he desires to be regarded as completely detached from British politics. I learn, though I know nothing about it, that he is engaged in some endeavour in the way of trade and commerce.

"The first change that is made is a change of spirit, but the second change is far more important. It is a change in the policy which, in reality, is the central object of interest in Indian opinion and that is the Conference.

"We have appointed our own Statutory Commission and we all await its report with eagerness. Naturally its report will carry a vast authority.

"We await also the report of the Indian Central Committee prepared by Sir Sankaran Nair and his colleagues who came forward at a time of enormous difficulty to assist the Commission. They came forward and undertook a task of great unpopularity among some of their friends and I should like to bear testimony, if I might, to the work that they did and when I informed them at the desire of the Chairman of the Commission that this Conference was to take place they went further and said, "We are willing to do our best when our report is finished to make the further effort of co-operation, as represented by the Conference, a success." I am grateful to them for that—very grateful.

"The real interest in India is in this Conference. The Right Honourable Gentleman opposite asked questions about the Conference and I should like to use careful words, because it is extremely important. Representative Indians will now have the opportunity of coming forward and expounding their views and pressing their solutions supported by all the arguments and all the conviction which they can bring to bear. They will have direct access and their views will be heard and considered, not at some remote stage when the opinion of the Cabinet is already declared, but at a stage when everything they say will be heard with an open mind.

"The Conference is clearly described in the declaration, which is as follows, if the house will forgive me reading it, because I am aware that I must act with the utmost care in so important a matter: When the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports and these have been published and when His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider those matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together, as circumstances may demand for the purpose of the Conference and discussion, in regard both to the British Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn added, "Let me repeat what I have said earlier about the declaration, as it is commonly called, in reference to the conference. The words mean what they say. They mean no more. They mean no less. The eonference is to be fully representative of different parties and interests in British India and of the Indian States. Just one final word. I have said that the situation has improved—and so it has."

Mr. Lloyd George intervened: "I only asked one question although the Right Honourable Gentleman said I had asked several. I asked whether he accepts the interpretation placed by Nationalist leaders in India upon the meaning of this manifesto."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: "I have answered that question specifically by stating that the declaration of the Viceroy stands as it stands and I must say this. I must ask the Right Hon'ble Gentleman not to cross-question me with a view to making difficulties."

Mr. Lloyed George: "The Right Hon'ble Gentleman has no right to say that I was responsible as the head of Government for these reforms and for this

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pledge and I have as deep a sense of responsibility as he has and I think I am as patriotic as he is, I am asking this question in order to avoid difficulties and as the Right Hon'ble Gentleman knows in private for the last several weeks before it ever came to this House, I have been urging these matters when I thought they would never be a subject of public discussion and in order to avoid difficulties, which will undoubtedly arise if this interpretation is accepted in India without a single word of repudiation. I am asking the Right Hon'ble Genlteman now whether he accepts this very grave interpretation in a formal considered document by the Indian leaders in regard to this Conference."

Mr. Wedgwood Benn replied, "I should not have said that the Right Hon'ble Gentleman was cross-examining me in order to make difficulties and I apologise to him. I should have said that the question he was asking might make difficulties and the answer to him is this, there is the statement: it is explicit and clear. Nothing has to be added and nothing has to be taken from it. I have nothing to add."

Mr. Lloyd George again intervened and said if it were clear, it would be clear to these extraordinarily able men, who are the Indian leaders. They are all very able. They are asking and they say at the end they have practically asked whether they are right in their interpretation. They are practically asking it and it is perfectly evident that it is not clear to them because there is one interpretation that has been put here and there is another interpretation that has been placed upon it in India. This is far more important, if I may say so.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn proceeded, "I have nothing to add, not one single word to the answer I have given. The Viceroy's statement was very carefully drafted. It has been approved and it is published. I have made it perfectly clear to-day that both in respect of the declaration and of the Conference it stands, as it stands and no questions of the Right Hon'ble Gentleman will lead me to add one word or take one word away and I must beg him to regard that as my final answer."

Sir W. Bavinson asked whether Mr. Benn agreed with what Lord Passfield had said.

Mr. Benn continued: "I will say no more. I had some other remarks of a general kind to make but I do not think I can make then because I do not know that I can succeed, after the cross-questioning that has gone on, in doing what is my main purpose to do and that is to justify and explain what Government thought it their duty to do and to do it in such a way as would not cause any misunderstanding or produce an atmosphere which would place difficulties in the way. I will simply say this—that the problems that face us are very grave. The Right Hon'ble Gentleman has spoken of the gravity of the task that lies ahead. There are obstacles in the path. There are two ways of regarding the obstacles. You can regard them as an excuse for abandoning a pre-determined purpose or you can regard them as merely exciting a desire to overcome them. He would be a poor friend to the cause of Indian Self-Gevernment who would deny the existence of real obstacles, both in substance and in time. But I say that it is the conviction, not only on this side, but I believe in all parts of the House, that these obstacles, real as they are, can be overcome if they are approached in a spirit of sincerity and of good-will."

Sir John SIMON said that when the Indian Statutory Commission was appointed its members made for themselves a rule, which they have most strictly and faithfully observed, that none of them would take part of any sort or kind in any public discussion that might arise about Indian affairs until our report was made and our task done. My colleagues and I have very anxiously considered whether even in the present circumstances it would not still be better that no one should say any word with the authority of the Statutory Commission. I think it was Francis Bacon, who observed that an over-speaking judge is no well-tuned symbol and we have been endeavouring to discharge and intend to go on discharging the duties laid upon us by Parliament which are really of a semi-judicial character. The House may be quite sure that the few words I am going to say certainly will not provoke heat, but are solely designed, in great sincerity

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and soberness, to serve the underlying purpose which all of us in this House must put in front of our minds.

If there were any part of this House, any bench reserved for the Commission, any dock in which they might be put, I would be there at this moment, with all my colleagues, for in this, as in other matters, we are a completely united body. We have come to the conclusion that the Chairman should ask to be allowed to intervene for two or three minutes not for the purpose of joining in any criticism or cross-examination or comment or any explanation but simply to make sure, I hope very much to make sure in India, that the reserve which the Commission imposes on itself is in no way misunderstood. Anybody who has any close experience of Indian affairs or real appreciation of the enormous responsibility which rests on the shoulders of the Viceroy, anybody who can best estimate with knowledge the immense force of mistrust and opportunities of misunderstanding which it is the duty of all of us to try to repel in India, anybody who can do that will count any personal question, any little discussion as to whether (A) had acted quite consistently or whether (B) had managed a most difficult situation quite cleverly—all that, as dust in the balance compared with the importance of Parliament acting together and in the right spirit at this time.

The Secretary of State—it is due to him that I should say so—was perfectly accurate when he said last week that, in the matter of the words, which unfortunately, raised this controversy, the advice of the Statutory Commission was not sought by the Government. I am not going further into that except to point out, and I hope India will observe this, that the Commission is absolutely determined to do nothing which could be construed or misconstrued as the presentation of an interim report. The Leader of the Opposition has explained what happened. It is only for me to say that when, for the first time, the Commission was informed that the Government contemplated a statement on this subject, the Commission came to the conclusion that we desired reserving our wholly independent and judicial position not to be associated with any such statement. I so informed the Secretary of State on September 24th and from that moment any responsibility of the Commission in the matter ceased. I think it is really quite obvious that the determination of the Commission to make no statement and to be associated with no statement which could possibly be considered as dealing with matters within their terms of reference, their decision not to do that prematurely, or in advance of discharging their duty to Parliament, was the only right decision for the Commission. We shall, I hope, early next year, report to the authorities by which we were constituted. What is that authority? It is exactly two years ago since the announcement was made in this House and the other House and India that this Commission, with the concurrence of all parties had been constituted. It is a Statutory Commission. It owes its authority to the unanimous vote of both the Houses of Parliament and to a Commission from the Sovereign. I may make it quite plain that our function, as a Commission, cannot be either enlarged or diminished by any declaration or statement by anybody whatever."

Mr. Holford Knight: "Is he suggesting that the Commission is above the authority of Parliament?"

Sir J. Simon: "I should have thought that by this time everybody would know it is impossible to provoke me on the subject of the Commission. I was making the quite elementary observation that the Statutory Commission, acting of course under the terms of an Act of Parliament, has a particular function, which nobody seeks, and no authority has ever sought, either to enlarge or to diminish."

"Let me point out this further, so that there shall be no misunderstanding. When the Commission wrote our letter making the announcement—which, I am very glad to feel, has met with universal approval both in Britain and in India—that we contemplated, in our report, dealing with the extremely difficult question of relations between Indian States and British India and we went on to suggest that Government might think it well to appoint a Conference including representatives from these States and British India, we were not inviting anybody to extened our terms of reference and nobody knows better than the Prime Minister

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that nobody in the House could extend our terms of reference. We were giving an intimation, as our duty was, to the head of the Government, that we thought this course was the course which it would be proper to take and we were ineded glad to note that his administration and both political parties in the Opposition —and, as we now learn, very large bodies of opinion in India—most warmly supported the suggestion. If I might clear this point away once and for all, I would venture to read to the House one single sentence from the letter which I wrote on behalf of the Commission when we first reached India eighteen months ago and when our position was not as well understood as it is now.

"This was the sentence, and it was, I believe, read to both the Houses of Parliament when we were in India and was the subject of a great deal of comment and interest in India, and it states the true constitutional position :

"The Commission is, in no sense, an instrument, either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but it enters on a duty laid upon it by the King-Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body." Every competent body understands that and it makes it abundantly plain to the House that it was the only proper course for the Commission to take to write, as they did on September 24, to the Secretary of State to say that whatever the Government might contemplate doing it would be far better that the Commission should not be associated with it. From that time to this, excepting that, in common with all other men, we have deplored the prospect that there should be a parliamentary discussion on the subject, we have endeavoured, not without some difficulty, to go on steadily with the business which is put in our charge.

"Here I desire to make my only other observation. I hope I may be allowed to say, without giving offience in any quarter of the House, which is not at all my object, that, whether the opinion of this man or that of the Statutory Commission ought to have been consulted, we do not feel that our position is such as to require either heated championship or abject apology. We are all members of Parliament, known to all of you, called upon to discharge a very important task and endeavouring to discharge it in all sincerity. I would most earnestly ask Parliament to leave us to continue our work undisturbed, without a Parliamentary controversy. For, after all, we have a very heavy piece of work to do and we at least have found that two years of very intense labour is not at all too long for the purpose of assembling and studying the material and of preparing for Parliament such assistance as we can render."

"After all, the Commission was formed upon the basis of complete Parliamentary agreement. We have worked for two years sustained by that support. I am most grateful for what has been said from all three quarters of the House to-day which reassures us that we have that support at this moment. It is owing to that support and to the unfailing loyalty of all my colleagues, that it has been possible to hope that it will turn out useful results. It is not for me to offer assurances or issue pronouncements or make declarations, but I may say we have proceeded from beginning to end, as India knows well, with undivided and sincere desire to serve not only India, not only Britain, but both together. We know nothing within our body of party attachments. We recall with satisfaction that at a very difficult : moment, when we first reached Delhi, it was a telegram from the present Prime Minister, then Leader of the Labour Opposition, which did more than anything else to show India that the Statutory Commission was the authorised agent of Parliament as a whole. So far from thinking that the incidents of the last few days have rendered its work less important, the Commission is confident that one outcome of these events is to make everybody realise that the future constitutional progress of India is one of the most complicated, as well as the most important questions in the whole world. I go further and say that I think everybody will realise that honest and sympathetic presentation of facts and considerations by a body which does not claim to be a body of super-men but a fair specimen of representatives of all political parties, is a contribution which it is worth while for us to endeavour to make and which British Parliament desires us to continue to discharge. It is useless to pretend that the incidents leading to this debate have not, for the time being, added to our own difficulties, through no fault of our own. But in

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fact these things do not make the slightest difference in the determination of the Commission and of every member of the Commission to finish our task and nothing that has happened will affect or deflect the completion of our duty or the character of our report in the slightest degree.'

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald expressed his sincerest thanks to Sir John Simon. No member of the House knew more intimately all ideas, tendencies and delicacies that had to be faced during the last few weeks regarding the Indian situation.

The Prime Minister sai l the declaration of the Viceroy was required because after 1919 propaganda had been started askin g Indian people to believe that the British Government had departed from its poli cy.

Mr. MACDONALD justified the publication of the Declaration and said that the Government had come to the decision that it would not be inexpedient to publish it, that it would not harm the Simon Commission and that it would be beneficial from the point of view of Indian public opinion. They stood by that decision. He hoped the House would allow the authorities in India to handle the situation created and in no way hamper them in the difficult task they were now facing.

The motion was then withdrawn.

Mr. Brockway's Motion on Dominions Status.

In the House of Commons on the *18TH DECEMEER 1929* Mr. Fenner Brockway moved that " the House welcomes the evidence of co-operation of Indian representatives in the settlement of the constitutional question and relies on the Government of India to encourage the goodwill by the sympathetic conduct of its administrative and executive functions, particularly in relation to the expression of political opinion."

Mr. Fenner-Brockway, proposing his motion, expressed the opinion that the situation in India was serious, but, as the result of the recent policy, there was evidence that representative Indian opinion was seeking to co-operate. Mr. Brockway was of opinion that the three essentials of whole-hearted co-operation were :—

(1) Indian representation at the Round Table Conference should be really reflective of Indian opinion.

(2) The Bill to be discussed at the Conference should embody the principle of Dominion status, though Mr. Brockway did not suggest that the transition to it would be possible in a few months or a year, but it should be a progressive and automatic advance rendering further commissions of inquiry unnecessary and

(3) The political persecution carried on during the last two years should be definitely ended.

Mr. Brockway urged the limitation of the prosecution to cases of violence or incitement to violence and a review of the cases of those now imprisoned.

Mr. Harrabin, seconding, advocated some unmistakable gesture symbolising the new spirit to which the Viceroy was pledged.

Mr. Howard Bury pointed out that the promise made in 1917 and amplified in 1919 must be carried out. He emphasised the value of a feeling of conciliation in India but said a general amnesty would be very dangerous.

Major Graham Pole, in a maiden speech, declared that there had been a complete change of feeling in India following the Viceroy's statement. Mr. Benn and the Viceroy had done a tremendous thing for India and for peace.

Mr. Thurtle declared that if Mr. Benn released every political prisoner possible, there would be such response from India that the National Congress would send representatives to the Conference.

Sir Samuel HOARE said when he heard that there was going to be a debate on India he was afraid that they would have a second debate of the type that took place in the House some weeks ago. It left an unpleasant impression upon him that, for the first time for several years, the unity of the party front towards Indian questions had been momentarily broken up. He hoped and believed that the debate of this evening was

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going to show to India that the unity of party front towards Indian questions was reconstituted and he hoped also that it was going to send to India a unanimous message of goodwill at a very critical moment in the history of both Great Britain and India itself.

So far as the resolution was concerned, he could say for himself, and he believed for the members of his party, that they were perfectly prepared to support it. It was a resolution in two parts. The first part stated the satisfaction of the House at the increasing sense of goodwill and co-operation in India. There could be no difference of opinion upon a proposal such as that. The second part of the resolution was quite harmless and he should have thought it was unnecessary. It was something in the nature of a reminder to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to carry out their duties in a very responsible task. He should have preferred to leave it to the Viceroy without any reminder of this House to deal in his own way with the question of political prosecutions. He should have preferred that in this debate nothing should have been said on the question of these prosecutions, particularly of a trial that was actually "sub judice." He was prepared to leave questions of that kind to the discretion of the Viceroy. After all the Viceroy was not a hard-faced and narrow-minded man. He was a man in whose judgment, sympathy and wisdom they had all the greatest confidence. It was much better to leave the matter in his hands. He would ask the Secretary of State if he could make it quite clear in his speech that he had no intention of bringing pressure from Whitehall upon the Viceroy in dealing with questions of political amnesty or the prosecution that is now actually "sub judice."

Dealing with the first part of the resolution, had he been drafting it, he would have made it even wider and he would have included not only Indian representatives and Indian organisations but also European Associations who represented the British subjects living and working in India.

It seemed to him that there was no feature of the present Indian situation so significant as the remarkable unanimity that had been shown as to the proposal made by the Viceroy for a Conference after the issue of the Simon Report. There had been unanimity not only of representative Indian individuals and Indian organisations, but also unanimity of Indian Princes and of European Associations one and all. They had welcomed the proposal of a Conference. He ventured to suggest from the point of view of the House that they should also give the Conference an unanimous welcome. There were many questions that they would have to discuss in the next year or so in which the Conference could give them very valuable help on questions such as those dealing with the treatment of minorities, the relation of provinces to the Central Government and relations of Indian States to British India. The opinion of the Conference would also be of the utmost value in considering the future legislation in regard to India.

He hoped that the Secretary of State would take the House into his confidence with reference to that Conference.

He hoped that as soon as a decision had been arrived at, he would let the House know all the relevant details about it and let them know it in time so that the House could express its opinion upon the detail that it wanted to know—what the terms of reference would be, what the representation would be upon and what would be its general procedure. If the Secretary of State could give them that undertaking, he saw no reason why the message from the House should not be a unanimous message. There were no questions, he concluded, connected with the Empire that interested Conservatives more than questions concerning India. Conservatives wished to play their part to-night in sending a message of goodwill to India and in hoping in the years to come for Indian co-operation to work out the frame-work for the future Government of India and to bring about a state of affairs that would not only mean prosperity for great Britain and for India, but would also strengthen the force of peace throughout the whole word.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. WEDGWOOD BENN, said "We are all entitled to congratulate ourselves upon the trend of the debate to-night and I should like to thank the Hon. Member for Leyton East (Mr. Brokway) for the terms in which he has moved his motion. I know how strongly he feels about some of these things and I realise that in the interests of unity as between ourselves and India and in the interests of the plans we have in hand at the moment he was stating his case with great restraint to which I can bear witness. I will not dwell upon the brilliant speech of the Hon. and Gallant Member for South Derbyshire (Major Graham Pole). He is on his own ground in this debate but I should like to thank the Rt. Hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Samuel Hoare) for enabling us to say that the House of Commons is engaged to-night in the not unworthy task of showing by a unanimous motion a gesture of response to that very remarkable unity which has been exhibited in India in welcoming the Viceroy's proclamation—a welcome which was associated with a list of names so long and so diverse that I imagine it will almost be unparalleled in the recent history.

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"There is a vast amount of goodwill in the country towards India, but I do not suppose the people in India attach more than the due weight to some of the newspaper articles which have been written about Indian affairs. I hope not. I do not think they are worthy of notice except that it may be necessary to direct the attention of the people overseas to the fact that they count for nothing in this country.

"This spirit of goodwill can be marked again in that remarkable manifestation at the recent meeting of the European Association and when the Baltic Exchange for the first time elected two Indian members on terms of absolute equality with British members to the Exchange. To this spirit of goodwill which is the one thing we should aim at the unanimous passing of this motion by the Imperial Parliament will make no mean contribution.

"The Hon'ble Member for East Leyton and the Hon. Member who seconded the motion, made a reference to cases of political prosecution in India and to cases in general. So far as cases which are before the Courts are concerned, I will consider, and particularly the case on which he laid stress, the case of Mr. Chatterjee who was proceeded against in connection with a book called "India in Bondage." The character of the book is the subject of an enquiry by the High Court and therefore he will forgive me if I make no comment upon it or upon the Meerut proceedings. As regards the other cases he mentioned a recommendation of the Bengal Gaol Committee and two other cases. I would say, as I am bound in any case to do, that I will go most carefully into the matter if he will give me the precise details of what he has in mind. I would like in passing to make this reply to my hon. friend who seconded the motion. There is no object of policy dearer to the heart of the Government of India than the promotion of a real Trade Union movement in India. It is a very difficult task. There is very little to work on. There are organisations which are more an "ad hoc" strike committee than a real Union, but the work of the Whitley Commission which we owe to the right Hon. Gentlemen opposite will largely and mainly be directed to forming the basis on which a real Trade Union movement can be built up in India.

"It is no good attributing, as some people do, the riots and disorders in Bombay entirely to the wickedness of the Communists. Those who know sufficient, those who know the conditions under which labour lives and works in India, know that one has to go a good deal deeper even than the unwholesome activity of Communists to find the real causes and the real cure."

"As regards the prosecutions in general, I would remind my hon. friend who moved the motion that, in response to the complaints which have been made about the treatment not only of prisoners but of the under-trials, the Government of India have convened a Conference between Provincial Governments and the Government of India and that Conference is at present considering the matter in co-operation with unofficial opinion both of the Assembly and the Provincial Councils, so that the matter which has been made the subject of much complaint at times will, we hope, find a satisfactory solution.

"I am in great hopes that, with the new spirit abroad in India, we are closing what must be to us a very painful chapter. I am hoping that it is coming to an end. My Hon. Friend and I are in agreement with Indian opinion on two things at least :—

"First of all we are all working to one definite, ascertained and advertised goal. That is to say the difficult task of Government is not merely a harsh and barren negative. We have the comfort of active and responsive policy.

"The second point is this. Neither he nor I nor thoughtful Indian opinion desires this Government or any Government to weaken in the maintenance of peace, especially at a time like the present, when constitutional changes of the greatest magnitude are being considered, it is essential that public order should be maintained. I believe that that statement will find a welcome and widespread agreement among Indians as well as ourselves. I wish that the task were not always on White shoulders and I am glad to think that, at this moment, in one province at least though only for a time—the Central Provinces—we have an Indian Governor who is charged with this difficult but necessary duty. But I recognise, and I know that my Hon. Friend recognises, that the real basis of order is not the police. The real basis of order is public goodwill. It is not the uniformed constable who keeps order but every citizen in mufti who keeps order and the Government is maintained on the basis of the co-operation and goodwill of the people. I believe that we are moving towards that state of affairs in India also.

"In answer to the question put by my Hon. Friend I may say I am informed by the Viceroy that he sees no circumstances which necessitate the re-enactment of the Public Safety Ordinance.

"As regards the freedom of expression of opinion, my friend is very jealous of the principle and so am I. It is not only desirable that we should have the freest expression of

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opinion in India but at the present time it is a most helpful thing. We need it for our assistance in the task which we have before us. But we will look at these political campaigns as they would appear to realists; and to realists I would say this to-day—the winning card is argument, and the losing card is non-co-operation. The winning card is argument particularly at this moment, because by a startling change in procedure to which I will make reference later the Government have called a Conference and have invited the Indian people to use arguments as a means of achieving the purposes which they have in view.

"The goal of British policy in India has been declared to be the achievement of Dominion Status and it may well be said—and a passage from Mr. Gandhi has been quoted—that words are not enough. It may be asked: 'Can you show us any deeds to prove the sincerity of the new spirit of which you speak?' With the leave of the House I desire to answer some questions which have been put in the course of the debate and for the purpose I must trace briefly in outline the history of some Indian events in the course of last ten years.

"In 1919 plenipotentiaries on behalf of India signed the Treaty of Versailles and India became as a separate entity an original member of the League of Nations. That was a very significant stage in her history.

"In 1919 also a Joint Parliamentary Committee met to examine the Montagu-Chelmsford Bill and the report of that Committee, which is not long, is well worth study. There are two passages to which I would draw attention. They say:—"Only in exceptional circumstances should the Secretary of State intervene in matters of purely Indian interest when Government and legislature in India are in agreement." That is the general question and to that principle I have attempted to conform in all administrative decisions which I have had to make. They went further that that, particularly in reference to tariffs. In regard to this matter they said:—"India should enjoy the same liberty to consider her interests in tariff matters as Australia, New Zealand, Canada or South Africa" mentioning the Dominions existing at that time. As an opponent of tariff, I would not stir one inch from the definition of that principle because the principle of self-Government is far greater than what I would call a matter of fiscal common-sense nor would any Secretary of State attempt to lay a finger upon this principle of tariff autonomy which has been established in practice for ten years. In Indian affairs there is Dominion Status in action. There is a Dominion attribute which has now become part and parcel of the rights of India.

"Take again the question of stores, on which I have been questioned several times. In 1921 it was moved in the Legislative Assembly that in the purchase of stores the Government of India should buy in the market that seemed to them best, without regard to pressure from India Office. That resolution was accepted by the Government of India and was accepted by the Secretary of State and is a principle to-day. It is because of that resolution that I have replied to those questions which have been put to me to the effect that in this matter India must judge in India's interest and much as we would welcome work for our people, much as we believe, as one speaker had put it, that, by having the goodwill of the Indian peoples, we shall find a readier market than by keeping them down by force—much as this is true it is not for India Office to exercise pressure in British interest upon India or to hamper or curtail India's freedom in making decisions in what she considers to be her own interest.

"In a word the meaning of these things is this. They are not only Dominion status in action, as my Hon. and Gallant Friend said, but they show that the idea of exploitation of India in British interest has gone. It is past and done with. We have had some speeches quoted to-night by members of this House which, I think, were made a long time ago. I do not think you will find anybody in responsible position to-day who will deny that in these domestic and economic respect to which I have referred India is already coming into possession at a growing rate of the attributes of Dominion status.

"I do not know whether I ought to refer, as the debate has been conducted upon what I am tempted to call a high level, to Lord Rothermere and the articles which have appeared in some of his newspapers, but I would like to say this—that if those articles were ever reprinted in book form (their merits hardly justify it)—the book should be called "How to lose India."

"There was one special article referred to by my Hon. and Gallant Friend to which I should like to make a reference. The Government of India came into the market yesterday for six million sterling worth of twelve months bills. Lord Rothermere publishes an article in his newspaper "The Daily Mail" headed "Don't lend the money." Who is asking for it? A part of British Empire, and he publishes an article headed "Don't

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lend the money." That is the new patriotism, that is the new Imperialism! I must mention a sequel. Lord Rothermere has achieved considerable success in what I may call the humbler spheres of domestic literature. His advice to servant maids in love might be useful and might be amusing. His hints on how to take stains out of table cloths might be invaluable, but as for his financial advice, well—'Don't lend the mony' says Lord Rothermere. What was the answer? Six millions were asked for, eight and a half millions were offered,

Sir John FERGUSON asked how was the money to be spent. Perhaps he had in mind the fact that large contracts for rails and other railway materials had gone to Germany to the loss of about £3,00,000 in British wages.

Mr. Benn: I think the Hon. Member could not have been in the house just now because I was explaining that India already has the Dominion Attribute of Freedom."

Sir J. Ferguson: "That information was in reply to a question which I put to the Right Hon. Member a few days ago."

Mr. Benn: "Now let us pass for a moment from these domestic and economic questions to try and answer the question put by my Hon. and Gallant Friend as to whether we can show Dominion Status in action. India, as every one knows, has in London, as have the other Dominions, an Indian acting as High Commissioner. India has Indians in every part of the world. Recently the Government of India sent out to South Africa to negotiate in regard to Indians in South Africa one of the most distinguished members of their Government, Sir Mahomed Habibullah.

"India has played a large part in International Labour matters and the record of Labour legislation in India in the last ten years is a remarkable one. Sir Atul Chatterjee, a distinguished Indian, is the present High Commissioner in London. India has a seat on the Governing Body of International Labour Office and her own delegation is free to, and frequently does, take a view, different from that of the British delegation if their interests happen to clash.

"At the last gathering of the League of Nations the late Government caused the Indian delegation to be headed by an Indian for the first time. I would add that the more Indians it is possible to have upon the Delegation to the League of Nations the greater the weight will India pull at Geenva and the higher will be her national status in action. There was last week an International Navigation Commission. Indian representatives attended and received a separate vote exactly as the representatives of South Africa, Canada and the other States received it. There has recently been held in London a most important dealing with Dominion legislation. India was represented by a special delegation of its own and sat side by side with Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Irish Free State and the rest of them.

"In point of fact at this stage there were only certain matters dealing with the shipping that directly concerned the Indian representatives. In the next few weeks when the Five-Power Naval Conference meets in London India will be represented by her own delegation. It is true that I have the honour of being one of the British delegates, but I shall not be the head of the Indian delegation. She will be represented by her own delegation and will thus make her own voice heard.

Mr. BROCKWAY: "These representatives of India are at present all appointed by the Viceroy in Council. Could the Secretary of State for India try to secure more adequate representation of India itself by giving the Indian Legislative Assembly some power in the appointment of these representatives?"

Mr. Benn: "That is a suggestion that I will certainly note and I am much obliged to my hon. Friend for raising it."

"In the meantime do not let us miss the moral of what I am saying, that, just as in the history of every Dominion, it has not been a matter of legislative change but of usage, custom, wont and tradition, which have built up these powers. The same procedure is proceeding rapidly in the case of India to-day and therefore I think I can say and I am not speaking of our own administration but of other administrations as well, that, in deeds as well as in words, we have tried to prove the sincerity of our faith when we say we desire to see India reach Dominion Status.

"People often ask, has there been a change in policy?" To some extent I have answered that question in what I have just said. There is of course the great change in procedure to which reference has been made by the Right Hon. Gentleman and many others. I mean to say the calling of the Conference. In one sense there is no change. When the Prime Minister replied to the Leader of the Opposition in some correspondence, he stated quite clearly that so far as the Statute is concerned there is no change. The

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Statute remains and it is outside the power of anyone, except Parliament, to change a policy which is embodied in a Statute.

"In this matter of procedure there has been a great and important change which has been repeatedly asked for by the leaders of Indian opinion in India, namely, this Round Table Conference. I was very glad indeed to hear the Rt. Hon. Gentleman exalt the importance of this Conference. He is right. It is a very important Conference. We are the servants, more particularly this Government, of the House of Commons and of course the House of Commons will be told timeously about the composition of the Conference, its terms of reference and so on. He was good enough to say, and I thank him for it, that he would not press me for more details at this moment, the reason being that the plans are by no means complete but there are one or two things I can say about the Conference. We desire to see the Conference called at the earliest possible moment. There is much matter to be received and to be considered. There is the report of the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, the member for Spen Valley (Sir John Simon) and his commission. There are the opinions of the Government of India. There are the views of the Provincial Governments. All these matters must be duly considered and the Conference must meet clothed with full knowledge.

"Let me make one thing clear about the Conference. It is partly to the same question put by the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite. The Conference is to be fully and fairly representative not of one section but of all sections so that we may have there real representation of political opinion as it finds itself in India. The Conference will meet with free hands. Someone asked whether they would consider a bill. They will not consider it. They will not even consider draft proposals. They will meet absolutely free and the Cabinet will certainly decide to settle and propose to the Conference nothing. The Conference is intended to be free which permits every section of opinion to come forward and express itself and support its views with whatever argument may appear to the speaker to be most impressive.

Mr, Howard BURY: Will there not be the recommendations of the Simon Commission which will have been considered by this Government and by the Provincial Governments? Will not that be the terms of reference that the Conference gets or are they to be left a completely open field to open the whole Indian question again?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn: The Hon. and Gallant Member is asking me the question which I could not answer for his Leader. The clearest definition of the function of the Conference which we have been able to arrive at will be found in the Viceroy's proclamation and of course the matter that has been referred to by the Hon. and Gallant Member will be available to the Conference." So will the report of the Indian Central Committee and so will many other relevant documents including the opinions of those Governments. All those matters will be available for the Conference to discuss and to formulate its views.

Mr. Brockway: "And the report of the Labour Committee?"

Mr. Benn: "Decidely. All these matters will be available. This Conference is not intended merely to be to Indian opinion a sort of "douceur" to please India but an attempt to bring the light of the Indian opinion to bear upon the problem and to help us in the solution of our difficulties and to help Parliament, when Parliament comes to examine and pass the Bill. We invite the co-operation of Indian opinion in this Conference."

"There is one concluding word. There are many difficulties to be faced. There are great differences of opinion, wide gulfs and divergencies, not here but in India. We regret these. They are obstacles on the path which we wish to pursue. We cannot solve them and I express a devout hope that, when the time comes for the Conference it may have been found possible amongst Indians themselves to compose their difference so that we may have gentlemen coming here speaking with authority and speaking with unity. It is only in that way that we may get the maximum assistance and guidance for this house in its difficult task. It is not too much to say that in this matter we are entering on a new era. We are attempting to write what may be the greatest chapter in the history of the British Commonwealth, namely, a free and voluntary association of a great self-respecting nation in partnership with the British Commonwealth for the good of the world."

Miss Wilkinson, who followed Mr. Wedgwood Benn, pleaded that more ought to be done for the social services in India, particularly with regard to infantile mortality and health conditions.

Mr. Brockway's motion was adopted unanimously.

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Government's Change of Policy.

On the 1ST NOVEMBER 1929 in the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George asked by a private notice the Secretary of State for India whether the Statutory Commission or the Indian Government were consulted with reference to the passage in the important statement made by the Viceroy yesterday relating to the constitutional status of India in the Empire. If so, whether the Commission concurred and whether that passage is intended to indicate any change either in substance or in point of time in the policy announced by the previous Governments ?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn replied : "Answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. It is due to the Statutory Commission that I should make it perfectly clear that they were not consulted. The second part of the question therefore does not arise. As regards the third part. The passage referred to is intended to set out the goal of British policy as stated in the Declaration of August 1917. In view of doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and in India regarding the interpretation to be placed upon the intention of the British Government in enacting the Statute of 1919, the Viceroy was authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as therein contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status. Questions of policy involving changes either in substance or in time cannot be considered until the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their report and His Majesty's Government have been able in consultation with the Government of India to consider these matters in the light of all material which is then available and after the meeting of the Conference which it is intended to summon.

After Mr. Benn's reply Mr. Lloyd George asked :—

Do I gather from that that there is no change either in substance or in time in the policy indicated by previous Ministries and Viceroys ?. May I also ask whether his attention has been called to the resolution passed by the Indian leaders which makes it clear that in their view this Declaration means a fundamental change of procedure and that a Conference is to be summoned in order practically to prepare a Bill for presentation to Parliament setting up Dominion Status in India ?

Mr. Benn :—I am sorry to say that the Right Honourable Gentleman has given me a full morning's work in preparing the answer to the question which I received late last night and I have not had time to look at newspapers this morning. As regards the first question, I have given a carefully considered answer and to that I have nothing to add.

Commander Kenworthy :—With regard to the first part of the question as regards non-consultation of our colleagues on the Commission, did the Right Honourable friend consult any other members or the Right Honourable Members of this House other than members of the Government ?

Mr. Benn :—I think I can add nothing to the answer I have given.

Com. Kenworthy :—Is he aware that statements are being made that Mr. Baldwin was consulted and I think I am entitled to ask my Right Honourable friend seeing that he did not find it possible to consult the Commission whether he did consult the Right Hon. gentlemen opposite ?

The Speaker pointed out the Honourable Member must realise that the Government are not responsible for any statements made in newspapers.

Mr. Locker Lampson :—Has there or has there not been any threatened resignation from the Simon Commission ?

Mr Benn :—It is quite clear that I am not in a position to answer any question on behalf of the Simon Commission.

Mr. Locker Lampson : What right have you to short circuit the Simon Commission ?

Mr. Fenner Brockway :—May I ask the Secretary of State whether he is aware of a new hope of settlement of the Indian problem arising from the statement which has now been made and whether he is prepared to accompany that hopeful Declaration by some general amnesty to political offenders ?

The Speaker :—That raises another question.

Mr. Baldwin :—I rise for a moment only to ask the indulgence of the House to make an observation on an article which was brought to my notice as having appeared in to-day's issue of the "Daily Mail." It is sufficient for me at this moment to say that every statement of fact and every implication of fact contained in that article is untrue and, in my opinion is gravely injurious to public interest not only in this country but throughout the Empire. I shall have occasion, I hope at an early date, to examine and make clear the whole position.

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Com. Kenworthy :—On a point of personal explanation, I had no knowledge of the fact that the Right Honble Gentleman was going to make that statement and naturally if I had, I would not have put my supplementary question in the form I did to may Right Houble friend.

India in the King's Speech.

Referring to the King's Speech on the opening day of the Parliament on the 2ND JULY 1929 Mr. Baldwin, the Ex-Premier, made the following remarks in alluding to India. Mr. Baldwin said :—

"There are difficulties, of course, as we have seen in this House before, in a Government carrying on when it has not control in all circumstances of a majority of the whole House, and I say this to-day—that, so far as I am concerned, and also my friends, we shall have no desire to offer factious opposition.

"We intend to assist His Majesty's Government being carried on, but, of course, it means a certain amount of self-control on both sides. Time alone will show how far either of us are exercising it ; but let us never forget this, that there are questions of grave difficulties facing this country, not only at home but abroad, and however, much we may dispute among ourselves at home, it is essential for our country and essential for the Empire that we face the world as a United Parliament.

"It is beyond the power of any Government in the position in which the Government opposite is, it is in the power of the House alone to help the Government to obtain some settlement of the most difficult question of all which lies before us, and that is the question which will have to be dealt with when the report of the Indian Statutory Commission is laid before Parliament.

"For that we shall want the best work this House can give and that more than anything else we shall have to face, will be the supreme, the acid, and the ultimate test of how fit we are for the democratic conditions under which we work."

Mr. MACDONALD'S reply to Mr. Baldwin is also given in extenso because of its interest. He said :—

"In the course of his speech the Leader of the Opposition referred to India. There is no mention made of India in the gracious speech because the exploration is still going on. When this House met its obligation to advance—I quote from the preamble of the Reform Act of 1919—'the progressive realisation of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the Empire'—we came to what, I think, was a happy agreement.

"There was no division in the House about the method of handling it. A Commission was appointed with representatives of the Opposition, the Liberal Party and ourselves, and over that Commission Sir John Simon was appointed Chairman. We gave that Commission our confidence and in addition we gave it our hopes.

"We regret very much that influential opinion in India and mass opinion in India have not been favourable. Surely after the experience they have had of the working of that Commission they might reconsider a situation which is so hopeful, and which, if well handled by everyone concerned, is going to mean so much peace, so much happiness, and so much dignity to India itself.

"The Commission has paid its second visit to India and is now back here and is co-operating with the Indian Central Committee in joint and free Conference. The members of the Indian Central Committee have commendably considered it to be their duty to give us the advantage of their knowledge and their counsel. My predecessor said that after the report was to be received here by us from this Commission there were further stages of consideration and negotiation.

"Again, I feel it my duty to ask the representatives of Indian opinion to reopen the doors of their minds and to consider whether they may not now come and help us to solve and to give a happier and beneficial solution of this very difficult problem."

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The Simon—Macdonald Correspondence.

The following is the text of the correspondence, referred to in the speeches above, between Sir John Simon and the Prime Minister, in which the former writing on October 16 says, that the Simon Commission has become increasingly impressed by the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may develop between British India and the Indian States.

Mr. MacDonald replying on 25th October says that he has consulted the leaders of other parties with reference to the issue raised and they concur in the terms of the reply.

Sir John Simon's Letter.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister.

The Indian Statutory Commission has now entered upon the final stage of its work and hopes to be able to present its report early next year. Before proceeding further however we desire to address you with an enquiry and a suggestion. Aa our investigation has proceeded we have become more and more impressed in considering the direction which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may develop between British India and the Indian States. We are not at present in the position to forecast the report which we shall hope in due course to present to Parliament. It is however already evident to us that whatever may be the scheme which Parliament will ultimately approve for the future constitution and governance of British India it is essential that the methods by which the future relationship between the two constituent part of Greater India may be adjusted, should be fully examined. We have carefully considered the report of the Butler Committee but the term of reference to that body did not cover the whole ground to be surveyed. So far as these relations are concerned, our own recommendations, if we were to exclude from our purview the wider problem which we have indicated, would, we feel, be unduly restricted and we therefore wish before going further to ascertain whether we should have the approval of His Majesty's Government in giving this possibly eztended interpretation to our own terms of reference. It is not our purpose to seek to explore the field already traversed by the Butler Committee but it seems clear that we cannot afford to ignore the reactions of the presence of the States on the problem we are studying in British India or the possible repercussions on the former of any recommendation we might frame regarding the latter. At certain points an inevitable contact takes place. We venture to point out that if the report we are preparing and the proposals to be subsequently framed by the Government take this wider range, it would appear necessary because of the need for consulting the States for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure to be followed after these proposals are ma le known. It seems to us that what would be required, would be the setting up of some sort of Conference after the report of the Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee have been made, considered and published and their work has been completed and that in this Conference His Majesty's Government would meet both the representatives of British India and the representatives of the States, not necessarily always together, for the purpose of seeking the greatest measure of agreement for the final proposals which it would later be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament. The procedure by the Joint Parliamentary Committee conferring with the delegations from the Indian Legislature and other bodies which was previously contemplated and is referred to in my letter to the Viceroy of the 6th of February 1928, would still be appropriate for the examination of the Bill when it is subsequently placed before Parliament, but would we think obviously have to be preceded by some such Conference as we have indicated. We realise that it is not for the Statutory Commission to devise this subsequent procedure in detail, for our task will be discharged when we have reported, but we feel that it is desirable to obtain an assurance from His Majesty's Government that we shall not in their view be travelling beyond the terms of reference approved by Parliament. If we pursue what seems to us an integral element in our investigation we have also thought it right to make plain to His Majesty's Government the consequence that such an assurance from His Majesty's Government is likely ultimately to involve in order that the future course of procedure may be so shaped as to provide means for consulting with the Indian States and to promote the full co-operation of all parties and interests in the solution of the Indian problem as a whole.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN SIMON.

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Mr. MacDonald's Reply.

The Premier in reply said :—

My dear Sir John Simon,

Your letter on behalf of the Statutory Commission raises issues of such importance that I have thought right before answering it to consult the leaders of other parties. I have now been able to ascertain their views and they have been good enough to concur in the terms of my reply. His Majesty's Government welcome the intimation that your letter affords of the Statutory Commission a desire to deal in its report with the wider aspects of the subject to which your letter directs attention. It appears to His Majesty's Government, as it does to those on behalf of whom you write, that your work would necessarily be rendered more complete if it included a careful examination of the methods by which the future relationship of British India and the Indian States may be adjusted. His Majesty's Government have given full consideration to what you have said in your letter concerning the constitutional necessity of some revision of the later procedure as at present contemplated and I am glad to be able to inform you that they concur in the view that you have expressed. His Majesty's Government are with you deeply sensible of the importance of thus bringing the whole problem under a comprehenstive review and that under the conditions which may promise to secure as great a degree of unanimity as may be practicabale. His Majesty's Government are also greatly concerned to find means by which they may approach the treatment of the broad question of British Indian constitutional advance in co-operation with all those who can authoritatively speak for British Indian political opinion. It seems to them that both these objects can best be achieved by the adoption of procedure that will permit the free representation of all points of view in advance of the stage at which His Majesty's Government will lay any proposals before Parliament which may be expected later as you point out to form the subject of examination by a Joint Parliamentary Committee. When, therefore, your Commission has submitted its report and His Majesty's Government have been able in consultation with the Government of India to consider these matters in the light of all the material then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them separately or together as circumstances may demand for the purpose of a Conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and all Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit definite proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent, with my best wishes for the success of your further labours,

I am, yours sincerely,

RAMSAY MACDONALD.

Mr. MacDonald thus approved of the suggestion of Sir John Simon to widen the scope of the Simon Commission's enquiry when the Commission's report will be issued and His Majesty's Government consulted the Government of India. The former will invite representatives of British India and the Indian States to meet them separately or together for the purpose of discussing British Indian and all Indian problems.

British Newspapers gave prominence to the Simon-MacDonald correspondence. Some continued to publish sensational reports regarding the Government announcement relating to India. (Referring to the Viceroy's announcement of 31 October).

The " Daily Mail " gave currency to the report that the members of the Simon Commission threatened to resign if the Government persisted in its intention of anticipating their work by such an announcement.

The " Times," on the other hand, referring to the rumours of the immediate grant of Dominion Status to India emphasised that no serious section of Parliament contemplatesd anything of the kind and there was no reason whatever to suppose that the Government had the smallest intention of anticipating or interfering with the recommendations of the Statutory Commission.

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INDIA ABROAD.

July-December 1929.

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International Labour Conference

The Director's Report.

The 12th Session of the International Labour Conference commenced at Geneva in the second week of June 1929 and continued for the next two weeks. In conformity with the usual custom, the discussion of the Director's Annual Report was the occasion for general comment by members of the Conference about the work of the International Labour Organization. Part I of the report takes a bird's eye view of labour conditions all over the world with particular reference to the progress achieved in labour legislation in various countries on the lines laid down by the International Labour Conference. The report states :—

"There has been no change in 1928 in the membership of the I. L. O., there being 55 Member States on the roll. Spain and Brazil retained their membership, in spite of their withdrawal from the League of Nations. Costa Rica, which withdrew some years before from the League, has now decided to rejoin it, and its membership of the I. L. O. will, therefore, be automatic. The report refers to signs of increasing collaboration and good-will between the Member States. The practice of sending full delegations to the Conference is spreading ; states' governments have without exception shown commendable promptness in answering the inquiries of the I. L. O. without hesitation and reserve, and even the procedure of ratifying conventions is becoming ingrained in national custom. 46 delegations from States-members were sent to the I. L. Conference in 1928. This figure has only once before been reached, and never exceeded. The 46 delegations consisted of 338 delegates and advisers. There were 35 complete delegations, including Government, employers' and workers' delegates, as against 32 such delegations in 1927. The I. L. O. is doing all in its power to induce States-members to send full delegations.

"During the year under review, the Director besides visiting Italy and Spain, made a tour of the Far East, proceeding *via* Moscow to China, Japan, Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. The report states that though the first tentative steps to regulate labour conditions were taken in 1923 by the Peking Government, the general working conditions in China are still low, and that the position of women and children calls for urgent protective measures. The Nationalist Government at Nanking, acting on Sun-yat Sen's third principle that welfare and prosperity of the people are to be among the first considerations, has already drafted a body of labour legislations. The unification of China under a nationalist Government, and the I. L. O's decision to establish a national correspondent's office in China in the near future, are bound to give considerable impetus to forward labour legislation in China. In Japan, economic difficulties are still standing in the way of the ratification of some important conventions, such as the eight hour day convention, but the Director's visit has deepened interest in the question.

"Five sessions of the governing body were held in 1928, all of which, except one at Warsaw, were held at Geneva. The seat accorded to India on the governing body as one of the eight states of chief industrial importance, was filled by Sir Atul Chatterjee. In the workers' group, Mr. N. M. Joshi was elected a deputy Member of the governing body. The various committees set up by the Organisation have all been regularly at work. The number and activities of these committees continued to increase ; they reflect an important phase of the I. L. O's. work, as they are the means by which the most qualified individuals in different countries can be associated with the organisation's activities. The internal administration of the I. L. O. went on smoothly and without any big

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changes during 1928. The salient features were the creation of an administrative division, and the establishment of a national correspondent's office at Delhi. The staff in 1928 numbered 378, as against 375 in 1927, and 389 in 1923. The policy of the office throughout has been to give increased representation on the staff to fresh nationalities, for example, Holland, Hungary, India, Japan, etc.

"The I. L. O.'s relations with the principal states which remain outside the Organisation, namely, the United States, Mexico, Soviet Russia, Turkey, and Egypt, have been throughout cordial in 1928. While the general attitude of Soviet Russia towards the Geneva organizations shows no change, the I. L. O. has continued to exchange scientific information on labour matters with the Soviet, proving thereby that the supporters of antagonistic theories can maintain relations with each other in the search for accurate knowledge.

"During the year, the I. L. O. continued to augment its position as a centre of research and as a clearing house for labour information. The number of books in the library has more than trebled itself in the period 1923-28. The Office received during the year more than 1000 requests for information, as against 920 in 1927, and 800 in 1926. The publications of the Office have also shown a corresponding increase, there being a steady demand for translations of its publications into other languages than English, and French, as is mainly the rule at present. The most encouraging progress during 1928, has probably been in the field of international legislation. While the average of ratifications during the previous years was 35 per year, no fewer than 70 have been registered in the period March 1928-March 1929. The criticism that there is no proper check on the application in each country of ratified conventions has been silenced by the appointment of a committee of experts to examine the annual reports from each state under article 408 of the Peace Treaty on the application of ratified conventions

"Side by side with such tangible results there crop up from time to time unsolved problems and administrative difficulties, which have taxed the resources of the office to the utmost. An instance in point is the need with which the office is confronted for the creation of suitable machinery for the revision of ratified conventions. Another is the susceptibility of the Organisation to the political vicissitudes of the governments of member-states, and the consequent uncertainty of securing continued support. In spite of these handicaps the I. L. O. has made remarkable progress ; the record of its achievements in the past furnish the surest guarantees for its continued usefulness in the future."

Discussion on the Report.

The first speaker to take part in the discussions in this connection was Mr. *N. M. Joshi.* Preferring to dwell on general grounds, the Indian workers' delegate warned the Conference against complaisance and bade them be wakeful to the growing influence of Moscow. This influence was most evident in countries where conditions of labour were most objectionable. Neither repression nor the mere repetition of 'just and humane conditions of labour' as a far-off ideal would overcome it. It was no use saying that these conditions were complicated by political and racial considerations. The International Labour Organization would also have to give some thought to the forces now possessing Asia, should it aspire to find understanding in Asiatic countries. Instead, what was really happening was that although the organization had aroused the hopes and ambitions of workers all over the world, the lot of the workers in countries where imperialism prevailed tended to remain unimpaired. Such workers were for the most part unrepresented in the Conference.

Mr. *Shunmukham Chetty*, speaking on behalf of the Indian employers, drew the attention of the Conference to the question of the non-application of conventions in the Indian States. He said : "It is in the interests of the International Labour Organization that steps must be taken to see that these conventions are applied in the Indian States, and if that is not done let me tell the Director and the International Labour Organization that we, as employers, would be forced

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to resist ratifications of conventions in India itself." Mr. Chetty's point was that the lack of uniformity in labour conditions in proximate areas such as British India and the Indian States created unfavourable competition for employers in the former. Consequently he advised the Director that "now, when the question of relation between the Government of India and the Indian States is being discussed, this is the opportunity to see that this very important problem is satisfactorily solved." Another suggestion which Mr. Chetty put forward was that the correspondent of the International Labour Office at Delhi should be given adequate facilities to be always in close contact with the Government of India and important industrial centres by means of provision of funds for frequent travelling and for removing his office to Simla when the Government is there.

Sir Atul Chatterjee asked leave of the Conference to make some suggestions of a general nature in what he considered might be his last appearance in that tribune. He deprecated the tendency, to measure the success of the Organization by the number or even the importance of ratifications of the decisions of the Conference by Member-States. Despite the emphasis laid on legislation by the Treaty of Versailles, experience had shown that by far the most valuable part of the work of the International Labour Organization consisted on the one hand in the information which it gathered, systematized and published, and on the other, the education of public opinion caused by discussion in the Conference and similar assemblies. Following the same line of thought he suggested that the agenda of the Conference might be reduced enabling the members to give more time to the questions considered, and that the subjects for discussion might be fixed two years ahead so as to prepare and ascertain public opinion in each country with regard to them. Sir Atul paid a tribute to the newly appointed correspondent of the I. L. O. at Delhi when he said that he had done all he could to establish direct contact with the principal industrial centres in such a vast country as India. Referring to the charge brought against the Government of India by Mr. Joshi about the omission to invite the Director to include India in his recent Eastern tour, the High Commissioner of India assured the Conference that no other reason but the heavy programme of Monsieur Thomas accounted for it and that as soon as a convenient opportunity presented itself the subject of the Director's visit to India would be taken up again.

Monsieur Albert Thomas, the Director, in his reply to the general debate, touched upon India at many points in the course of his speech. At the outset referring to the stipulation in Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace, that "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries," the Director said : "Within the frame-work of the organisation itself there is the problem of the Indian States in India. Will the work, partial but still considerable, accomplished in British India for the protection of labour survive, if competitive industries exempt from all social charges develop uncontrolled in the Indian States ? Mr. Chetti has expressed the concern of the employers. Sir Atul Chatterjee has explained the difficulties connected with the introduction of protective legislation in the Indian States. He recalled the dillemma with which Lord Birkenhead wished to confront us in 1927 : 'Either ratifications will apply to British India only or we shall not ratify at all.' We cannot believe that this will be the final solution : we believe that we shall receive help from all quarters in the necessary endeavour to obtain the generalisation of just and humane working conditions in the immense communities of India." Referring to the analogous conditions in China, the Director asked : "Will Chinese legislation be of any avail if in the concessions and leased territories the largest factories continue to be exempted from all legislation ?"

Turning to Mr. Joshi's speech, he stated : "I was greatly moved by the statements made by Mr. Joshi at the beginning of this discussion. He recalled the enthusiasm with which, in 1919, when Part XII of the Peace Treaty was being negotiated. Governments, employers, and workers seemed to be bent on accomplishing an immense task of social justice in a few years. Enthusiasm is a

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flower that fades quickly. It cannot live for years and sustain intense activity, but it ought, at least, to create regular activity and in the institutions to which it gives birth, it should perpetuate itself in such a way that tangible results are achieved. Mr. Joshi has not denied the progress recently accomplished in India. He has defined its extent. He said that after ten years it seemed to him very inadequate, and he referred—because they are nearer and more dangerous to him than to others—to certain threats that hang over all industrial communities and which can only be warded off by intense activity on the part of our organisation. To sustain confidence, to encourage faith, and to prove that we are already accomplishing our mission, two big efforts are necessary : (1) to accelerate material results and (2) to throw into relief the common ideal towards which we are all advancing, and to give our common faith its utmost value and efficacy."

As regards Sir Atul Chatterjee's suggestion, Monsieur Thomas registered the remark made by the High Commissioner about the tendency in the Conference for the delegates to vote not according to their convictions on a given question but according, as whether they belonged to the Governments' or employers' or workers' group, when he observed, "for the past two years we have heard criticism of the working of the groups both as regards the methods they adopt and the spirit which animates them". Alluding to the other suggestions of Sir Atul, the Director stated : "It has been asked that the Agenda of the Conference should be fixed by the Governing Body, two years in advance. This would not be impossible especially if we have a general plan of action, but in that case, common effort would be required to inform public opinion throughout the world and to interest it in the question to be discussed. It would be quite unnecessary to have such a long preliminary period, if the question were to be forgotten or neglected at the end of two years. It has been said that we should have one question and not four on the Agenda. I have already explained what our requirements are in this connection. There would possibly have to be exceptions to the rule, but the experiment should be tried. So far as the office and its technical services are concerned, we shall certainly not complain, but above all, if it is possible to concentrate effort over a long period on an important and clearly defined problem, likely to arouse real interest there is no doubt that the effect would be greater, the results would receive more careful consideration and the participation of all concerned would become more effective". Monsieur Thomas assured Mr. Shunmukham Chetti that he would give though to his suggestion that the Correspondent's Office at Delhi should be adequately financed so as to enable him to move over to Simla with the Government of India.

Monsieur Albert Thomas continued :—"I examine the realities and possibilities which exist in each country, but I continually ask myself what connection they have with our common ideal, and what faith they reveal in social justice. It is in this spirit that I would ask the Conference to carry on its work from year to year and thus promote the unity of mankind in social justice. Mr. Chetti has expressed what we all feel : "We bear in mind the fact that as citizens of a new world we owe a duty to that wider human society of which Geneva is rapidly becoming the centre. Citizens of a new world, we shall all create within ourselves the soul of peace and justice. Everything will then become easy and straightforward."

Work of the Committees.

In its closing days the Conference took up the reports of the various committees. There was the usual discussion with regard to the competence of the Italian workers' delegate and the customary affirmation of the principles of the Trades Union movement by its protagonists. The question of unemployment was the subject of a report by the I. L. O. and attracted considerable interest for the obvious reason that it was the topic of the hour in most industrial countries. Dr. Paranjpye, Chairman of the Committee on Unemployment, recommending its report to the conference remarked notably : "The committee also thought that it should not exclude the question of agriculture from the field of the investigations which it asks the International Labour Office to

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undertake." On this same point Mr. Poulton, the British Empire workers' delegate, observed : "I note the proposals made, and wish to stress a point which I feel to be of increasing importance but which does not in my judgment receive the attention it merits—I refer to agriculture—believing as I do that in raising the status of the agricultural labourer, and increasing the means whereby the amenities of life are placed more easily within his reach we shall not only help to keep more people on the land but we shall at the same time help to retard that flocking to the towns which increases the difficulties already very great in the industrial sphere."

Speaking at the final discussion on forced labour Monsieur Jonhaux, the French workers' delegate, dwelt upon the reasons which led the workers on the committee concerned to submit a minority report to the conference. "In the first place we were forced to do so becaue of the general tendency which made itself felt in the Committe and in the second place we were forced to draw up this report because there were particular proposals made by us in the committee and turned down by that committee." The workers felt that the general terms in which the questionnaire had been drafted in this connection, did not tend to suppress forced labour. Taking his stand on the terms of the Mandates in the League's constitution, the French workers' delegate urged the obligation on the part of the I. L. O. to condemn forced labour unequivocally, and to take steps to bring that practice to an end. Mr. *B. Shiva Rao*, on behalf of the Indian workers, also intimated to the Conference his impression that "every member in the committee did not seem to show anxiety to improve the lot of the people subject to forced labour." The Indian workers' delegate had full support from the employers' representative for Mr. *B. Das* vigorously urged the adoption of a bold policy on the part of the I. L. O. in this regard. He said :—"I must express my warm appreciation to the governing body of the International Labour Office for having brought the forced labour problem into the agenda of the conference. In my opinion this is the most important international problem the International Labour Conference has attempted to find a solution. There are some people who believe that at this Conference we cannot discuss the question of the control of economic development in different parts of the world, and that we cannot lay down rules to control and regulate the economic development of different countries. There are others who think that this conference can control and regulate the economic development of territories in the interests of the workers. We know, however, that we cannot bring the whole world under the same system of conditions of work and above all what we have to deal with is not so much the oppression of class by class as the oppression of race by race. I welcome whole-heartedly the resolution for the abolition of long-term contracts for workers and we as Indian workers are vitally interested in this problem, for there are hundreds of thousands of my countrymen who are working under the long-term contract system in the Assam tea-gardens, in the Malay States in Ceylon, in South Africa and in other parts of the British Dominions where their conditions of work are not human."

Tne closing phase of the Conference was as usual marked by haste to cover the whole ground of the Agenda. Of the Indian Delegation Messrs. Kasturibhai and Mukerjee of the employers' groups, Messrs. Joshi, Chowdhuri and Kalappa of the workers', and Dr. Paranjpye and Mr. Clow of the Government, took part in the deliberations. Mr. Kalappa defended his position that there was need for regulating the hours of work of employees in commercial establishments, usually brought under the category of intellectual workers, against Mr. Mukerji's statement that the question was not yet ripe for consideration in connection with India. Mr. Chowdhury, in a speech greatly criticising the Government of India, pointed to the absence of any adequate legislation concerning dock workers, and in answer, Mr. Clow assured the Conference that the Government of India was fully in sympathy with the proposed convention for the safety of workers engaged in the loading and unloading of ships but could not deal in detail with its provisions on account of the delay receiving the draft. Mr. Joshi

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spoke in support of the Chinese workers' delegate's resolution asking for equality of treatment of white and non-white workers in all social legislation and also in elaboration of his own resolution for a revision of the provisions of the Hours Convention as applied to India so as to bring about uniformity of practice, in view of the passage of years since Washington. The marked hostility to Mr. Joshi s proposal adopted by the Indian employers' representative and the rather non-committal attitude which characterised the spokesman of the Government of India moved the Indian workers' delegate to indignation. He had accepted the amendments to his resolution in the Committee and at the end of it all, when the Government of India still put forward the newly appointed Royal Commission as a reason to postpone the consideration of the problem that Mr. Joshi had raised, the latter asserted that if he found the commission to be nothing more than an excuse for retarding labour legislation, he would not hesitate to dissociate himself from it, if necessary.

The President made the following remarks in the course of his concluding address : "Only a few decades ago international social policy was purely a European matter. The International Labour Organisation has always endeavoured to make it a matter for the whole world. This desire has now become a reality. This represents great progress in the history of mankind. Visible progress is being made in the attainment of unity between the different nations, races and continents, and in this international social reform leads the way."

THE CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of the Conference which lasted for three weeks with an Agenda as complicated as it was long may be summed up as follows :

"Of the four main subjects on the programme, viz. The prevention of industrial accidents, the protection of workers engaged in the loading and unloading of ships, forced labour, and the hours of work of salaried employees, the last two came up for discussion for the first time, and the first two, finally, in accordance with the double discussion procedure. Effective measures concerning forced labour and hours of work of salaried employees will be taken only next year. As regards prevention of accidents, the Conference adopted a recommendation making detailed references to the problem of research on the causes of accidents and methods of prevention, to the diverse ways of co-operation between the States, employers, and workers to the legal obligations to be imposed upon employers and workers, alike in this connection, and to the subject of insurance. Besides, the Conference also agreed upon a draft convention regulating the freight in cargo boats and gave thought to the necessity of equipping machinery with safety appliances by means of legislative action. Particulars and not general considerations characterised the decision of the Conference in regard to the loading and unloading of ships. Of the two recommendations adopted in this connection one dealt with reciprocity treaties between Member-States and the other, the co-operation between workers and employers and the creation of a committee of experts for devising standard types of appliances. The Conference unanimously favoured the principle of the abolition of forced labour, and there was general agreement that in no case should compulsory labour be tolerated except for public purposes. The answers to the questionnaire (adopted by the Conference Committee) on this subject from the various Governments will be considered by the next conference. Meanwhile, thanks specially to the workers' delegates, the rights of association of non-white workers, the maximum length of eight hours for the working day wherever compulsory labour exists, and the setting up of a permanent committee of experts in the International Labour Office to study this question, have been emphasised. About salaried employees, the admission that the principle of the Washington Convention regarding hours of work should be extended to this type of workers as well is as much as the conference could achieve.

"The agenda had also some other items. On the question of unemployment, the conference directed the office to study this question in relation to the fluctuations

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in the value of money, and recommended to the Governing Body the advisability of putting this subject on next year's agenda. Gratified by the declaration of the representative of the British Government that Great Britain would proceed to take steps to ratify the Washington Convention the reference once more insisted that no revision of the Hours Convention should be undertaken except on some special point, and the force of the general principle of the Convention should be left unimpaired. The Conference Committee dealing with reports submitted by the Governments annually about the discharge of their obligations towards the International Labour Organisation expressed satisfaction at the increasing support which the Organisation obtained. Finally, as regards resolutions, the conference approved Monsieur Jonhaux's resolution recommending the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to adopt a generous policy concerning the budget of the office with a view to making the Organisation as a whole progressive and Mr. Joshi's resolution urging the participation of the non-white workers from countries which possessed a governing white minority in the conference. The Japanese workers' delegate's resolution urging the abolition of the work of women and children underground and the Chinese workers' delegate's plea for the equal legislative treatment of white and non-white workers were similarly adopted. The resolution of the Chinese Government delegate favouring uniformity of labour legislation in China which touched on the question of ex-territoriality, however, suffered a different fate". (vide, the Hindu, Madras.)

Proceedings of the 13th. Session.

The following is the authorised report of the 13th. Session of the Conference :—

The thirteenth session of the International Labour Conference was held at Geneva from the 10th to the 16th October 1929. It was the third of those sessions of the Conference the agenda of which consisted solely of questions relating to the living and working conditions of seamen. It thus continued and supplemented the work of the maritime conferences held at Geneva in 1920, and at Geneva in 1926.

The reasons for holding such special maritime conferences are not far to seek. The shipping industry is perhaps the most international of all industries. It is international in its object, which is to transport persons and goods from one country to another. It is international in the surroundings in which it is exercised —the high seas, which are the common property of mankind. It is international also because of the fact that it is open to free international competition. Except in the case of certain kinds of near trade between ports in the same country, no country stands in a privileged position : freight rates are established internationally. Since each mercantile marine is exposed to the competition of all others, it is difficult for any one to bear charges which are not also borne by the rest. Thus if the conditions of work of seamen are to be improved it is even more necessary than in the case of other industries that the mercantile marines of the various countries should enjoy the safeguards of international labour legislation. Such safeguards can be comparatively easily devised, because wherever similar types of ships are concerned navigation is carried out under similar conditions on all seas ; and seamen, irrespective of the flag under which they sail, work in a similar way, since the exigencies of the service are the same in all mercantile marines, and it is necessary to provide against the same dangers.

The agenda of the conference consisted of the following four items :—(1) Regulations of hours of work on board ship ; (2) protection of seamen in case of sickness (including the treatment of seamen injured on board ship), *i. e.*, (a) the individual liability of the ship-owner towards sick or injured seemen ; (b) sickness

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insurance for seaman : (3) promotion of seamen's welfare in ports ; (4) establishment by each maritime country of a minimum requirement of professional capacity in the case of captains navigating and engineer officers in charge of watches on board merchant ships.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE DELEGATION.

These four questions came up for first discussion before the conference. According to the newly introduced double discussion procedure the immediate objective being was not the adoption of draft conventions and recommendations, but to settle as completely as possible the points on which the International Labour Office should consult the various member-states with a view to a second discussion which will take place at the next maritime session when the conference will be called upon to take final deicsions. In view of the importance of the agenda, it is not surprising that all maritime states-members of the organisation were represented with the exception of Norway, which in the absence of an official delegation, due to political circumstances, sent two observers to follow the prceedings. The number of countries represented at the conference was 31, who sent 102 delegates and 152 advisers, making a total of 254 persons. The personnel of the Indian delegation was as follows :—

To represent the Government of India Delegates :—(1) Sir Atul Chatterjee, K. C. I. E., High Commissioner for India ; (2) Sir Geoffrey Corbett, K. B. E.-C. I. E., I. C. S.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate :—Mr. C. W. A. Turner C. I. E., I. C. S.

Advisers :—(1) Mr. J. E. P. Curry, Shipping Master, Bombay ; (2) Captain Sir Edward Headlam, Kt. C. S. I., C. M. G., D. S. O.

TO REPRESENT THE EMPLOYERS.

Delegate :—Mr. Jadunath Roy, Calcutta.

Advisers :—(1) Mr. P. H. Browne of Messrs Mackinnon Mackenzie and Com. pany, Calcutta ; (2) Mr. Fakirjee Cowasjee, Karachi ; (3) Mr. M. A. Master of Messrs The Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Bombay.

To represent the workers :—Delegates,—Mr. M. Daud, M. A., B. L., President Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta.

Advisers :—(1) Mr. Syed Munawar, B. A., M. L. C., General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay ; (2) Mr. L. G. Pradhan, B. A., LLB. Vice-President, Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay : (3) Mr. Muzzammil Ali, Assistant-General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta.

Mr. C. W. A. Turner acted as Secretary to the delegation. The President of the session was Mr. Edward Aunos Perex, Spanish Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

AN INITIAL DIFFICULTY.

At the beginning of the session, a difficult situation arose as a result of protests lodged by the employers' group with regard to the composition of the conference, following which the employers' delegates in a body absented themselves from the conference. The difficulty was tided over, and the employers' group induced to return however, by the conference passing a resolution inviting the Governing Body to seek all appropriate means of avoiding in the future a repetition of such difficulties. The work of the conference, despite the temporary abstention of the employers' delegates, went on smoothly, and the draft conclusions submitted by the four committees set up to deal with the items on the agenda were adopted in plenary sitting without any significant amendments, and the four questions were included in the agenda for the next maritime session for final discussion.

Hours of work on board ship.—The conclusions of the committee on hours of work on board ship were adopted in the plenary conference by 71 votes to 20. The conference decided after examining the Grey report on the subject that it was

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desirable to consult Governments on the question of international regulations of hours of work of seamen by means of a draft convention and invited the International Labour Office to ascertain the views of the Governments on the following main points ; (1) scope of the draft covention : (a) as regards vessels, (b) as regards persons employed on board ; (2) methods of regulating working hours it might be possible to adopt for different categories of the crew, i. e., engine room staff, deck staff, and the catering staff, (a) in port, (b) on sailing days, (c) on passage, and (d) on arrival days ; (3) possibility of providing that overtime for certain classes of work necessary for safety shall not be subject either to limitation or compensation.

Protection of seamen in case of sickness:—The committee set up by the conference to study this item submitted two reports. The first report, dealing with the individual liability of the shipowner towards sick or injured seamen, was adopte, by 65 votes to 16. The second report, dealing with sickness insurance for seamen was accepted by 68 votes to 14. Both reports concluded that the question dealt with was suitable for treatment in a draft convention. The conclusions adopted on the first point related to the risks covered (sickness, injury and death) and the liabilities of the shipowner (medical treatment, maintenance, wages, repatriation, funeral expenses, and the protection of the property of deceased seamen or those left behind as a result of sickness or injury).

The conclusion adopted on the second point laid down the principle of compulsory sickness insurance for all persons employed on board ships engaged in maritime navigation, including sea-fishing boats but with the exception of ships of war. Possible exceptions are suggested in the case of foreign seamen or seamen not resident in the country whose flag the vessel flies, masters and officers in receipt of remuneration which is high in relation to the general level of remuneration, members of the employers' family, pilots, and workers below or above specified age limits.

The report submitted by the Committee set up by the Conference on this item was unanimously adopted by the Conference. The following are the main points on which the International Labour Office has been invited to consult governments :—

The institution in all large ports, where such bodies do not already exist, of authorities or officially recognised organisations, including representatives of the shipowners, the seamen, and the authorities and institutions concerned ; the adoption, with due heed to national and local conditions, of legislative measures or regulations for the purposes of systematically combating the dangers of alcoholism and narcotics, of supervising hostels and of protecting seamen in their movements between their ships and the shore; the initiation of suitable measures for protection of the health of seamen against tuberculosis, tropical or other diseases, and especially the organisation of treatment for venereal diseases, as is provided for by the Brussels Agreement of 1924 ; the adoption of measures more directly concerned with the stay in port of seamen of all nationalities, including the provision of suitable hostels, meeting and recreation rooms, libraries, etc., and the extension of facilities for thrift.

Minimum requirement of professional capacity in the case of Captains and officers in charge of watches.—The report of the Committee on this subject was adopted by 95 votes to nil, and it was decided by 73 votes to 2 to place the question on the agenda of the next maritime session. It was the general opinion that, as experience has shown that a vessel however well-built, equipped, navigated and staffed, could be exposed to serious danger from the fact that the staff of another vessel did not possess sufficient professional capacity, some form of international guarantee in this respect was absolutely necessary. It was, therfore, decided that the States Members should be consulted on the following points :—Possession of a certificate of professional capacity is to be required by national legislation for employment as (a) master or skipper (b) navigating officer in charge of watch, (c) engineer officer in charge of watch. The determination of the scope of this Draft Convention on the basis of general definitions, which might be as follows :— Possibly, general conditions for granting certificates which should be specified by national laws or regulations (a) a minimum age ; (b) a certain standard of

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professional experience ; (c) the necessity of passing one or more examinations organised and supervised by the public authorities.

The conference also passed resolutions dealing with the following questions:— Conditions of life and labour of Asiatic seamen. especially when employed outside their countries or on board foreign ships ; hours of labour in inland navigation ; conditions of labour in ærial navigation ; the application of Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by previous maritime sessions of the Conference ; and equitable treatment of seamen employed on board vessels plying within the territorial waters or on the inland waterways of the country of which such seamen are citizens, within the general framework of the social legislation of such country.

The resolution concerning the conditions of life and labour of seamen in Asiatic countries, submitted jointly by Mr Daud, Indian workers' delegate, deserve special attention. The resolution pointed out that though equal treatment of seamen without distinction of race and colour was an essential requirement, there existed at present marked inequalities by which differential treatment was accorded to Asiatic seamen, as compared with other seamen performing the same work, in such matters as wages, hours of work, system of recruitment, housing, health and the protection afforded by the laws of the country of the shipowner in respect of insurance, workmen's compensation, freedom of association etc., and requested the Governing Body (1) to direct the International Labour Office in the conduct of its general inquiry into the conditions of Asiatic labour to devote special attention to the conditions of Asiatic seamen, and (2) to consider whether this question could be placed on the agenda of an early conference. Mr. Daud, in his speech over the resolution, pointed out that there were over 250,000 seamen in India, of whom 200,000 were victims of chronic unemployment, and that even in the case of the 50,000 who are able to secure employment invidious distinctions existed in respect of wages, hours of work, etc. Thus, while an Indian fireman was paid Rs. 23 or £1-15, a British fireman was paid £9-10 a month. Other abuses pointed out by Mr. Daud were the present system of recruitment of seamen by brokers, the woeful lack of housing accommodation for seamen, and the longer hours of work exacted from the Indian seamen.

Before closing the account of the Conference reference has also to be made to the objections raised by several Indian employers' organisations against the appointment of Mr. P. B. Browne, as one of the advisers of the Indian employers' delegate. The objections were based on the following contentions:—(a) That Mr. Browne was not nominated in agreement with the national organisations of employers' in india, and as such cannot represent them : (b) that Mr. Browne was not nominated in agreement with the most representative organisations of employers in India : and (c) that Mr. Browne represented non-national interests which are in serious conflict with the national interests of India, and as such not only can he not faithfully represent the latter, but might seriously prejudice the same. The objectors also referred to the case of Sir Arthur Froom, whose credentials were challenged at the Conference of 1926 by Indian employers on almost identical grounds, and whose nomination was validated by the Credentials Committee on that occasion on grounds of "expediency" alone. After giving a full hearing to the parties to the dispute, the Credentials Committee decided to recommend the acceptance of the credentials of Mr. Browne on the grounds "that while representation at the Conference implies the representation of national elements, it could not enter into the substance of the question" and that it was for the Government to decide, by virtue of its sovereign powers, the national or non-national character of any organisation of employers or workers.

The thirteenth Conference, despite the difficulties which it had to face, was on the whole a most successful one, so much so, in fact, that at the last sitting the spokesman of the workers' group was able to assert that perhaps for the first time since the seamen had been called upon to participate in the work of the Organisation they would return to their respective harbours with relief and hope in their hearts.

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INDIA IN THE

League of Nations Assembly

The tenth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations commenced at Geneva on the 2nd September and closed on the 25th September. SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH, leader of the Indian Delegation to the League Assembly, after announcing that India would sign the Optional Clause before the end of this Assembly, made a striking plea for a greater consideration of India's needs. He said there was a feeling in India and other Eastern countries that the West claimed most of the League's attention.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah paid a tribute to his predecessors of the British race who had served India with a single-minded and unswerving loyalty at the League meetings. He emphasised that India was an ardent and firm supporter of the League and was determined to contribute its full quota of energy and effort towards the League's ideals. He declared that India was as anxious as any other country to see peace perpetuated on a basis of disarmament but disarmament must be general and a glance at the map of India's frontiers would demonstrate her difficulties.

India welcomes the visit of the League's Malaria Commission and would gladly assist the League's studies in rural hygiene and the causes of child mortality if it was extended to India.

Sir Mahomed Habibullah declared that organised publicity gave advantage to those who were in command of it but the League's work could only be achieved with the aid of the co-operation and sympathy of the whole world. He pleaded for a new orientation of vision and endeavour and expressed the opinion that the interchange of health officers and the visit of the Malaria Commission had won more adherents to the League in India than a multitude of lectures and pamphlets. He suggested stronger Indian representation on the League's administration.

The Assembly paid close attention to Sir Mahomed's speech which was well received and his promise of India's co-operation was loudly cheered.

"THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY of the League of Nations" wrote the Hindu of Madras, "in the past few days are of special importance to India. Not only were questions like the drug traffic discussed but issues involving the status of India and her financial contribution in respect of League's activities were also considered. It may be granted that on the whole the respresentatives of India spoke the true mind of the country. Both SIR CHUNILAL MEHTA and SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH took occasion to point out how the influence of India in the counsels of the League was not proportionate to her importance, her position among the cultured nations, her own interests or her financial contribution. SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT, another representative of India, was equally frank and apt in his expression of India's views on the subject on which he had occasion to speak. His exposition of India's attitude to the proposal of a tariff holiday was a well-reasoned and, generally speaking, faithful account of the country's feelings. India's natural impulses are not in favour of shutting her doors against the trade of other nations; they are essentially those of self-defence. Our tariff rates are not determined by any calculated policy to ruin the commerce or industry of other countries; they only aim at seeing that others do not ruin industries for pursuing and developing which we are by nature well fitted. India began to engage

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herself in large scale production only in recent years and it will be some time before she is able to compete on equal terms with the advanced countries of the West. Till she passes the age of industrial adolescene, she must needs depend on tariffs as a protective measure. SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT's refusal, on behalf of India, to be a party to the declaration of a tariff holiday was therefore quite justified and if there be any nation which cavils at India's decision to stand out of the tariff holiday convention we can only say that there is something wrong with the sense of fairness of that nation. The reluctance of India to be enthusiastic about the proposal to give financial aid to the States victims of aggression, to which, too, India's representatives at Geneva gave expression, is also easily understood. India may be a great country; but she is exceptionally poor. No country, moreover, will dare complain that our quota of financical sacrifice undertaken in order to sustain the League is less than it ought to be. Even some British statesmen, it is reported, at first shrank from undertaking the burden arising out of the proposal to aid the victims of aggression; how, then, can poor India be called upon or even expected to agree to shoulder it? The principle underlying the convention regarding financial assistance to States victims of aggression is, of course, sound, but India cannot afford to undertake, especally in her present financial circumstances, a liability which in its nature is essentially indeterminate. In any case, her existing commitments are too heavy to permit any addition thereto, and we daresay impartial members of the League will appreciate her position. There is a third subject which also the League considered and we note that India's representatives have made her a party to the decision thereon. We refer to the signature of the Optional Clause. That Clause provides that any State which adheres to it thereby undertakes to submit all its disputes with any other signatory to the jurisdiction of the International Court. It will be noticed from Mr. Henderson's statement signifying Britain's decision to sign the Clause that she does so with certain reservations. One of these reservations is that inter-imperial disputes shall not be reckoned as being subject to the jurisdiction of the Court. We note that SIR MUHAMMAD HABIBULLAH accepted the Clause in the terms proposed by Mr. HENDERSON. The wisdom of India's signing the Clause is now clear to us. It will be seen that the South African representative took a line of action different from that which SIR MUHAMMAD adopted. He refused to agree that inter-imperial disputes were *ipso facto* outside the purview of the International Court, but accepted the Clause because South Africa preferred to settle such disputes by other means than by an appeal to the International Court. Those Dominion Governments which have signed the Clause have done so subject to the condition that their Parliaments should ratify the action. Whether this reservation applies to India as well, it is not clear. We hope, however, that the Government of India, like the Dominion Governments have stipulated that their acceptance of the Clause will become operative only after "India's Parliament" has signified its approval of the Government's decision. In any case, it is to be hoped that the Legislative Assembly will take an early opportunity to raise a debate on the question and see that the Clause does not come into effect until it accepts it after due deliberation."

Mr. Vijiyaraghavachariar on the League.

It would be interesting here to read the introduction to a pamphlet issued by Mr. C. Vijiyaraghavachariar of Salem under the caption of "League of Nations and India's Emancipation" in which he warmly advocated an appeal by India to the League of Nations for her economic and political emancipation. In his opinion, the League is inspired with a very high ideal and by virtue of the articie XI of the League Covenant, it can take cognisance of any matter which affects the peace of the world and insist that the rights of mankind shall not be interfered with. Mr. Achariar hoped that the intervention of the League would help India to achieve freedom without requiring her to go through the trials and tribulations which would be necessary if she were to adopt other methods for the same purpose. "Let me not be understood", said Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, "as expressing any want of faith in the principles and the policy of non-co-operation. My faith in them

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stands re.-affirmed. But I feel that it is even a higher course to adopt to appeal to the League as by its intervention, the League may save us and the world considerable suffering and enable us to achieve Swaraj easier and quicker." The following are Mr. Vijiyaraghavacharia's suggestions :—

"It will be remembered that over three months ago on my return from the Calcutta meeting during last Christmas, I ventured to make the statment that our political and economic salvation lay with the League of Nations. That was in the course of a conversation with a friend of mine and it was published in "The Hiudu" on 2nd March last. I had intended to rewrite an article on the subject, the better to explain the whole position. But I have been unable to do so for two reasons. In the first place, I have been trying my best to get access to the literature of the League so as to be in possession of its full activities up to date. But I have not, as yet, succeeded in securing it. In the second place, my health suddenly collapsed and I am now an in-patient in Dr. Rajan's Clinic. Trichinopoly. Hence I have decided to republish the conversation as it appeared in "The Hindu" with this introduction, which I necessarily have to write under great disadvantages. I do so because I think it undesirable to postpone the performance of this duty of mine to the public any longer.

"Criticisms have appeared of the expediency and the practicability of this suggestion and many friends have also written to me on the subject. Naturally enough, no one has blamed the suggestion, while some friends have praised it as a course worth trying. But to me it appears that all these criticisms ignore one vital consideration. Whether or not the League of Nations would save us and the world from a situation which is bound to develop into an economic and poli ical disturbance of the highest magnitude, it is not clear what harm there is in our claiming its intercession at this stage. It the League of Nations is loyal to those ideals in the light of which its great prophet and founder President Wilson started it, it is bound to take speedy notice of the Indian problem. If, on the other hand, the League has departed from those ideals, which I do not hesitate to deny, it deserves to be shown up. In either case India and the world stand to gain. I have therefore no doubt that the course which I have ventured to suggest is one which ought to be taken up by our leaders and tried as soon as possible.

THE CALCUTTA DECISIONS OF 1928

"I may here permit myself to make a personal reference. The spirit which underlay the conclusions arrived at in the National Gatherings at Calcutta last December distressed me as they must have distressed a great many others. There were those who, animated by a fervent enthusiasm and an impatient desire to see their country free at the earliest possible moment, proposed resolutions which s tand redeemed only by the purity of their intention. There were those others, equally patriotic and no less ardent, who chastened their impatience with a lively practical sense. In trying to find a common formula, impatient idealists on the one hand, and practical politicians on the other, produced a compromise resolution replete with ambiguities. I shall not enter into a full examination of that compromise resolution. The only part of it which concerns me at present is that relating to Sanctions. I agree that what has been called the constructive programme, to be carried on uninterruptedly, is beyond controversy, a programme the most desirable. At the end of this year, however, should Britain not have responded to our demand for a self-determined constitution, as everybody is sure it would not, the Congress is to embark upon mass civil disobedience and non-violent non-co-operation. There can be no doubt that if all the other methods fail our deliverance is to come from the employment of the Non-Co-operative method. That our culture lends itself to the easy use of this method cannot be gainsaid ; but even with all our high spiritual attainment and training through the ages, let us disillusion ourselves of the actual dangers of this delicate instrument. We have had the experience of Mahatma Gandhi's movement. It did not succeed because even the Indian people lacked the strength and the character without which it is impossible to wield this godly weapon. We now

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know that to discipline the masses of our countrymen into sufficient fitness for working out successfully a programme of non-co-operation would not only take a very long time, longer than we can wait with safety for the achievement of our objective, but it requires an amount of organisation and effort which in the present state of our conntry, political and financial, it is hardly possible to put forth. When I realised the immense difficulties of this method for use within measurable future, the idea of invoking the assistance of the League of Nations occurred to me as the only possible alternative. Let me not be understood as expressing any want of faith in the principles and the policy of non-co-operation. My faith in them stands reaffiamed. But I feel that it is even a higher course to adopt to appeal to the League as by its intervention, the League may save us and the world, considerable suffering and enable us to achieve Swaraj easier and quicker. By its intervention the League cannot levy any suffering either in person or in property but non-co-operation is nothing if it is not a draft upon the popular capacity to suffer, and suffer terribly, in both person and property.

APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"The appeal to the League of Nations is a challenge to the conscience of civilised mankind. Almost every important self-governing country in the world which has pretensions to permanent and civilised institutions is represented on that body. Its ideals and its professions have been pittched to a humanitarian key ; its watch-word is international justice. To prevent war and to settle international disputes by mutual discussion and arbitration rather than by dictation or by war is the object of its policy. To whom shall an oppressed people appeal for a peaceful settlement of its grievances aga nst the oppressor, if not to a body inspired by such ideals and endowed with such opportunities ? The League maintains at great cost, several agencies for the purpose of facilitating its work ; and India pays a very large proportion of that cost. She is entitled not only on humanitarian grounds but as a permanent and prominent member of the League, to call in the whole-hearted assistance of the League agencies for the solution of the various problems The specialised skill which the League commands cannot be had anywhere else.

'It is suggested that the League of Nations will not easily take cognizance of our appeal. I have discussed this aspect of the question in some detail in the course of the conversation. I adhere to the view that it is possible to bring the matter up before the League effectively in more ways than one. Article XI of the Covenant is most important in this respect. President Wilson himself referring to it said : "Article XI says that it shall be friendly right of any member of the League to call attention at any time to anything anywhere that threatens to disturb the peace of the world or the good understanding between nations, upon which the peace of the world depends. That in itself constitutes a revolution in international relationships. Anything that affects the peace of any part of the world is the business of every nation. It does not have simply to insist that its trade shall not be interfered with ; it has the right to insist that the rights of mankind shall not be interfered with." This emphatic and impressive interpretation of the article by the father of it is most helpful to our cause. That to ignore the Indian situation would menace the world's peace is certain. That any member of the League may invoke its jurisdiction to interfere in this matter is equally certain. I believe that it would not be impossible to persuade one of the many member-nations to move in this behalf, having regard to the justice, urgency and peril of the situation. I need not here refer to the fact that the League has jurisdiction *suo matu* to interfere, as M. Briand's action as President of the League Council in the dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia shows. I desire also to refer to the views of two very eminent thinkers.

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INDIA'S POSITION IN THE LEAGUE

"I invite attention to the passage quoted from Professor Laski's 'A' Grammar of Politics' at the head of this introduction. (*See footnote*) * If the Philippine question and the Indian question have to be ultimately decided under the auspices of the League of Nations, can it be suggested that the application for the League's intervention is entertainable only if it procceds from the Philippine Government or the Government of India? The constitution of the League make it clear that the *Governments* of the various countries are the constituent members. Accordingly the Government of India is the member of the League. But this is a most remarkable instance of a government not representing the people whom it governs, which has been allowed to become and remain a member of the League. To-day India is represented on tne League not by the chosen delegates of her people but by the nominees of the British Government. Who expects that Britain will permit these nominees to put forth the Indian people's point of view to the League? The people can therefore only invoke the jurisdictions of the League through other available means. International justice, which is the governing priciple of the League's activities, gives her the implied power to act at the invitation of the real party on whose behalf the Covenant provides that the respective governments as representing that party, shall sit on the League Assembly.

"Now let me allude to the views of Professor Noel Baker, M. P. Professor of International Studies in the London School of Economics. He said : ''Despite its defects, the League of Nations was at this moment of great importance to India. If India was to become one of the great nations of the world it would probably through the instrumentality of the League. In any case, her nationality, whether as a Dominion or as a completely independent State, would be aided and developed in large measure by association with that body ; but he was not surprised that India took litttle interest in the League so long as her delegations are nominated and instructed by Downing Street." This is the verdict of a gentleman who has studied the place of the League in the economy of the world. Let us hasten the day when we shall utilise the League through whose instrumentality we shall realise our place among the great nations of the world. Let us invoke their assistance in time so that our nationality, which is but in the making, may be aided and developed in large measure by that body. Let us understand that whether we shall be a dominion within the British Empire or an Independant State outside of it, we stand equa ly in need of the good offices of the League.

BOGEY OF BRITAIN'S OPPOSITION.

"I appeal to my countrymen not to be daunted by the mere apprehension that the League will be prevented by Britain from entering into this question. We must ever be prepared to meet Britain's opposition, whether in a campaign of non-co-operation or in the chamber of the League Assembly, and the latter is by far the most easy. Besides, we must remember that the small nations of the world which form the majority of the members of the League will be naturally sympathetic to our aspiration for freedom rather than to Britain's efforts to keep us in bondage ; and as Professor Delisle Burns so clearly points out the peculiar usefulness of the League arises from the opportunity it affords to the small nations to participate in and to influence the policy of the great powers. This influence will be more or less in proportion to the magnitude and the urgency of the interests involved. The Indian Swaraj and international aspects is of sufficient gravity and importance to the future of the world's peace that we may expect the experienced statesmen who meet in Geneva to take a just national view of it. It is in this hope and in the hope

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* *"We must prevent, say, America making single-handed the decision that the Philippines are unfit for Self-Government; we must permit India to appeal beyond the decision of Parliament to the common will of a world unified into the League of Nations."* (*Professor H. J. Laski: 'A Grammar of Politics', P. 229*)

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that my countrymen will explore every avenue that is open to us to reach the haven of Swaraj that I have ventured respectfully to tender my humble suggestion. So ardent and so devoted a friend of India as Mr. C. F. Andrews has recently told our internal interests are best served by our continuance as members of the League of Nations. To the advice coming from him, pure disinterested and well-informed as it is, we are bound to pay heed. Also as a devout Hindu, I revere Sri Krishna's sacred precept that action must be our duty, the fruit thereof is no concern of ours. The League may do what it likes but we shall not give room for the reproach that we failed to give it a chance.

"The conclusion is sought to be drawn that because the Indian people do not enjoy self-government, India's membership of the League is an anomaly and that therefore the League for the present should treat our Government as an appendage to the British Government. So it is in fact, but it is this very anomaly which we require the League to remove. Either the League should in all honesty render every help it can in our efforts to became nationally an organised people and a real member internationally, or it should speedily decline to be party to Britain's game of enjoying an additional and undeserved vote in the League Assembly in the name of India. To send us out is perhaps not within the competence of the League because we are an original member and our people have always paid their quota to the League's expense promptly and without demur. The only inevitable alternative for the League is therefore to take action on our application.

"Apart from the rights of parties arising from the interpretation of the League Covenant, it would raise the prestige of the League in a striking manner if it should interfere in major questions of this kind with the sole view of righting an age long international wrong. Instead of going to the logical length of either ignoring the people of India or of sending out the Indian Government from the League, it would, we may be sure, take the far nobler course of altering the fiction of Indian representation into a fact. This will stand out as among the most beneficent achievements in all history.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE

"If my countrymen are still sceptical of the usefulness of the League's intervention, it is probably because, in their preoccupations with internal politics, they have not bestowed enough attention to the history of the achievements of the League. I have drawn attention to some of those achievements in the conversation. Since then details have come to us of the manner in which the League so successfully settled the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. 'In December 1928 whilst the League Council was sitting in League came the news of a serious war-threat in South America. Bolivia and Paraguay had fallen out. M. Briand, the President of the Council, immediately sent out cables to the disputants reminding them that as members of the League they were pledged to try peaceful means of settlement. He secured the support of American and Argentine representatives. He then told the Bolivian and Paraguayan *Charges-de Affairs* that unless they adopted a more conciliatory attitude, the League would have to consider what futher measures should be taken to preserve peace. Immediately, Bolivia, the more aggressive of the two States, cabled to the League that her troops had been ordered to cease fire. Almost at once Paraguay, who had been calling up reserves, set about demobilisation. Both countries have agreed to accept mediation by the Pan-American Conference, and have signed a protocol to than effect.' It is noticeable that the Pan-American Conference was also sitting at the time. According to one interpretation of the Munroe Doctrine, the interference of the League of Nations would be violation of that doctrine. By the step he took, M. Briand impliedly extended the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, overriding this new interpretation of the Munroe Doctrine. He thereby did, indirectly, a great service to the many American States which were all resisting this novel interpretation which reduced all American questions to the category of domestic questions, and as such, in-

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capable of being touched by non-American diplomacy. The prestige of the League has increased as a result of this achievement, especially as the U. S. A. has acquiesced in these proceedings. The next important event of the highest significance to the League of Nations ideal is the Kellogg Pact Although owing to a change of Party in Power, America refused to join the League of Nations, a creation of the Democratic President Wilson's, she realised that the League ideal has come to stay. The Kellogg Pact is a clumsy and almost hypocritical homage to that ideal and a spurious imitation of some of the provisions of the League Covenant. After this, let no one discount the permanent influence in international affairs of the League of Nations. It is yet too soon to say whether the sanctions are adequate to the successful carrying out of the decisions of the League. But this is necessarily of slow development, considering the novelty of this institution, and the departure it marks from the traditional methods of settling disputes and of healing economic ills.

Already the non-participation of America in the League is a serious disadvantage both to America and to the League. It is an irony that President Wilson, one of the greatest of the world's benefactors, who started the League on its career, should have encountered such extreme opposition to the League's idea from his own countrymen. It only shows that America erred in choosing for her President a prophet and a philosopher far in advance of her ideals; but the world gained by America's error. The League of Nations has come to stay. It is a privilege to belong to this sacred institution if we might do so as equals and not as mere licensees as we are to-day. While thus we resuscitate ourselves as equals of the other nations of the world, we shall not only take upon ourselves those difficult duties which a civilised people owe their less fortunate brethren, we shall also be in an eminent position to make phenomenal internal progress.

ADVANTAGES OF LEAGUE'S INTERVENTION.

The appropriateness of inviting so distinguished a body to take notice of the Indian question appears to me to be obvious. It is impossible to conceive of a fairer arbitrator between nations. It is impossible also to think of a more efficient agency to advise in the readjustment if not the reconstruction of the country's political and economic policy. The variety of experience and talent available through the League's agencies is unavailable through any other source. In this respect also its history for the short period of ten years fills me with hope. It has averted national bankruptcies, it has revived trade and prosperity among paralysed communities. Austria and Hungry would not be on the map of Europe but for the timely assistance of the League of Nations.

THE CRISIS IN INDIA

We in India have new reached a supreme crisis. I have always stressed, and I am not tired of doing so now, that the persistent decrease of our average age and of our physical stamina to resist disease are unmistakable indications of this crisis. The causes of the decrease are attributed by our thinkers and leaders, among other reasons, to various social factors. But it appears as though the main reason for our present state is not fully appreciated. That reason is the growing poverty of our people as a result of a wilful pursuit of an anti-national financial policy. We ought, therefore, to invite the League of Nations to assist us in conceiving and applying sound national financial policy. China of Asiatic Governments is the most recent instance of a country emerging from anarchy utilising the expert assistance of the League in setting her financial affairs in order.

PROBLEM OF THE NATIVE STATES

There is then the problem of the Indian Native states. I have been of opinion that the relations between British India and the Indian States must be governed by principles of International Law. Substantial questions relating to fiscal and political policy have been raised: and it is clear that the Butler Committee has failed to satisfy the parties concerned. These are questions eminently within the province of the League, and I even think that in the present

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organization of international affairs the sole jurisdiction pertains to the League. Britain is said to occupy a position of paramountcy in relation to these States : but the exact scope and operation of this paramountcy in principle, has yet to be determined. It is obviously unjust to let Britain herself decide this matter. Having regard to the immensity and the importance of this question. I think it is the duty of the League acting within its express powers to take immediate notice of this question and award a settlement.,

Nextly, the League has enunciated standards of justice to minorities which should be of the highest value in solving the minorities question in India. Self-Government in Mid-European States would be farcical if the League had not formulated sound principles for the protection of minorities, principles which have given universal satisfaction. Says a great author : "The development of a new technique in adjusting the claims of minorities of general policy leads to the interesting situation that instead of being sources of irredentism and friction, they are often means of reconciliation with the neighbouring peoples." Let us invite the League to apply this new technique to the problem of minorities characteristic of India. The National Congress has in co-operation with other bodies made many efforts to find an acceptable solution of this very important question. The Government all along not only left us severely alone but they have always adjusted their policy so as to keep alive and even promote these differences. Let us frankly confess the failure of our unaided effors. In anguish of heart Mr. Jinnah told his countrymen, "If you wish to live as decent men in this country, you must settle the Hindu-Moslem question. If you want to cease to be Pariahs in this world, settle this question." Let us remember that the Hindu-Moslem question does not exhaust the problem of minorities in this country. In fact the political problem of India is solved the moment we can find a suitable solution to allay the fears and to safeguard the interests of the minorities of this country. The Sikhs and the Christians have displayed commendable enthusiasm for a nationally united India among religious minorities. It is not that they do not feel the necessity for special protection but that they know the immediate need of the hour to be the achievement of Swaraj. It is highly desirable to have an expert League to go into all these questions impartially and according to accepted principles. There is a greater likelihood of their recommendations being received favourably, as they would be in the position of jurymen, disinterested, and without any motive for partiality.

INDIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURE

This leads me on to the next most important reason why we should establish and maintain live contact with the League. The military expenditure in India has always been outrageously heavy and disproportionate to the actual needs of Indian defence. Our efforts have failed to reduce this expenditure. By our becoming active members of the League we shall get the benefits of its protection and shall be in a position to largely reduce our armaments and to deflect the present wasteful expenditure to nation-building activities.

INDIA'S STATUS AMONG NATIONS OF THE WORLD

While this is the internal organisation of our country we have everything to gain by invoking the assistance of the League, our position among the nations of the world will become assured if we succeed in turning our membership of the League into a reality. I envisage a future when India shall be a permanent or at least a semi-premanent member of the League Council. We are a nation in the making, and the genius of our times points to the irresistible conclusion that no nation can be made except as part of an international mechanism. I believe that if Afghanistan had become a member of the League King Amanullah would have found himself stronger in dealing with the most lamentable and reactionary revolution in recent times. Let us warn ourselves against the consequences of such an isolated nationalism. Our object must be to secure an effective voice in the ordaining of world policy, as, economically and politically, our interest in world peace and prosperity is as great as that of any other country in the world.

When once we gain such a status our usefulness to the world would be unlimited. We shall be in a far better position than any other member of the

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League to undertake those arduous and humanitarian duties which the League requires some of its members to perform in respect of Mandated Territories. Having ourselves suffered under intolerable servitude in which we have been involuntarily placed, we have exceptional intuition and experience to administer the League's mandate in the lasting interest of the world.

CONCLUSION

Let me now conclude. I have endeavoured to refer to a few aspects of the questions in a rambling way. I hope that at a later date I shall do all that is in my power to impress upon my country-men the achievement of utilising this method for the achievement of our ideals. I hope also to be able to create sufficient interest in my countrymen so that the younger and more energetic amongst them might work it out with speed and decision. If the method fails we shall not be the poorer. But if it succeeds, what a saving of human suffering ! The weapons of civilised warfare are available not only to warring governments, they are equally available to an oppressed people at war with their tyrant rulers. I cannot contemplate without shudder the possibility in our country of an anarchy so convulsive. And yet, that is what stares us in our face if our freedom is not peacefully gained immediately. We have waited too long ; we cannot wait any longer. We must win our freedom any how. But we are bound to try every method of peace before we resign ourselves to the inevitable arbitration of the sword. God guide us with wisdom on this supreme occasion.

Note.—Since the above was written, the views of Mr. H. N. Brailsford published in "The New Leader" appeared in "The Hindu" of June 15, 1929. Mr. Brailsford suggests that the League of Nations is the proper authority to safeguard the interests of Indian minorities. I am glad to find that my own views have received the support of this eminent authority. I should have liked to make a fuller reference to Mr. Brailsford's views ; but the text of the article is not yet available.

INDIA IN THE

League Against Imperialism

The following was contributed by the Geneva correspondent of the "Liberty" of Calcutta and is reproduced from that paper :—

"The Second World Congress of the International Anti-Imperialist press, politicians and agents, not only in the oppressing lands but also in the colonies are making a vigorous propaganda, since they have begun to realise the potentialities of the League and the world which the League is co-ordinating with steadily increasing success to overthrow imperialism and its economic basis, capitalism, met at Frankfurt on Saturday the 20th of July 1929 under the presidency of James Maxton.

"Munzenburg, one of the General Secretaties of the League, in calling upon Maxton to open the Congress, gave a short account of the growth of the League and its activities and achievements during the two years of its existence, in the face of unparalleled opposition from the imperialist governments, international Social Democracy and representatives of large vested interests in the colonies masquerading as anti-imperialists. The best proof of the progress made by the League was afforded, he stated, by the fact that the Second World Congress was attended

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by nearly 400 delegates not merely as invited individuals, but as representatives of the many important political and labour organizations from all parts of the word, most of them (the organizations) affiliated to the League. 'If during these two years we have lost "friends" like Lansbury, who at the first Congress distinguished himself by shedding tears while waxing eloquent over the condition of the Indians, Egyptians and Chinese oppressed and exploited by British imperialism ; if the Kuo Min Tang has openly allied itself with the imperialists, and if several of the so-called nationalist organisations in colonial lands have partially or wholly capitulated to the imperialists", continued Munzenburg, "we are more than compensated by the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions representing the class conscious working masses of the one anti-imperialist state in the world and the awakening of the peasants and workers in the colonial countries who have begun to discover that without the complete destruction of capitalistic imperialism their material conditions cannot be improved and who have not failed to draw conclusions from the retreat all along the line made by the nationalist leaders.". The desertation of false friends, veiled imperialists, vacillators and conciliators, inevitable as the anti-imperialist struggle passes from the stage of words to that of action, can only strengthen the League and enhance its use and value for struggling the masses all over the world.

"*James Maxton* whose faltering tone and worried expression made obvious that he was not unconscious of the glaring inconsistency between his position as Chairman of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain and President of the League Against Imperialism, in his opening speech, proclaimed more to the surprise than to the satisfaction of the audience, that he stood for the complete independence of India and that in the campaign of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, the latest phase of it being the attempt of the Nanking Goverment, at the instigation of the European imperialists and Japan, to draw Russia into a war, his sympathy was entirely on the side of the Soviet Union. But having no misconceptions about the constitution and character of the Independent Labour Party and not ready to fight openly his party on fundamental issues, he hurriedly added that he was not prepared to accept responsibility of any organization not affiliated to the anti-imperialist league. In making this statement he only endorsed and justified the attack made against him and the League last week in the press service of the Labour and Socialist International.

"The role of the Independent Labour Party and the Left Wing Social Democracy in the anti-imperialist struggle and the insincerity of their leaders, calculated to serve the purpose of prolonging the life of the imperialist Labour Government and to corrupt the movement for independence in the colonies, formed the central theme of the discussions which ensued. Speaker after speaker got up and exposed the hypocritical policy pursued by the Independent Labour Party.

"The first shot was fired by *Melichansy*, Secretary of the All-Russian Union of Textile Workers. In a frank, spirited and for a Russian, short speach, he laid bare the real character of the Independent Labour Party as judged by its actions and not professions and maintained that the time has come for all engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle not in an academic way, but actively, to know who their real friends and who their foes, particularly the veiled once are. The same sentiments, in language more direct, were expressed by Mr. Saklatvala visibly by his defeat at thegeneral election, and Chinese, Indian, Indonesion and Negro delegates.

"The most impressive and at the same time the most illuminating speech was that delivered by *Harry Politt* while leading the discussion on the War Danger. Rapidly and with astonishing clarity surveying the anti-imperialist struggle in Britain, Germany, Bulcans, India, China, Indonesia, Africa and America and analysing the factors responsible for this struggle, he stated that if in spite of the heroic fight put by European, Aisatic and American workers the basis of imperialis has not been shaken to any visible extent, it is due to two important canses, namely, the reactionary role of the nationalist :bourgeoise in the oppressed lands and the imperialist character of all sections of the International

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Social Democracy. The going back on the independence resolution by the Indian National Congress ; the hesitation of even the left wing Nationalists to denounce openly the princes and others in open alliance with the British imperialists ; the dread of the Nationalists to put forward a concrete economic programme which alone can move the masses to action ; the disgusting hacks about round table conferences ; the renewal of faith in constitutional agitation, negotiations and appeals as the means for achieving independence and above all the apathetic if not objectively hostile attitude displayed by most nationalists towards the strikers in Bombay and the Meerut prisoners, Politt cited, as examples showing the extent of the capitulation made by the leaders of the Nationalist Movemenf in India to British imperialism which given an inch has not failed to take a yard.

"The concluding part of Pollitt's speech was devoted to the War preparations of the imperialist powers. On the basis of figures taken from the League of Nations and other official publications and quotations from the imperialist press, he had no difficulty in proving the existence, extent and object of these preparations. The imperialists while divided on various questions are united in wanting to smash the Soviet Union which by its very existence helps the formation of militant labour organisations in Europe and hastens the awakening of the colonial masses. 'The imperialists have not so far launched an open military attack on the Soviet Union, not so much on account of the differences among themselves as on account of their fear of internal opposition. Recognition of this fact is to-day influencing them to transfer the centre of their anti-Russian activites from Europe to Asia, principally to China and India. When the imperialists are sure of being able to employ the men and money of these countries for attacking the Soviet Union in the interests of world capitalism and imperialism, which will enable them to devote more attention from a military point of view for dealing with the situation at home, will commence the war against Russia as a logical consequence. Governments do not indulge in militay preparations and alliances only to amuse themselves. The timely revolution in Afghanistan is not an accident. The new propaganda against Russia in India, the new trade union and press laws and the Meerut trial are really aimed against the Indian independence movement. They all are quite timely.

"The transparently honest, frank and fearless comments of Politt did not fail to produce a profound impression on the delegates and audience. Even Maxton who must have followed the logic of Politt's arguments heartily cheered. Politt had made it clear that genuine anti-imperialist has no place in the Independent Labour Party. All that Maxton could say in reply, he did it with studied grace and staged conviction, was that he would continue to fight against the Labour imperialists and if he did not do it energetically, consistently and continuously, the League could accuse him at its next Congress. The explanation fell on deaf ears. Does Maxton seriously expect it is possible to bring about a conversion in Mac Donald ? Did not Maxton only a fortnight ago in the House of Commons after an academic opposition to the statements of the Government members promise patience and subservience to MacDonald ? This he did in spite of MacDonald's refusing even a discussion on the Indian question, refusing to recognise Kussia except on the conditions formulated by Chamberlain and refusing to withdraw the British troops of occupation from the Rhine-land. The present Secretary of State for India whose attitude torwards the Meerut prisoners is in no way different from that of his predecessor in office, one delegete announced, discomfortingly to Maxton, is a member of the Independent Labour Party. And Maxton, President of the I. I. P., denounced the Meerut trial as a savage and barbarous affair. No wonder Maxton's feeble explanation only led to stronger condemnation of the Independent Labour Party from the speakers Indian, Negro and Chinese that followed. The admirable patience and the astounding sticking power displayed by Maxton in the face of the attacks from all sides hurled against him is perhaps more a sign of his determination to render greater service to his party than to the anti-imperialist struggle. This at any rate was the general impression.'

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Mr. S. Gupta's Address.

"Next to the question of War Danger the principal issue on the agenda of the Congress was the Indian question. The greetings of Nationalist India was conveyed to the Congress by Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta the delegate of the Indian National Congress. In his speech, delivered in Hindi, and clothed in language more poetical than political, Gupta announced that India was fighting for full independence and added that he hoped that India would reach this goal by non-violent methods under the leadership of Gandhi. This preface took away a good deal of realism and seriousness from the concluding part of his speech in which he stated that if non-violent methods did not give independence he was for India fighting for it to the last man or as "The Times" correspondent alarmingly reported, he would incite insurrection. On the third day of the Congress, Shiva Prasad opened the debate on India. His language was no longer poetical. Apparently several of the previovs speeches had not failed to impress him. His attitude on this occasion was different from that on the first day. After describing the terrible conditions obtaining in India to-day as a result of 150 years of British Government, Shiva Prasad Gupta declared that the independence of India can be achieved only by organizing the workers and peasants of India on a political issue and on the basis of an economic programme and emphasized that this meant fighting both capitalism and landlordism."

The Leagues' Call to Lovers of Freedom.

The following was addressed in December 1929 by the Secretaries of the League against Imperialsm, Berlin to all affiliated and associated organisations of the League Against Imperialism in India, All-India Workers' and Peasants' organisations, and all sincere anti-Imperialists' organisations :—

"Since the foundation of the League Against Imperialism and for Nationa Independence at the historic Brussels Congress of Oppressed Peoples in February, 1927, the struggle for national independence in India has steadily grown more intense, and a sharp differentiation has manifested itself between those whose interests naturally force them towards compromise with British Imperialism and those classes whose political, social and economic condition demands an uncompromising struggle for the attainment of full and unlimited freedom and independence for the broad masses of the Indian people. Almost all important Indian organisations have expressed their will to independence in resolutions unanimously passed at their various Congresses and Conferences. It is sufficient to recall those of the Madras session of the Indian National Congress, the Jharia session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Calcutta session of the All-India Youth League, the Workers' and Peasants' party, the Independence for India League, the Hindustani Seva Dal, etc.

"All these organisations, realising the necessity of co-ordinating their national struggle with the international struggle for the complete over-throw of imperialism, also passed unanimous resolutions in favour of affiliating to the League Against Imperialism.

"But, while each of these organisations is individually affiliated or associated with the International League, they are not co-ordinated in India itself in an All-India anti-imperialist organisation. In this way, the whole movement for independence is split up ; there is no uniform programme or policy for conducting the struggle ; the social, political and economic aims and activities of the various organisations are conflicting and contradictory and it is, therefore, not possible for any one organisation to call itself a representative body or to take up the struggle against imperialism single-handed.

"A few instances may be cited to show the truth of this statement. The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in December 1928 gave the Government at ultimatum that if Dominion Status were not granted by December 31st, 1929, the Congress would launch a movement of non-co-operation and work for independence. In other words, the majority of the Indian National

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Congress at Calcutta shelved the Madras resolution on independence and were willing to accept the status of a Dominion within the British Empire implying the fundamental acceptance of existence and continuance of that Empire. This can not be reconciled with the fight against imperialism, in spite of the fact that the Indian National Congress simultaneously reiterated its resolve to remain an associate member of the League Against Imperialism. The situation has now become even worse through the acceptance in principle of a so-called Round Table Conference with the British imperialists by prominent Congress leaders, including the General Secretary and President-elect who is a leader of the independence movement and a member of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism. It is clear, therefore, that the Indian National Congress as at present constituted can not be regarded as a safe instrument for uncompromising struggle against imperialism, and that those elements in the Congress who stand for independence must find some other means of organising the fight. Besides, the Indian National Congress does not represent the broad masses of workers and peasants whose economic, social and political demands are not in any way reflected in its programme.

"Still less is this the case with regard to the Nehru Commission's Report which is claimed by its authors to represent the "united national demand." But the discussions and decisions of the All-Parties National Convention in December 1928 showed clearly that the "national demand" was the demand of a very insignificant minority of the population, whereas the minimum demands of the 98 per cent. as put forward by the representatives of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Kisan Sabhas, and Independence Leagues were completely ignored.

"Even in the All-India Trade Union Congress the danger of a betrayal of the interests of the working class is very great. At its Jharia session in 1928 the All-India T. U. C. declared that the complete national independence of India was its aim and resolved to carry on an uncompromising struggle against imperialism and capitalism. The Congress also unanimously affiliated with the League Against Imperialism. These resolutions merely recorded the spirit of the Indian workers which has expressed itself in changing their conditions of life. Nevertheless, there are important leaders of the trade union movement who are serving on the Imperialist Whitley Commission who are co-operating with the Imperialist Government for the suppression of the workers, and are attempting to bring about the disaffiliation of the T. U. C. from the League Against Imperialism, in order to affiliate it to the Amsterdam International, the pillar of European Imperialism.

"In other words, it is now high time to organise the struggle against imperialism and for national independence on a sure, solid and uniform basis and to place it under clear and unflinching leadership. It is necessary for all the sincere anti-imperialist elements and organisations in the country especialty all those organisations that have already recorded their political will by joining the League Against Imperialism—to unite and co-ordinate their efforts by forming an All-India Anti-Imperialist League or Federation with the minimum object laid down in the Statutes of the International League Against Imperialism. namely, organising and carrying on of a determined mass struggle for the independence of the country.

"In this connection we should like to draw your attention to paragraph 9 of the Resolution on India passed at the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held at Frankfurt on Main in July 1929—

"The Congress considers that the spreading of the ideas of the League among the Indian people, the organisation of a National Section of the League and of powerful local sections throughout India, are elementary duties of every sincere fighter for India's independence ; and it calls upon all individual labour, peasant and mass nationalist organisations in the various provinces of India to join the League Against Imperialism."

"We feel that the establishment of an All-India Anti-Imperialist League can

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no longer be put off, and we are therefore taking steps to convene an anti-imperialist conference to take place in Lahore in the last week of December.

"You will receive a notification from the Central Organising Committee as to the exact date at which the Conference will be held, and we hope that your organisation will not fail to participate actively by sending one or more delegates, with full powers to pledge your organisation to be a member of the All-India Anti-Imperialist League that will be constituted at the Conference. For your information, we give below a list of the organisations that are associated or affiliated with the League Against Imperialism :

"Indian National Congress, All-India Trade Union Congress, Girni Kamgar Union, All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party, All-India Youth League, Hindustani Seva Dal, Rashtriya Stree Sabha, Municipal Workers' Union, Bombay, Trades Council Union, Bank Peons Union, G. I. P. Railwaymen's' Union, B. B. and C. I. Railway Employees' Union, Port Trust Employees' Union, Bombay Dock Workers' Union, Tramwaymen's Union, Press Workers' Union, Government Peons' Union, Telegraph Peons' Union, Kasbi Karigars' Union, Market Stallholders' Union, Motor Drivers' Union, Engineering Workers' Union, Bombay ; Hindustan Gadar Party, San Francisco ; South African Indian Federation, South African Indian National Congress.

"There are however a number of other organisations which are not yet affiliated to the League but whose programme coincides more or less with that of the League. Among these may be mentioned the various Kisan Sabhas, the Students' organisations, the Youth organisations, the Swadhin Bharat Sanghas, Women's organisations, Teachers' organisations, etc. It is essential that all such organisations should participate in the proposed conference and in the active work of the Anti-Imperialist League which is to be established.

"With regard to the Agenda of the Conference, we are of the opinion that the most pressing need is a critical examinetion of the position of the national movement with a view to forming a clear conception as to those elements and social classes that can be relied upon in the fight for independence. It is necessary also to deal with the role of the workers, the peasants and the youth in the struggle against imperialism and lay down a strong organisational basis for the proposed League.

"In spite of the very short time that is left to make preparations for the Conference, we are convinced that you will do your best to help in the formation of the League—a task that ought to be somewhat easier owing to the fact that there will be assembled in Lahore at the end of December tens of thousands of men and women from all parts of India, sincerely interested in the struggle for national independence".

INDIA IN THE

Labour Party Conference

The Labour Party Conference, the first to be held during the Labour regime, opened at Brighton on the 30th September 1929. On the second day's sitting, i. e., the 1st October, Mr. Fenner Brockway made a gallant attempt in the Conference to challenge the repressive policy which the Labour Government has allowed itself to be identified in India. He moved to refer back to the Executive the last paragraph in the Parliamentary Report on the ground that itcontained no mention of the persecution of Indian workers and that the Government had not dealt with the matter satisfactorily.

Mr. Brockway reminded the Conference that at the last year's meeting it passed a resolution demanding the release of all political prisoners, and he wanted to know why they should be less insistent now that a Labour Government was in power. Nor was that all. The Conference had declared in favour of a policy of self-government and self-determination, and had pledged the party to introduce

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a measure giving India Dominion status. In view of what had occurred he thought there should have been a re-affirmation of that policy as an indication to India that the party meant what it said. As it was, Indian Nationalists and democrats has come to the conclusion that there was no difference between the Labour Party and the Liberals and Tories. It was time that something was done to remove this impression. The least the Government could do was to release those who were in prison for political offences and at the same time to call a Round Table Conference to consider the question of a new constitution.

Dr. *Drummond Shiels*, the Under-Secretary for India, contented himself with replying to the critics of the Government on the question of repression only, and said nothing on the wider issue of Swaraj. He denied that they had taken any action against trade union leaders. His chief and himself were as anxious as anyone to raise the standard of life in India, and nothing had been done to interfere with the legitimate activities of Labour leaders in that country. The Meerut prisoners were not charged with fomenting strikes or other forms of agitation, but with having engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of India by armed force and with the financial aid of bodies outside India.

He declared that it was the Communist Party which was making such strenuous efforts to capture the trade union movement in India. That was the real danger they had to deal with. He based his argument upon the assumption that the men now under arrest are either Communists themselves or are in league with Communists. He assured the delegates that the Government wanted nothing better than that justice should be done all round. They were anxious that everything should be done to encourage genuine trade unionism. They were in favour of the utmost freedom of speech in India consistent with the preservation of public order, a condition which was specially important in such a country. He wanted to make it clear that the Government of India would be supported by the Home Government in whatever measures were found necessary for dealing with violence or incitements to violence.

The Conference then proceeded to vote down the reference back proposed by Mr. Fenner Brockway. At first it appeared that a considerable number in the hall were of his way of thinking, but when it came to a card vote the figures were found to be overwhelmingly in favour of the Government. 192,000 votes were cast for the reference back, but the official policy was endorsed by 1,892,000.

Indians in East Africa

In August 1929 a Delegation of the East African Indian Congress consisting of Messr J. B. Pandya, B. N. Anantani and Isherdas arrived in India. The mission on which they had come to their mother-country, to quote the words of one of its members, "is to educte public opinion in India wtth regard to the present position of Indians in East Africa and to request the Government and the leading citizens in India to depute their representatives along with it to London to place their case before the Colonial Office, the Parliament and the British public when the report to be made by SIR SAMUEL WILSON, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendations is published in September."

The Delegation's Statment

On the 20th September a deputation of the Delegation submitted to the Government of India the following ably written memorandum clearly dealing with the main grievances of the Indians in East Africa.

The deputation first dealt with the question of a common franchise, and pointed out that the main issue in Kenya to-day was the question of a common roll. The deputation stated :

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"The present franchise is called communal, but it is really racial. In 1923 the Imperial Government decided in favour of communal franchise, but the Indian community did not accept that decision. We strongly represented our case for a common franchise to the Hilton Youg Commission. We have consistently refused to enter the Legislative Council through the communal electorate and we have abstained from participating in the Legislative and Executive Councils altogether since 1928. Our attitude towards municipal bodies has been the same as towards the Legislative and Executive Councils and we recently decided to boycott the municipal councils also in order that our position with regard to the question of a common franchise may not be misunderstood or misrepresented. The Hilton Young Commission has recommended a common franchise, but subject to the consent of the European community. We are strongly opposed to this consent theory. Why has not our consent to the communal franchise considered necessary in 1923? Would the Imperial Government lay down that no change in the Kenya constitution could take place without the consent of the Indian community. The Imperial Government is expected to hold the scales of justice even. If they are satisfied about a common roll being necessary for the progress of the country, they should inform the European settlers that they cannot be allowed to block the progress of the country. The experience of the past few years has strengthened the belief of the Indian community in Kenya that no permanent settlement can be arrived at except on the basis of a common roll. We are prepared to make great sacrifices for the principle of a common roll in the place of adult franchise based on qualifications on the lines of the Wood-Winterton agreement.

"We have accepted the principle of reservation of seats in order to assure the European community that Indians are not out to acquire undue power under a a common franchise. We have agreed to accept a smaller number of seats than the Europeans in spite of the fact that the Indian population is double the European population. We have always been prepared to consider any reasonable safeguards that may be brought forward in order to allay the apprehensions of the Europeans. The Hilton Young Commission has recommended a civilization franchise, which Indians support in principle. It should be added that the Commission recommended a civilisation franchise, because it would be in the interest of the Natives also, who would automatically acquire the franchise as and when they qualify themselves for the same. A common franchise is the only guarantee of political equality in the circumstances of Kenya.

"The Government of Kenya has recently passed an ordinance authorising the appointing of Europeans in place of Indian members to the Nairobi and Mombasa Municipal Councils as Indians, as stated above, have boycotted these municipal councils. It will be realised that the whole question hinges upon the principle of a common franchise. We request the Government of India to request the Secretary of State to withhold his consent to this ordinance. We also respectfully urge upon the Government of India to support our claim for a common roll.

FEDERATION SCHEME

"Regarding the idea of a Federation, Sir Samuel Wilson, when he was in Kenya recently, is reported to have arrived at certain conclusions. These were that a High Commissioner should be appointed with wide executive powers with a power of veto over legislation, and that there should be associated with him a federal Legislative Council called the Central Council, which should have an official majority. In addition to the heads of departments appointed by the High Commissioner, each territory will be represented by four members on this Council, two officials and two non-officials. The Central Council will have control of Customs, Railways and Harbours, Defence, Posts and Telegraphs and Research. We have opposed this federation on principle on the ground that it would be the thin end of the wedge and would ultimately result in a political federation. The Central Council in due course will acquire prestige and control over the purse. However, in view of the fact that there is a possibility of such a federation of the economic interests of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganiyka being accepted by the Imperial Government owing to the support of the European community and some of the Governments

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concerned, we have pressed that, in case the Central Council comes into existence, one of the two unofficial seats for each territory should be reserved for Indians. It is of the utmost importance that the economic life of the Indian community, who have very large commercial and vested interests in these territories, should be safeguarded by having such seats reserved for them in the Central Council. Without such definite reservation, we are afraid, from past experience, that the various Governments would not nominate Indian members on the Central Council."

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN KENYA

The memorandum next referred to the question of the constitutional changes in Kenya. The deputation observed : "We are opposed to the Chairman's minority recommendation that there should be a majority of elected and nominated unofficial European members in the Legislative Council. The majority report recommends that official seats should be reducted by four and that the said number of seats be provided for native representation. They further suggest that the substitution of official by non-official members should be progressive, in other words, the process should be carried on further in future. The Commission further virtually recommends that Native interests should be represented by the Europeans to be drawn from retired officials, missionaries or planters. The constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council, at present, provides for a strength of 38 members, consisting of 20 officials, 11 elected Europeans, 5 elected Indians, 1 elected Arab and 1 nominated European missionary who is supposed to represent Native interests. If the commission's recommendation is accepted, its immediate result will be that the Council will consist of 16 officials, 16 unofficial Europeans (11 elected and 5 nominated), 5 Indians and 1 Arab. Thus, the official majority will disappear and the influence of the non-official Europeans will be increased. One step further in the direction recommended by the commission will lead to the creation of a non-official European majority and the consequent transfer of the constitutional control to European settlers. We need not say that we are strongly opposed to all this. We ask that the official majority should be maintained as per the terms of the declaration of His Majesty's Government regarding Native trusteeship and the paramountcy of Native interests. But if the official majority is to be disturbed, the Natives themselves should be nominated to represent their own interests. We know that there are such Natives available. If, however, this is not done, at least one seat should be filled by a Native and the remaining four should be divided equally between the European and the Indian community. If all the seats are given to Europeans, it would disturb, to the further disadvantage of Indians, the present balance of racial representation, which is already unfair to them."

SEGREGATION OF INDIANS

As for segregation, the deputation recalled the White Paper of 1923 which declared that His Majesty's Government have decided that the policy of segregation as between Europeans and Asiatics in townships must be abandoned, and point out that the policy laid down has not been adhered to. In spite of this declaration, in the township of Mombasa, plots are being put up for auction with the restrictive condition, viz., that Indians can neither bid for nor reside on the said plots. The memorandum continued : "Mr. Kaderbhoy filed a test case in 1928 on this issue on behalf of the Indian Community, but the lower court decided the case against him. On appeal, the Supreme Court however decided that Indians could not be prohibited from bidding for the said plots ; but that the Government had a right to restrict the occupation of the said plots to Europeans only. The Government of Kenya has now appealed to the Privy Council against this decision on the first issue and Mr. Kaderbhoy has also applied for an appeal on the second issue. It would be realised that it is difficult for us to meet the cost of engaging able counsel for defending this case successfully against the Kenya Government, and we therefore request the Government of India to help us in fighting out this tssue."

RESERVATION OF LANDS

Regarding reservation of lands it was pointed out that in 1923 the Imperial

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Government decided to reserve the highlands for Europeans. A portion of the lowlands was offered to be reserved for Indians. The Indian community refused to accept the principle of reservation. It was mentioned in the White Paper of 1923 that the Government of India should depute an agricultural expert to Kenya to report upon the land available for Indian settlement as regards its suitability. We have been requesting the Government of India, for the last three years, to send an officer for this purpose. We beg to press this point once again as the question of settlement on land is a vital problem to Indians in Kenya. It is being stated that there is no demand amongst the Indians in Kenya for agricultural land, but we submit that if the same facilities which are offered to Europeans are also given to Indians and no discrimination is made, Indians would be prepared to take to agriculture.

Proceeding, the deputation urged the appointment of an Indian non-official as Trade Commissioner and also reiterated its request for an enquiry by an educational officer into the question of Indian education in the territories. The memorandum also laid stress on the need for medical facilities.

Regarding recruitment of Indians for the higher services the memorandum stated, "that over 19% of the Indian population in Kenya is engaged in Government service and their treatment is a question of great importance to the community. There exist discrimination in leave and passage regulations as between Europeans and Indians. Land is granted to European civil servants on retirement on special terms, while no such concession is made in favour of Indians. A committee has been appoined in England to consider the question of recruitment to the colonial services of which Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary of State for India is a member. We urge the Government of India to make strong representations to His Majesty's Government to obtain opportunities for Indians to rise to higher positions in the colonial service."

POSITION IN UGANDA

As for the Uganda Legislative Council, it was pointed out that when the Legislative Council was inaugurated in Uganda in 1917 the constitution provided for three unofficial seats, two of which were allotted to Europeans and one to an Indian. The Indian community strongly protested against this unequal representation and refrained from accepting the one seat offered to them. They contended that, in view of their numbers, vested interests and the part they have played and are still playing in the development of the country, they are entitled to at least the same number of seats as Europeans, if not more. The Indians control two-thirds of the cotton trade and they number about 11,000 as against a European population of under 2,000. In 1925, however, when a deputation of the Indian community waited upon the present Governor the Indian community were assured that the acceptance of one seat would in no way prejudice their claim for equal representation with Europeans. The Indian community, on the strength of this assurance, accepted the seats so offerred : but when representations were later on made for a further seat, they were told that as the Governor had nominated such unofficial members as were qualified to advise him, the question of racial representation did not arise at all. Had the Governor even once nominated two Indians and one European this explanation might have been regarded as satisfactory ; but as things are, it cannot be accepted by Indians. We request that the Government of India should support our claim for equal representation with Europeans. In Tanganyika also Indians have the same grievance as in Uganda. While Indians number about 19,000, the British population amounts to about 3,500 only. Yet, out of seven un-official members nominated to the Tanganyika Legislative Council, five are Europeans and only two Indians. The preferential treatment accorded to Europeans should be done away with and Indians should be allowed the same representation on the Legislative Council as is enjoyed by the Britishers. There is no justification for the existing racial distinction in the mandated territory.

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Sir Samuel Wilson's Report

Soon after the departure from East Africa of Sir Samuel Wilson, *The East African Standard* published a lengthy article which purported to give the main points on which agreement had been reached by the European community in Kenya. On the 24th July 1929 Mr. Lunn, the Colonial Under-Secretary, stated that it would be possible to publish early in September Sir Samuel Wilson's report on the agreement reached by him in Nairobi with regard to constitutional changes in East Africa. When the announcement of Sir Samuel Wilson's visit to East Africa was made, Indians were inclined to look upon his visit with grave fears, particularly because Mr. Amery had stated that Sir Samuel's mission would be to discuss recommendations on the Closer Union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and such possible modifications of the recommendations of the Closer Union Report as may appear desirable or necessary with the East African Governments and also with any body or individual representing interests or communities affected and that it would be his task to ascertain on what lines a scheme of Closer Union will be "administratively workable and otherwise acceptable."

Sir Samuel Wilson's report, issued on the 4th. October, however justified all the fears entertained regarding its recommendations. The report is prefaced with a note from Lord Passfield, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, which runs: "This report is issued at the earliest possible date for the information of Parliament. The late Secretary of State for the Colonies explained to Parliament, in March last, that it would be Sir Samuel Wilson's task to ascertain on what lines the scheme for a closer union in East Africa would be administratively workable and otherwise acceptable and to report the outcome of his consultations. At the same time, Mr. Amery made it clear that Sir Samuel Wilson could not commit His Majesty's Government or the Parliament in any way, and that any proposals for action arising out of his report would be submitted to Parliament before any final decision was taken. On the 10th of July the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, reaffirmed in the House of Commons on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the undertaking given by Mr. Amery. The publication of Sir Samuel Wilson's report is not therefore to be taken as in any way committing His Majesty's Government to the acceptance of the proposals or to agreement with the views expressed therein. The matter is engaging the consideration of His Majesty's Government, who will, in due course, submit their conclusions to Parliament before any final decision is reached."

OPPOSITION IN TANGANYIKA

Referring to the question of a closer political union, Sir Samuel Wilson said :—

"All communities with the exception of some in Tanganyaka appeared to be frightened by any idea of closer political union. The Indian community in Tanganyaka argued that Tanganyaka, being a mandated territory, equality of status was guaranteed to all sections of the community, and that a federation or a closer union was bound to affect the autonomy of Tanganyika and in particular the status of Indians resident there. For this and other reasons they were opposed to any proposals for a closer union of any kind.

"The hope was freely expressed in Kenya that my visit might lead to some immediate settlement, which would obviate any further discussions for some time to come, and leave the Local Government free to devote its undivided attention to the enactment of legislation urgently required for the Colony. I met no one in East Africa who was in favour of any powers being delegated by His Majest'y Government to a High Commissioner (even if such a procedure were constitutionally possible) and no one who took any exception to the view expressed by me that whatever the circumstances, the Secretary of State for the Colonies must, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, retain full control and full responsibility for the direction of policy in East Africa".

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The scheme proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson, broadly speaking, involved "the appointment of a High Commissioner who will be the King's representative and will rank senior to the Governors of the three territories and will exercise complete control, legislative and administrative, over certain common services, viz., Customs, Railways including ports and harbours, Posts and Telegraphs, Defence and Fundamental Research.

"In exercising his legislative functions, the High Commissioner is to be assisted by a Central Council. The powers of the Central Council are to be limited to the transferred subjects, all other matters being left to the local legislatures. The present freedom of debate on all subjects is to be reserved to members of the local legislatures.

"The High Commissioner is also to be assisted by special advisory boards on Customs and Railways, composed of officials, at least half of whom are to be members of the Central Council.

"There must be an official majority in the Central Council consisting of the High Commissioner, (President), three officials at the central head-quarter, seven representatives of Uganda, seven representatives from each of the different territories to be nominated by the High Commissioner on the recommendation of the Governors concerned, who should consult un-official members of the Legislative Councils in regard to the name of the unofficial representatives to be submitted to the High Commissioner".

Discussing the question of the control of Native Policy, Sir Samuel Wilson said : "Everyone was agreed that no exception was likely to be taken in any quarter to the views expressed in the Hilton Young Report on the general principles that should govern the relations between the Natives and other communities. On the other hand, I met no one during my tour who was in favour of making a central authority directly responsible for the co-ordination of policy on Native Affairs and all matters concerning the relations between the Natives and the Immigrants".

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Dealing with the position of Indians in East Africa Sir Samuel Wilson said : "That the Indian question is as acute in Kenya as it is to-day may be said to be mainly due to the resentment felt by the Indian community against the introduction in that colony in 1923, of a communal system of representation. As pointed out in the Report of the Hilton Young Commission, the Indian community do not claim representation in proportion to their numbers, but merely demand effective representation of their interests. At the same time they ask for equality of political status.

"Their main objection to a communal roll is sentimental in so far as in their view it conveys the implication that they are politically inferior to the European community, an implication that is naturally very galling to their self-respect. The situation was complicated by the publication of the majority report of the Hilton Young Commission which appears to have been interpreted by the Indian community to mean that the whole question of their position in Kenya would be reopened and that it was only a matter of a short time before a change from the communal roll system would be approved. It appears to have been entirely overlooked that the majority report of the Hilton Young Commission took the view that a general agreement locally would be an essential factor in any scheme of settlement.

'The situation as regards the position of Indians in Kenya has no counterpart in Uganda and Tanganyika, where there is no system of elective representation, and where different communities have been accustomed to live amicably side by side to work together in the closest harmony for the common good.

"The Indian communities ask (a) that if a Council is at any time created one half of the unofficial members representing each territory on the Council should be Indians, and that this should be provided for statutorily ; (b) that whether a central authority is created or not, the Indian communities should be given greater share than is the case to-day in the responsibilities of Government, and that Indians should be appointed to some of the higher posts in the administrative, judicial, medical

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agricultural and scientific services ; (c) that if advisory bodies are set up in London to assist the Secretary of State for the Colonies Indian interest should be adequately represented ; (d) that if the post of High Commissioner for East Africa is created, one of his private secretaries should be an Indian belonging to one of the superior civil services in India ; (e) that the attention of the Committee which has been set up in London to consider the conditions of entry into the Colonial Office and the Colonial services should be drawn to the claim of Indians for equal rights with other British communities.

"On the other hand, I have been informed that Indians in East Africa do not seek a dominating position, and that what in general they desire (a) for the purpose of establishing their equality of status, a change in the system of communal roll ; (b) adequate representation of local Indian interests in the Council ; (c) a fair share for the Indian community of the medical, educational and other facilities provided by the Government ; (d) to seek an end to the prevailing atmosphere of political controversy and inter-racial distrust

"When I met the representatives of the Indian community in Kenya, Mr. Sastri and Mr. Kunzru being present, I suggested that since there appeared to be no likelihood at the present time, of reaching a local agreement on the question of a communal roll, it might be desirable to explore other avenues of approach which might eventually lead to such an agreement. My suggestion met with no response from the meeting, and rightly or wrongly, His Majesty's Government, the Kenya Government, the Secretary of State for the Colonies and I myself came in for a certain amount of criticism on the ground, that no one had made any move with a view to bringing the European and Indian communities together. On the other hand, judging from the discussions which I had with some of the leading Indians in Kenya, I would not exclude the possibility of the Indian community being prepared to accept nomination to the Legislative Council instead of election always, provided that certain undertakings were given. These would be (a) that His Majesty's Government should give an undertaking that the door was not closed to a common roll ; and (b) that the Kenya Government would miss no opportunity of using its good offices to bring the European and Indian communities together. If these undertakings were given, I believe that there is a possibility that the Indian community of East Africa might accept nomination to the Council so that they could have an opportunity of proving their good faith, and showing that they were genuinely ready to work for the good of the Colony, while not aiming at political domination."

Sir Samuel Wilson dealt next with the question of reconstitution of the Kenya Legislative Council and after dealing with the Hilton Young proposals and the views held locally said :—

"Broadly, the position may be said to be (a) the European community are not ready to reduce their demand for increased elected European representation on the Council below fifteen members, and they are strongly opposed to any addition to the number of Indian representatives now included in the Council, (b) many members of the Indian community are opposed to any change which does not include the abandonment of the system of communal representation, and also to any scheme which gives increased elective representation to the European community. On the other land, if my personal opinion is correct, the members of the Indian community, who take a moderate view, might be prepared to agree to the same representation for the Indian community as now on a nominated instead of an elected basis, but on the understanding that no revolutionary change is made in the constitution of the Council, such as the granting of an elected European majority, that the door is not closed to the reconsideration of the question of a common roll and that the Government agrees to miss no opportunity of bringing about a friendly understanding between the European and Indian communities.

Sir Samuel Wilson then gave the conclusions arrived at and suggested alternative schemes. He said : "I do not think that I can explain better the conclusions I have arrived at than by giving what appear to me three alternative schemes that might be possible solutions of this controversial question. Under the three schemes the various representations would be as follows : Ex-officio officials 5, 5, 5 ; nomina-

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ted officials 7, 6, 7 ; elected Europeans 13, 15 ; elected Arab 1, 1, 1 ; elected or nominated Indians 5, 6, 6 ; nominated unofficials to represent general including Native interests 7, 7, 8 ; total 38, 38, 42.

"I submit that all these schemes have the following merits : (a) they provide for a decrease in the abnormally large number of officials now serving on the Council ; (b) they provide for an increase in the number of elected Europeans but only a very small one, as compared with the demands made in the past ; (c) they so divide the Council as to make it impossible for the elected Europeans, with the full Council voting, to carry any measure against the views of the Government supported by Indians unless they can get seven nominated unofficial or six nominated unofficials and the elected Arab to support them ; (d) the Governor is left complete discretion as to selecting for nomination the best persons (irrespective or race) to represent the general including Native interests.

ROLL OF HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sir Samuel Wilson in his final remarks observed : "The importance from a purely economic point of view of centralising the control of the essential Services is great. It would however only exceed slightly if at all the importance of having a high official in East Africa who could, if he had the necessary personality and tact, exercise even without the wide executive powers envisaged by the Hilton Young Commission, a co-ordinating influence of far-reaching value over the work of the three administrations. In fact, he would be in a position to do much of the work recommended by the Hilton Young Commission, and would, as Chairman of the Governors' Conference, play a very leading part in shaping the future policy and destiny of these great territories. That this must be one of the functions of the High Commissioner is no doubt the reson why the Government of Tanganyika made the proposal to me that, in order to regularise the position of the central authority, it would be desirable to give him full executive control over the three territories, even though the exercies of this control is limited by the instructions from the Secretary of State, to matters directly connected with the transferred subjects. I discussed this proposal with the Governor and the Acting Governor when I met them at Nairobi in June when it was urged that there would be strong objection taken in some quarters in East Africa to any constitution which would permit of full executive control being given to the High Commissioner at any moment and when the Secretary of State for the time being might choose to cancel the instruction restricting the use of that power to the transferred subjects.

"I have already mentioned that the Governor of Uganda and the Acting Governor of Kenya are of opinion that the scheme outlined in this report should be put into operation without undue delay, while the Governor of Tanganyika, would prefer to postpone any such action until it is possible to formulate Native policy for East Africa. With this object in view, Sir Donald Cameron suggests, in his note, the setting up of a highly authoritative committee or commission in London which is apparently to examine witnesses and give those who are not in agreement with the principles advocated in the report of the Hilton-Young Commission an opportunity of stating their views. The matter raised in this note was discussed at my meeting held with the Governors and the Acting Governor early in June. The hopes by the Governor of Uganda and the Acting Governor of Kenya on the same subject are printed as appendices. I am unable to support the view of the Governor of Tanganyika to the effect that the adoption of any scheme of a closer union (even though confined to purely economic services) should be postponed pending further inquiry into the question of Native policy in East Africa, and I concur with the view held by the Governor of Uganda and the Acting Governor of Kenya as to the desirability of putting the scheme of co-ordination proposed in this report into operation at an early date.

"Lastly I suggest that the setting up of an authoritative body in London to institute yet another inquiry into the question of Native policy would not be at all favourably received in East Africa itself, where, as far as I could ascertain, many people are tired of commissions and committees of inquiry, and hope, above all else, for an early termination of the discussions that have been in progress now for over two years.

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British India and Indian States.

July-Dec. 1929.

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The Princes' Views on the

Indian Constitutional Reform

Nawab of Bhopal on Indian Aspirations.

Inaugurating the fifth session of the Bhopal Legislative Council on the 21st September 1929, H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal said :—

British India and Indian India both await the momentous decisions which will perhaps be taken during the course of the next year regarding the future of our country. British India is forcing the pace towards complete self-government, and we of the Indian States have declared, more than once, that our full sympathies are with them in their aspirations towards the attainment of Dominion Status within the Empire.

The Princes will be prepared, whole-heartedly, to co-operate and to bring their States into line with British India in any honourable, fair and just settlement which will conduce to the welfare of our motherland and the good of the Empire. We fully realise our obligations to our country, and I have no hesitation in saying that we regard it to be our foremost duty to see that we are not a drag on her. To ensure this we, who are already self-governed, must endeavour to the extreme limit of our capacity to secure, where it does not already exist in the States, that peace, contentment and prosperity of the people for which British India is struggling. But, at the same time, we must also work for the preservation of our own identity and integrity, and our rights and privileges, as internally independent and sovereign states.

Again, whatever be the differences of opinion in certain matters, between us and the Government of India, we must not forget that we are under a heavy debt of gratitude to the British for all that they have done for the good of our States, and we must never ignore our treaty obligations to them. After all, they proved to be our staunchest friends at a time when the one or the other of us was being battered to pieces by our own countrymen.

In any new arrangement, therefore, it will be only right if we ask for guarantees to ensure that a similar fate shall not be in store for us in the future, and that our rights and interests shall be fully preserved and maintained. For these reasons, and many others, I should like to make it clear that we shall not be a party to any proposals which may aim at India's going outside the British Empire. Within that Empire we wish to remain as honourable partners, and for that end we shall strive to the utmost of our capacity.

Peace and contentment of the people result from good government. This is always possible in the States if we only adopt well and clearly defined constitutions based on true Indian ideals of kingship, and strictly and honourably adhere to them. This is necessary, because, as far as we, the Princes, are concerned, it is only right and fair that, whilst we claim from the people our rights as their Rulers, we should at the same time fully realise our obligations and our duties to them.

If we assert, on the plea of religious and medieval doctrines, that it is the Divine Will which puts a Ruler in power, and consequently the people should bow to it, we must also recognise that it is not the Divine Will that such a Ruler should be a menace to his dynastic interests and to the interests of his people. A firm believer in my religion, and a loyal follower of my Prophet, I believe—and I take my inspiration from my religion—that it is not fair to God, to Islam and to man, that a Ruler should lend himself to the belief that he is at liberty arbitrarily to sacrifice the rights and interests of his subjects, in order to satisfy his personal whims and caprices.

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Coming to the question of reforms in the States and the introduction therein of democratic forms of Government, I would like to point out, that, as far as I know, the Princes are by no means opposed to the principles of democracy. After all, the true aims and objects of all forms of government are the same, be they on the lines of Indian kingship or, the American Republic. In the former the final authority is vested in a Ruler, in the latter in a small group of politicians, but the goal of both is identical, namely, government for the benefit and uplift of the people. Both can serve the best interests of a country and be a blessing to humanity; and both are open to temptations and can be a menance to a people.

Why then quarrel about forms? Why initiate methods of administration so far unknown to the country? Instead, why not reform ourselves where reforms are needed and yet retain our indigenous system which has stood the test of centuries? Let nobody for a moment suspect that when we hold views against an immediate change to democracy, we are opposed to its principies. We do so because we believe that a fully democratic government can only be successful in a country where a very large number of the people know what is best for them.

An honest examination of our conditions, I am afraid, reveals that at the present stage of our moral, mental and physical development, this is not the case with us. The fact is that the people's ignorance of modern and progressive ideas makes them an easy prey to bigotted conservatism, which leads to most deplorable communal strifes, and creates a feeling of aversion in their minds to the initiation of elementary, social and other reforms. Their opposition to their education, and their obstinacy against the adoption of modern medical, sanitary and scientific methods, stand in the way of their political progress.

You cannot alter these conditions by a wave of the magic wand. You need centuries of persistent and honest work, and I think that it would not be practical politics to aspire to rule with any success a medieval people by twentieth century methods. After all, one cannot lose sight of the fact that an ignorant and irresponsible democracy is, and can be, the greatest danger to a country, and, thereby, to the peace of the whole world. I am convinced that the success of an oriental people lies in their remaining oriental. I am afraid we have already had too many western ideas forced on our eastern minds, and that too at the expense of our own culture, and to the detriment of our civilisation. There is no more room left for any further additions to these, at least not till we feel sure that this progress will not lead us to become completely oblivious of India's own greater past; my earnest advice to all true sons of the country is that they should fully consider and weigh the pros and cons before they think of demolishing an existing edifice.

I offer this advice not as a Ruler, but as one who is your countryman, and as one who is proud to be able to call himself as belonging to you; and here I would like to strike a personal note. You all know better than anyone else, that I have been brought up and educated as a democrat and, as a nationalist. I have spent the best part of my life at my Alma Mater amongst some of the poorest and humblest of my countrymen.

It is not a secret that I have lived with them as one of them. I have served in, and worked for, this country as an ordinary servant of the State, and it was nothing else but Divine Will which, by a sequence of unforeseen accidents, brought me to the position that I hold to-day; but this cannot make me forget the lessons I have learnt in the past.

I want to make no secret of it that I have very strong leanings towards democracy; not the western form of democracy, but democracy in the broader sense of the word. But it is this very democratic tendency that makes me feel convinced, that it is not right for anyone to force, in an autocratic fashion, ideal of exotic froms of government on a people completely ignorant of their principles and their objectives.

Proceeding His Highness advised the members of the legislature not to abuse the privilege of interpellations as that involves the Government in a tremendous amount of unnecessary and extra work, to educate their constituents in the principles of useful citizenship and to train local talent for holding offices in the State.

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Tho Nawab continued :—

As regards your share, as Government members, in the business that is transacted in this House, you know that this Council has been created with two main objects, namely (1) to train the people to serve the country in the right manner, and (2) to associate them with the administration.

It is yet in an infant stage of development and, as such, it stands in need of your assistance and your support. With your knowledge of the affairs of the world, and with your wider experience in all branches of administration, I know it is easy for you to parry the arguments of the people's representatives in support of their proposals, but I feel sure that the temptation to come triumphant out of a duel of words, or the thought of the prestige of the Government, will never be allowed to over-ride the best and true interests of the country.

The biggest triumph for a man is to be reasonable, and the highest prestige of a government can be best maintained by government itself readily acknowledging and correcting its own mistakes. Let me, therefore, hope that it would always be the spirit of the proposals under discussion, and not the letter, that would lead you to your decisions.

Before I finish, I wish to make a personal appeal to my nobles and subjects, who live in the cities, and to all the public servants, and it is this, that you should all learn to love and respect my peasantry. They are the real backbone of the country. It is they who feed you by the sweat of their brow and, as such, they do not deserve to be treated as people living on a lower plane than ourselves. I have all along given you the lead in this matter, and, therefore, I have a right to insist that you should go to them. be one of them in their sorrows and their pleasures, and always help them to the utmost of your capacity. You will lose nothing by serving them in this manner, and in their turn, they are bound to love and respect you for it. Remember the lines :—

"..... a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

Maharaja of Bikaner on Round Table Conference.

In an address to the Administrative Conference of his State on the 21st October 1929, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner pleaded for a calm and dispassionate atmosphere for the solution of the various problems confronting Indian statesmen which he said was not going to be so simple or easy a task as some might imagine. It required a proper grasp and full appreciation of each other's stand-points and difficulties, and a reasonable amount of give and take as well as compromise on all sides in the cause of India as a whole, British India, not less than the Indian States, had to make its contribution towards the goal.

The Maharaja of Bikaner felt that there were great potentialities of benefit to the States and their subjects arising from the appointment of the Butler Committee. Having the fullest confidence in the equitable treatment of such questions by the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government he shared the views expressed by the Princes' Conference in Bombay that any unsatisfactory features in regard to issues between the British authorities and the States as also between the States and British India could undoubtedly be solved by personal discussion with the Viceroy and by recourse to frank and friendly negotiations, rather than by any legal steps or by recourse to non-co-operation in which the Princes did not believe. His Highness appealed to British Indian leaders for a proper grasp of the correct constitutional position of the States and a full appreciation of the standpoint of the Princes.

His Highness further emphasised that the Princes had, on various occasions in the past, not merely by words, but by deeds given actual proofs of their feelings towards British India and of their welcoming the attainment of Dominion Status. His Highness added that further proof of their sincerity and support to the legitimate aspirations of British India would be forthcoming in a very substantial and practical manner during the next few months, subject, of

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course, to two obviously essential conditions, (1) that equitable and satisfactory arrangements were arrived at between the parties concerned about the position of the States in the future constitution of India on terms fair and honourable alike to the States and British India and (2) that India remained an integral part of the British Commonwealth under the aegis of the beloved King-Emperor.

"In this," declared His Highness, "the Princes have been as much influenced by their desire to see a strong and united India under the Crown and thus a source of additional strength to the British Empire, as they have been influenced by the feeling that they are bound to their brethren in British-India by ties of blood, race and religion. In the circumstances, no one in British India had the least justification for distrusting the Princes and the States or suspecting their "bond fides," much less for repeating the senseless charge that the Princes were opposed to constitutional reforms in British India."

"Before very long," continued His Highness, "all the parties concerned, namely, the British Government, British India and the Indian States would be called upon to contribute towards solving the various knotty problems in building up a stable and safe constitution for India as a whole, to enable British-India as well as Indian States to march hand in hand and to contribute towards the well-being and glory of their common motherland." There were strong rumours, which His Highness sincerely hoped would prove to be true, that, with the sympathy and support of India's popular Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and the goodwill of His Majesty's Government, a Round Table Conference would be convened in England in the not distant future on which it was essential that both British India and the Indian States should be adequately represented. In order to make such a conference a real success, co-operation between the two parts of India was essential, and must be aimed at in a fraternal spirit by the Indian States as well as British India.

Proceeding, His Highness emphatically and effectively repudiated the malicious charges, sometimes levelled by irresponsible people against the Princes who were represented, as attempting to perpetuate autocracy, absolutism and misrul eto stem the rising tide of Nationalism in British India and the increasing power of public opinion in their own states and to secure a blank cheque to oppress their subjects and to squander public money and to work generally against the best interests of their subjects and altogether ignore them. His Highness asserted, from his own intimate acquaintance with the problems of the States, that there was no atom of truth in these pernicious lies, and that the Princes and the States as a body were wholeheartedly and sincerely working in the best interests of the States and their subjects.

Referring to the attacks in the Press, His Highness cited facts in regard to the administrative conference itself, to show how a certain section of the Press in British India delighted in the basest scandal-mongering and malicious propaganda against the States but gratefully acknowledged the sane and sober attitude of many responsible leaders and respectable newspapers in British India." "An honest and efficient Press," observed His Highness, "is the Fourth Estate, and wholesome criticism is good for us all in more ways than one. One of the functions of an honest and honourable Press is not only to criticise where criticism is really called for, but to instil fresh ideas and to help to take a Ruler or Government or official out of any rut into which he may have been driven deep through force of habit or imperviousness to light. But that cannot unfortunately be said of a certain type of local correspondents and a certain section of the Press which have brought the name of the public Press into the mire, and indeed which have strayed far away from all that was honourable, best and noble in the traditions of journalism and journalists."

Maharaja of Bikaner on the Viceroy's Announcement.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the course of a press interview on the 2nd November 1929 said : "I have only a couple of hours ago received a full copy of His Excellency the Viceroy's important statement, but I say without hesitation that as a patriotic Indian devoted to his motherland, as a Ruler of an Indian

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State who, in common with his subjects, has a real stake in the country, and as a Ruling Prince deeply attached to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor by inalienable ties of unflinching loyalty, I sincerely welcome the momentous declaration authoritatively made by His Excellency the Viceroy to the effect that it was implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status and that before the stage of a Joint Parliamentry Committee was reached His Majesty's Government propose to invite repres entatives of different parties and interests in British India as well as the representatives of the Indian States to a Conference for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement in regard both to British Indian and All-Indian problems, so that it may be possible for them eventually to submit to Parliament such proposals on these grave issues as may command a wide measure of general assent.

"This statesmanlike courage, and timely action is a further proof of the gracious sympathy and abiding solicitude of our beloved King-Emperor for the Princes and the people of India on whose behalf His Majesty, as Prince of Wales, made such an earnest appeal for greater sympathy on his return to England after his first visit to India, and to whom as Emperor, His Majesty was further pleased, a few years later, to deliver at Calcutta the heartening message of faith and hope.

"Those who have the privilege of knowing well our popular Viceroy were fully assured of the genuine sympathy and noble sentiments which Lord Irwin entertains for both British India and the Indian States, but His Excellency's recent announcement must surely afford the amplest proof to everyone of his transparent sincerity of purpose and the conscientious manner in which he has discharged his duties during his recent mission to England as India's ambassador.

"The fair, liberal and business-like manner in which the Labour Government tackled the Egyptian and the Iraq question so soon after their coming into power, had led me to think that His Majesty's Government appreciates fully well the saying that 'great Empires and narrow minds go ill together,' and encouraged me in the belief that the problems connected with British India and the Indian States would be dealt with in the same liberal and statesmanlike spirit and with the same breadth of vision and imagination so necessary in regard to questions of Imperial—indeed world-wide significance and we of India —to whichever of its two great parts we belong—have indeed good reason to be grateful to the Viceroy as well as His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, for thus paving the way for the attainment of India of its full political freedom as an equal and honourable member of the British Commonwealth of nations.

"With the report of the Simon Commission still under preparation the impossibility of anticipating the nature of any constitutional changes that may hereafter be proposed, it is not reasonable to expect more at this stage, and it is now for India—Indian States as well as British India—to demonstrate to the world at large that they are jointly and severally and unitedly capable of dealing successfully with and solving the problems involved in a practical and business like manner, coupled with reasonableness and good will and with mutual toleration and sympathy and a due appreciation of each others claims and difficulties.

"There must inevitably be some disappointment at the prospect of some delay in holding the proposed Conference in England, which it might not be found feasible to do before the summer of 1931.

"A severe European winter is not the most favourable time for the settlement on amicable lines of problems of such grave import to all concerned. A few months are of comparatively small importance in the life time of a nation or a country, and it is perhaps all to the good that not only British India but also the Indian States should have ample time calmly and carefully to study the proposals of the Simon Commission before partaking in the Conference.

"The minds of the Indian Princes, who gathered in Delhi last week, were never 'exercised' as to the effect which the forthcoming announcement would have on the Indian States, as I have read it stated in some papers.

"Far from feeling any apprehensions, the Princes and the Governments of the Indian States will, I feel sure, welcome the proposed Round Table Conference,

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as it will, on the contrary, finally set at rest all the doubts and apprehensions entertained in the States and clarify the especial position of the States within the Empire. The Princes, realising full well that they are bound to their brethren in British India by ties of blood, race and religion have no desire to hamper the attainment of Dominion Status by British India or to be a drag on its constitutional advancement. Nothing is further from their desire than to break up the country into two discordant halves, warring against each other, in fratricidal feuds and they, as earnestly, look forward to the unity of India as their friends, the political leaders of British India.

"Any attitude of undue incompatibility on the part of the Princes would be both unpatriotic and unreasonable. They have in the past repeatedly emphasised their sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of their fellow countrymen in British India, and they went a step further at the Bombay Conference in June last when they cordially welcomed the attainment of Dominion Status by British India as an integral part of the British Empire.

"In my speech at the Administrative Conference, delivered only a month ago, after expressing the hope that the rumours were true about the Round Table Conference to be convened by the Imperial Government I went on to state that the sympathy and support of the Princes would be forthcoming in a very substantial manner at such a Conference. Though various important details have yet to be considered and agreed upon, the Princes are not unmindful of the full implications of Dominion Status, now happily assured to India. They have openly given expression to the belief that the ultimate solution of the Indian problem and the ultimate goal—whenever circumstances are favourable and the time is ripe for it—is federation which word has no terror for the Princes and the Government of States.

"Ever since 1918, the Princes have been asking for some means of joint deliberation on questions of common concern affecting British India as well as the States. Customs duties, excise, salt and opium, railways and means of transport and inter-communication, including aerial navigation, posts and telegraphs, wireless and radio broadcasting as well as the fiscal and financial problems of coinage and currency, banking and exchange—these are all questions affecting and demanding joint deliberation between the Governments of the country. The policy hitherto pursued in the absence of joint deliberation has been not only unjust to the interests of the States but has benefited the Government and the people of British India at the expense of the States.

"The Princes thus have for long been anxious for an equitable and satisfactory settlement as regards the future position of the States in the policy of India of the future. This was one of their chief objects in asking for the appointment of the Indian States Committee; but in the Butler report this aspect of the Indian States' problems has not been dealt with and I anticipate that good—and not harm—will come to the States by this question being seriously dealt with between the Imperial Governments, the Viceroy and the Governments of the States by separate negotiations as well as by discussions at the Conference. The wisdom of having the Butler Committee appointed will now be more apparent.

"What the Princes have all along contended and attached importance to is a just recognition of the correct position of the States and adequate guarantees and safeguards for the preservation and maintenance of the Princes' honourable position as 'perpetual allies and friends' and for their rights and privileges as such in any new policy devised for the governance of the country. They naturally lay special stress upon an obvious point, namely, that in any new arrangement under the Dominion form of Government, any adjustment of their future relations with British India should be settled only with their free consent, on terms just and honourable and satisfactory to the States as well as to British India. The States cannot be expected to agree to any proposals involving a violation of their treaties or infringement of their sovereign rights and internal autonomy and independence.

"Britlsh India and the States have existed for a great many years indisputably side by side as two separate parts with mutual advantage, and it is impossible to believe that they cannot so exist in the future without anyone desiring to encroach upon the rights of the other, wanting the States to merge

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their separate entity. The Princes and the States will, therefore, be gratified to note that the scope of the Conference is to be confined only either to British Indian, or All-Indian problems, and that questions purely of domestic concern affecting the internal autonomy of the States have been wisely eliminated."

Asked about the attitude of the Princes in regard to the invitation issued by Pandit Motilal Nehru to a Round Table Conference His Highness said :—

"I am glad in a way that you have asked this question. Desirous as I am of not touching on any controversial matter on this happy occasion I should have preferred to say merely that a conference such as that planned by the All-Parties Convention has now become superfluous, though it would be as well to make certain points clear, I fully appreciate the importance of evolving with the free consent of all the parties concerned a suitable constitution for India which would for the future guarantee and protect their several rights and interests ; but in my view such a Conference, if it is to be of any value, must be tripartite ; and it is on these grounds that the Princes will, I am sure, welcome the Conference proposed by the Imperial Government.

"The Princes and the States have made it abundantly clear that they stand solid for the British connection, and they cannot attend a Conference held in the absence of the other party to our treaties. But whilst ignoring the British Government, and not including any of their representatives in the invitation, representatives of the 'peoples' of the Indian States appear, in accordance with the terms of the All Parties resolution, to have also been invited. It is difficult to conceive that it was not apparent to the All Parties Convention that in the circumstance it was in any case impossible to expect the Princes to depute the duly constituted representatives of their Governments to sit with and to negotiate on an equal basis with the so-called representatives of their people as a separate and independent party, nor could they have possibly expected the Governments of the States to agree to be bound by any such decision of the so-called representatives of their subjects, whose credentials in regard to such claims it would at least be interesting to examine. Such demarcation between the duly constituted Governments of the States and their peoples was, to say the least, unfortunate and implied a complete misconception of the relations between the Ruler and the ruled in our States which the majority of the "bona fide" loyal and thinking subjects of our States would themselves find unacceptable, since they have from time immemorial been accustomed to regard their rulers as their natural leaders and spokesmen and the hereditary defenders of their rights and interests.

"Here I wish to emphasise that in all their efforts in the past to secure the just rights of their States the Princes and the States as a body have, as I said in my speech last month, whole-heartedly worked in the best interests of their subjects as the custodians of their rights, and that they will endeavour honourably and consistently to bear in mind their duties towards their people and to do their best for them in all future negotiations. But the treaties of the States have been entered into between the British Government and the rulers as the representatives of their people, and as such the rulers and their Governments, who have every right to stand on their constitutional rights, will note with satisfaction that this correct distinction have been drawn in the Viceregal statement and the Prime Minister's letter by making it clear that the invitation of His Majesty's Government will be extended to "representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States."

"These remarks are, I trust, also a sufficient reply to the question asked in the Press as to why, if the Princes can attend a Conference convened by His Majesty's Government, they should be unable to attend the All Parties Conference.

"In conclusion, I beg respectfully to share in the Viceroy's hope that the pronouncement may evoke response from, and enlist the concurence of, all sections of opinion in India. I earnestly pray that His Excellency's hopes will be fulfilled by the determined efforts of the leaders and people throughout India, wherever and whoever they are, breaking through the webs of mistrust which have clogged the relations not only between India and Great Britain, but between British India and the States. It will be the duty of every one to contribute to the success of the Conference by constructive and not destructive proposals. Whatever mistakes have been made on any side or by any individuals in the past, now with

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the prospects once again bright for India, we ought, each and everyone of us, to remember the eloquent and moving appeal made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in 1921, " to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day," and thus bring about, in His Excellency the Viceroy's words " the touch that carries with it healing and health ' by which we may all contribute to the good of a greater India and of the Empire."

Maharaja Patiala on Rulers' Claims.

The following is the text of the speech delivered by H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala at the Rajendra Gymkhana Club, Patiala on the 20th November 1929 on the occasion of his birthday celebration. Speaking on the Viceroy's recent announcement the Maharaja said :—

I could have anticipated myself in this and done so much earlier through the different vehicles of communication open to me, but I prefered to wait in order to give deep thought to that remarkable utterance. I realise that whaf I say would probably be read as coming from one who combines in himselt a triple capacity as the Ruler of Patiala, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and as a true friend of the British Government. These various capacities are in no sense exclusive. On the contrary, they overlap and are intimately related with each other. In each and all of those capacities I welcome His Excellency's pronouncement as timely and statesmanlike. Even as far as it goes—and it could not very well have gone further—it announces a step, the essential first step, towards the ultimate solution of India's pressing constitutional problem. I say it without hesitation and without fear of contradiction that our mother country owes to Lord Irwin a deep debt for securing that there shall be a Round Table Conference between His Majesty's Government in England and all the different Indian interests. Our sense of gratitude to him is infinitely deepened when we realise, as we all should duly realise, the steadfastness of purpose, the sincerity of conviction and the persuasive advocacy which His Excellency must have felt called upon to demonstrate in the present condition of party politics in England to enable himself to make such an announcement, and I would express the fervent hope that nothing further would occur to mar the very favourable effect which this pronouncement has already had in this country.

Speaking as a patriotic Indian, I also venture to say that Lord Irwin has created a favourable opportunity for the early honourable realisation of India's legitimate political aspirations through the only effective and the surest means of friendly negotiation. From the point of view of my ownself as a Ruler and of the Princes generally I feel myself warranted in affirming that by ensuring the association of the Princes of India with the indispensable negotiations promised, he has done much to put heart into a body which while remaining staunch to the British connection has not felt itself the gainer for its unflagging fidelity. In British India opinion on this point could not be without exception united. There was bound to be some variety of view, some difference of opinion.

It is no wonder that some people should have scented danger in our association, but I think I am correctly representing the public mind when I say that the phrase " neither can afford to ignore the other " embodies the mutual feelings of British India and the States. To those who feel justified in distrusting our association I would merely say that the Princes were never willing, and if it were possible they are less so to-day, to submit to being employed as tools or levers to retard the progress towards the destined goal of their brethren outside their own territories.

British India is asking for Dominion Status. I speak with due diffidence, but so far as I understand the matter, that phrase has now always carried the same rigidly defined connotation. It meant one thing before the Great War, it means something else to-day. Things evolve in the passage of time. They have to, they must be allowed to.

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Within the orbit of the British Empire there are to-day various Dominions, each of which has a status of its own vis-a-vis the world and the Empire. India will have to have her own constitution. The Viceroy has ensured that India's constitutional problem will be solved in a dignified manner and, let us hope, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, and thus all untoward developments would be averted, as might have created insurmountable barriers between British India and Indian India and may have resulted in widespread and avoidable human suffering.

I most earnestly trust that such a great opportunity will not be missed for the sake of mere sentiment, party, gain or personal prestige. The higher interest of the Motherland, I have no doubt, would be permitted to transcend all such ephemeral considerations. At the same time it is obvious that the maximum advantage can be derived from this unique opportunity only if we compose all our differences and go to the conference truly united in heart and mind.

I am sure it is a great satisfaction to my brother Princes as it is to me, to find that there is to be representation of the States at the Round Table Conference.

The question arises what should be the position of the States in the constitution that will come into being within the next year or two and the form it may assume at a later date. I have tried to answer this question to myself and I find, that my thought is being expressed by Kipling's well-known verse,

"Daughter am I in my mother's house :
"But mistress in my own."

This has been the insistent claim of the present generation of Indian Princes. It must be, it will be, the claim of the States vis-a-vis any Government of India.

If it were necessary to make the position of myself and my brother Princes still clearer, I would recall the famous resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, which read :—"Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

If you want to get an approximate notion of the attitude of the States, all you have to do is to adopt this resolution in the light of the history of the British connection with the States which is enshrined in their subsisting treaties. Eliminate external affairs, slightly qualify equality of status with due regard to factors that cannot be ignored, substitute for the British Commonwealth of Nations the Federated States of India, and you have in a nutshell what is more or less in the mind of the States.

This brings me to the question of Federation. This device has been suggested as the likeliest and the best solution of the Indian problem by many thinkers and endorsed as such by many political leaders in British India. They all have, however, insisted that over such a federation should be superimposed a strong Central Government. It should be obvious that if the States are expected to consent to federation, they cannot very well be left entirely outside that strong Central Government, whatever form their inclusion might take, and whatever form may be devised it can only be introduced with their free and willing consent.

I feel that these observations are neither untimely nor inappropriate. With His Excellency the Viceroy's pronouncement was published the correspondence between the Right Hon. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister and the Right Hon. Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Simon Commission.

From this correspondence it is apparent that, although the original terms of Sir John Simon's Commission strictly confined their investigation and their recommendations to British India he has now enabled himself to formulate proposals which must directly affect the States and may radically affect their interests.

This may turn out to be a piece of good fortune for the States from their own point of view. It may easily be otherwise. Therefore, it needs to be said plainly and without flinching that it is possible that the cause of the States may go by default.

Sir John and his colleagues who did not themselves investigate the problem of the States will only have before them to go upon, (a) the evidence of British Indian

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witnesses on the Indian constitutional problem in which the States figure as a factor and are dealt with from the British Indian point of view, and (b) the report of the Butler Committee.

This imposes upon us the necessity not merely of offering our observations upon every aspect of the Butler Committee's report, but of ventilating if we get time, for the necessary preparation, before the Round Table Conference of our views on the place of the States in any future constitution of India to which His Majesty's Government may be held to give their imprimatur.

I trust that my quotation of Kipling's verse and my reference to the resolution of the Imperial Conference will indicate the mind of the States in this behalf and that the indication will be of some use to Sir John Simon. But even so it is necessary to state that the report of the Simon Commission will probably be issued before the Chamber meets in February, and that the recommendations will have been formulated without the Princes having had an opportunity either to discuss with the Commission questions bearing on their own position or the evidence that was tendered before that Commission.

Without anything that I have said it must be apparent to everybody that India in general and the States in particular are at the parting of the ways. We, the States, naturally desire not merely to preserve our identity but all our rights which, as our treaties make apparent, were retained only after great sacrifices at the altar of difficult circumstances. In view of that fact the present position requires that we should do all that in us lies to regain the rights that may have been lost to us through various circumstances, for which we were not responsible.

Indeed to do this is a duty which we owe primarily to our subjects and also to our posterity, and we shall be unworthy representatives of our forebears if we flinch from this task.

I do not, however, disguise from myself the fact that it is essential that we respect the temper of the modern age and accord our administrations to modern standards with due regard to our ancient polities, the traditions of our individual States and the existing local conditions.

If the much talked of Federation is to come off between the Indian States and British India it would be essential that each one of the Federated States should be internally autonomous and that all should in due course attain a fairly uniform level of good administration, though not necessarily identical modes thereof. So long as the States and British India earnestly combine in the pursuit of common ends it would remain a question for consideration whether even to-day the Rulers of States have any other ends in view than have either the present Government of India or the present generation of British Indian political leaders.

Maharaja Bikaner on London Conference

The Maharaja of Bikaner delivered a lengthy address on the 22nd December proroguing the Legislative Assembly of Bikaner, in the course of which he surveyed the issues arising out of the Viceregal announcement and the position of Indian States in relation to the future constitution of India. His Highness said :

"You would like me to afford you this opportunity of associating yourselves with me and my Government in tendering to the Viceroy our grateful thanks for the noble and conscientious manner in which, as Ambassador of Greater India, he had, with rare courage and statemanship of the highest order, fought India's battle and represented to His Majesty's Government the view-points of British India as well as the States during his recent mission to England and of expressing our deep gratification at the success which His Excellency's earnest advocacy has won for him, of which the memorable pronouncement is one of the direct results which should disarm the doubts and mistrust of even those who are most sceptical or distrustful. Recent events have also amply demonstrated the genuine goodwill and sympathy for India of His Majesty's Government and their desire to do the right thing for us all.

"It behoves us all also to see to it that neither British India nor the States let down the Viceroy, after his noble efforts and services in the cause of India, as the late Mr.

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Montagu, than whom India never had a truer friend, was unfortunately let down, after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

"Time flies and although it looks as if it was only a few months ago that we welcomed Lord Irwin to India, His Excellency will, in the natural course of events, be relinquishing the Viceroyalty in April 1931 and in the interests of the two India's as well as of the Empire, and with a view to launching and ensuring the success of what, we hope, will be a further measure of liberal constitutional advance for both British India and the States, it will be the earnest hope of all the sober elements throughout India, that His Majesty's Government may be successful in securing the consent of Lord Irwin to stay on for a longer time as our Viceroy."

Continuing, the Maharaia said : "I am aware that some apprehension exists in the States on account of the fact that the Simon Commission has had no opportunities of properly eliciting the views and standpoints of Indian States' Governments on the points involved, since they were not originally included in the Commission's terms of reference but, in my opinion, there is no cause for anxiety on this point. In the first place, I am sure that we can confidently anticipate that a statesman like Sir John Simon and his distinguished colleagues will be the first to bear in mind the importance of doing justice to the legitimate claims of the States also, and of ensuring that the States too should receive fairplay. Secondly, it might, in some ways, be a decided advantage for the States to go to the Conference, not only with an open mind, but also unfettered by any compacts or previous commitments We may further reasonably expect useful suggestions by the Simon Commission after they have explored the various avenues by which the interests of British India and Indian States, where they conflict, might be satisfactorily adjusted which would enable the two great constituent parts of India to settle down in peace and harmony to work out, side by side, their respective destinies in a spirit of friendship and co-operation. The States, which cannot be irrevocably bound by any schemes and proposals arrived at without their concurrence, will, we may rest assured, have the fullest opportunities of having their say without which the Conference would be no Conference at all. So long as the case of the States is just and their attitude reasonable, they have nothing to fear from any such matters being dealt with by the Simon Commission or their being discussed at the Conference."

The Maharaja dealt at considerable length with the question of internal Reforms in States and the rights of States' subjects. In his opinion a Prince who was a bad ruler was a grave menace to the State and his subjects viewed from the culture and ethics of the East or of the West. Whether the Government of a country be autocratic, the obligation undoubtedly rests upon a Prince and his Government to rule over his people wisely and well. No single Ruling Prince in India can deny this responsibility on him. From his personal point of view, too, and particularly in the interests of his dynasty, the Ruler should naturally be anxious so to govern his State as to reign over a loyal and contented people.

His Highness next referred to false accusations light-heartedly hurled against the Princes, and said that nothing could be more absurd or farther from the truth than the allegations appearing in the Press and on the platform in British India that the rulers and the Governments of States, in fighting at the present moment, for the rights of themselves and their subjects, were actuated by a desire to get a blank cheque for misrule and for oppressing their subjects. His Highness observed : "In the very nature of things, Princes and their Governments realise that there must arise occasions where intervention by the Crown as the Paramount Power is rendered inevitable. All that the Princes desire is that intervention when rendered unavoidable, should not be arbitrary or based on inaccurate or onesided reports, and that it must be resorted to not only with the greatest reluctance, but after the most deliberate and sympathetic consideration by the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown of the case of the Ruler or the State concerned, and further more that such intervention must be resorted to for the sole purpose of the furtherance of the interests, present and future, of Indian States and of the general Order of Princes themselves as Lord Irwin himself stated in his speech in the Chamber of Princes in November 1926."

His Highness, continuing, observed that there were assuredly other ways also of safeguarding rights and securing justice for the subjects of States in the case of a bad

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or indifferent Ruler or government, and it was his sincere conviction that the Chamber of Princes was destined to play an important part in the future, even though at the present day its utility was circumscribed in many limitations and restrictions.

His Highness next referred to the representation of States' subjects at the London Conference, The Maharaja said that an official announcement had been made on behalf of His Excellency the Viceroy and a reply had been given by the Secretary of State for India to a question in the House of Commons on the subject in which it was made amply clear that so far as Indian States were concerned questions which, it was contemplated, would be discussed at the Conference, would be confined to broad questions of constitutional policy in regard to which the acknowledged Rulers of Indian States were the only people who would speak with authority. The Viceregal pronouncement had also made it amply clear that questions concerning internal government of the States would not arise at the Conference, and as had also been officially pointed out, their discussion at such a Conference was specifically precluded, because such matters were within the purview of the Ruler of each State, subject to the responsibility of the Crown as the paramount power for protecting people against gross misgovernment.

The proposed Conference in England would be concerned firstly with the status of India as a whole in the Empire, secondly, with the constitution of British India visa-vis His Majesty's Government, and thirdly, with the relations between the Government of India and the Governments of the Indian States. The constitutions of the States were necessarily outside the scope of the Conference. That was a matter between the Ruler of a State and his subjects. He continued : "In the constitutional structure of India, the two units are British India and the States. Each unit will be represented at the Conference, the British Indian unit by representatives of different interests and parties in British India and the States unit by representatives of the States taken as a group. Even the British Parliament, which has solemnly recognised the validity of the Princes' treaties with the East India Company and formally enacted that such treaties shall be binding on the Crown, can claim no jurisdiction to examine the constitutions obtaining in the Indian States, and the admission of such jurisdiction at the Conference would be destructive of the internal sovereignty of States which naturally they dearly cherish. Constitutionally, therefore, the suggestion of a quadruple conference is inherently wrong, and hence the invitation only to representatives of the constituted Governments of the Indian States.

The States' Subjects' Conferences

The Akkalkot State Subjects' Conference

In the course of his presidential address to the Akkalkot State Subjects' Conference held at Akkalkot on the 1st. December, Mr. N. C. Kelkar said :—

The third Conference of the people of the Akkalkot State meets to-day at Akkalkot itself. The first two Conferences had to meet at the friendly neighbouring town of Sholapur for want of permission to meet at any place within the State. The state of things was not complimentary to anybody concerned. The conference condemned the State authorities for denying to the people the most elementary right of public association. It condemned the people themselves for not having courage enough to assert that elementary right for themselves. And lastly, it condemned the British Government for not giving proper advice to the State in the matter of one of its fundamental duties. The spectacle of the people of an Indian State being unable to do, within its own territory, something which they can do openly and without any reproach only a few miles away in the British territory,—the spectacle, I say. would be funny if it were not too grave to allow merriment.

And the funniest part in it all would be the joining link of the officer who, as the Political Agent, quietly connives at the prohibition of a meeting or conference which,

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as the Chief Magistrate of the neighbouring British District, he sees no harm in being held in his own town. Can there be anything more indefensible than this puzzling duality of a nation in political ethics? But thanks to the good sense of the present authorities of the Akkalkot State, the people are able to-day to hold a conference in their own capital. And as President of the first conference held under such improved conditions I respectfully tender my congratulations to them both.

The people in Indian States-have long been accustomed to the terrors of absolute despotism. Now has come the turn of the despots themselves to fear the terrors of democracy. But we, who are well-wishers of both the Indian Princes and the people under their rule, know and believe that a time is soon coming, when both despots and democracies will be shorn of their weapons of offence, and a constitutional equilibrium between their interests will soon be established through really representative institutions, securing to the Princes the loyalty of their subjects and to the subjects the responsibility of their Rulers.

The political freedom of the Indian States has been walking in the footsteps of the freedom of the poeple in British territory. And we hope that the problem of the freedom for both these will be satisfactorily solved as the triangular Round Table Conference which the Labour Government proposes to hold some time next year. This question of the Round Table Conference has raised a number of controversies and side-issues in British India. I do not propose to deal with them here. I can say this with certainty that at the Conference there will be real representative of the British Indian people along with British officials who pose as the representatives of the Indian masses. But, on the other hand, it is unfortunately doubtful whether there will be at the Conference any real representatives of the people of the Indian States. The Viceroy's declaration in this connection uses ambiguous words, viz. "Representatives of the Indian States" and an attempt is being made to put a very narrow construction on these words, and to interpret them as meaning only "Rulers of Indian States" and not non-official representatives of the people.

I do not wish to ask the ungracious question as to whether the Indian Princes at this stage of political advancement could hamper the attainment of Dominion Status by British India, even if they would. But don't we all know that in the early stages of the political struggle the Indian Princes were avowing themselves as opposed to the grant of political freedom in British India, lest it should have natural reactions and repercussions upon Indian States? I know at least of one Indian Prince (I do not wish to name him) who even affected to ridicule the pusillanimity of the British Government in giving up so lightly, as he thought, the cause of the bureaucracy and despotism in India. He openly challenged the political agitators in British India to enter his territory if they dared, and pointed to a famous hill-fort in his territory as the likely place, where they would receive the proper jail-treatment deserved by them for their political sins, and where probably their bones would find an eternal sepulchre!

Some of these die-hard despots now find that the British Government have hopelessly betrayed them by promising to the British Indian people, in an irrevocable manner, the attainment of Dominion Status, which implies full political freedom, whether it may come a day earlier or a day later. They must be internally cursing the British Government for spoiling their own merry game by what they regard as the soft-minded surrender of their allies. But whatever these Princes might think in their mind, their chance of befriending and actively co-operating with the British Government in their fight against Swaraj is gone and gone for ever. And along with it the chance also of claiming in return a blind connivance on the part of the British Government at their own despotism running riot in their own States. The unrighteous bargain is spoiled for ever.

The Indian Princes have therefore joined (the good, the bad and the indifferent among them) to take up a new pose in the denouncement of the political drama in India. The Butler Committee, while leaving the lot of the Princes unimproved in other matters, gave a decision to the effect that whatever the position may be as arising out of treaties, engagements, pledges etc., as between the Indian Princes and the British Government, there was no doubt that both in juristic theory as well as political practice, the British Government is suzerain in India and had vested in them

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the right to supervise and control the administration of Indian Princes not only in relation to foreigners but even in relation to their own subjects.

Sir Harcourt Butler seems to have scandalised the Indian Princes by his brutal findings against them and it is no wonder if they try to find in the guarded, ambiguous words of the declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy a sort of a consolation prize in the assurance that at the Round Table Conference only Princes and Rulers of Indian States would be invited to attend, and even then they may be consulted either jointly with or separately from the representatives of British Indian people. Apparently a double armour has thus been promised to the Indian Princes so that their notions of self-respect and dignity should not be injured. What they dread most as wounding their honour is mixing up or having to rub their shoulders with representatives of the common people or the proletariat. They may indeed have in course of time, reconciled themselves to sit on a level with the foremost political leaders in British India ; for they could not survive the derisive laughter of the world if they affected any longer to regard it beneath them to have anything to do with Ranades, Tilaks, Gokhales, Gandhis, Nehrus, etc. But they do affect that the limit would be reached if the British Government put them on the same level as representatives of their own subjects at any Round Table Conference or in any other scheme of consultation. And in doing so words are being used, again, which might give the appearance that the Indian Princes have not accepted the findings of the Butler Committee, and intend still to carry on the fight for their independence.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, we find, welcomes the idea of a federated India with Dominion Status for the British Indian people. He sees wisdom in the proposed Round Table Conference, for the Princes have one more chance of getting the Butler Committee's findings modified and just recognition being secured for what they regard as "the correct position of the Indian States," and also getting guarantees and safeguards for its preservation and maintenance. His idea of this position of the Indian Princes the Maharaja puts in a number of alternative words, such as, "Internal Autonomy" "Sovereign Rights" Independence" etc. Taking this view of the position of the Princes, the Maharaja naturally expressed appreciation of the tactful policy of the British Government of eliminating from the Round Table Conference representatives of the Indian States' people. The Maharaja incidentally justified the boycott put by the Princes upon the "All-Parties Conference" to which they were invited, and the chief ground of justification seems to be that, whereas on the one hand the British Government were not represented at that Conference, the people of Indian States were. Knowing the mentality of the Indian Princes as we do, no one could have expected them to attend the All-Parties Conference when the British Government were not present there ! But we strongly resent the second group of justification that the Princes could not attend a Round Table Conference where the representatives of their people were present. In fact, that is, therefore, now the crux of the whole position with regard to the Indian States. Are the Princes to be allowed to affect a sense of pollution by the touch of even the accredited representatives of their people ?

The Maharaja puts forward a number of pleas in this connection. He says that the Indian Prince is the natural leader of his subjects, and he challenges the credentials of the representatives of his subjects. He goes the length of saying that subjects of Indian States, being naturally very loyal, are averse to the new-fangled methods of representative and democratic institutions ! The Prince, we are asked to believe, alone knows what is good for his subjects, and that the subjects confidently put trust in his integrity and his infallibility. And the argument is, of course, the so called pledges of the British Government to treat the Indian Princes as their "independent friends and allies." But may I respectfully point out that all this reasoning is now quite out of date ? The hackneyed lullaby of Divine Right of Kings can no more send the disturbed democracies in Indian States to sleep. Indian States' subjects have now taken a vow not to take rest themselves nor give rest to their Rulers until the later carry out in their States some scheme of agreed representative institutions through which the peoples' voice will be heard and grievances redressed.

It would be quite pertinent to ask one pointed question to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and other Princes of his persuasion. If the Indian Prince

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can be accepted for all and any purpose as the sole and exclusive representative of his subjects, then why should not be the Secretary of State for India be similarly accepted as the representative of the British Indian subjects? For in that officer are vested all the powers and authority and financial assets of British India, and he is the only person who is at least as much responsible to the Parliament for the good administration of India, as the Indian Princes are to their God or their suzerain, if they acknowledge any God or suzerain over them. In fact the British Government relies on this very theory of representation at the League of Nations and other Conferences held thereunder. But people in British India have never accepted this theory without demur, and they expect the time soon to come when those who may go to represent India at the League and these Conferences, may have more real and popular credentials than at present.

Further, the procedure which will probably be followed in constituting the personnel of the Round Table Conference shows that the British Government recognise the inevitable duality of representative character in this matter; for no secret is made of the fact that representatives of the people as such as distinguished from the representatives of the Government, will be invited to attend the Conference for common consultation. And if in relation to the British Government there can be this distinction between official and non-official representatives, then why cannot a similar distinction be valid and be observed as between official and popular representatives of the Indian States who attend the Conference? After all, even as representatives of the Indian States' subjects, only prominent or distinguished individuals would naturally be invited to fill the two or three places that could be reserved for them as there would be a natural limit to the number of delegates attending the Conference. And even these few representatives may be selected from the people, who are well known for their interest in the affairs of the Indian States and yet may not dirretly be the subjects of any of the Indian Princes. There would thus be no injury to the pride and dignity of any of the Princes who would attend the Conference.

The Wadhwan State People's Conference

Mr. Manilal Kothari in the course of his presidential address at the Wadhwan State People's Conference on the 14th December said that the "unrestricted autocracy" prevailing at present in the Indian States was an anomaly and an anachronism. A claim had been advanced on behalf of the Indian States that they were self-governing. Nothing could be further from the truth. Continuing, he said: We demand that all this should be changed. In the States of the future, there will be room only for such Princes as are ready to devote themselves to public welfare.

Continuing, the President said that it was a pity that their representatives had been excluded from the proposed Round-Table Conference with the result that injustice had been done to more than a fifth of the people of India who lived in the States and who did not concede the Rulers' claim to represent their interests

Referring to the Wadhwan State, the President said that the system prevalent was a pure autocracy and there was not a single representative institution in the State. The members of the Wadhwan Municipality were all nominated by the State. There were no village panchayats. Patels too were appointed by the State. It was high time the State gave the public a voice in the administration.

The cultivators were very badly off and sunk in debt and therefore the 25 per cent. enhancement in revenue which was imposed a few years ago should be withdrawn. Revision settlements should take place only after a period of say 30 years and not irregularly as now.

The real field of work lay within the States and their workers therefore should post themselves in the villages wherever they were allowed to do so, and work for khadi, boycott of foreign cloth, elevation of the depressed classes, prohibition and village reconstruction. Reform should come from within, and not by inviting the aid of the British Government.

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The Hyderabad State Subjects' Conference

The Hyderabad State Subjects' Political Conference was held in the Jinnah Hall, Bombay, on the 18th. December, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta presiding. Mr. Mehta in an extempore speech said that though he was not a Hyderabad subject, he was a subject of Nawanagar. The conditions in all Indian States remained the same. All of them were subject to personal rule where the life and liberty of the subjects were absolutely at the Ruler's discretion. Law and Justice were not allowed to take their own course but were often tampared with by the Princes. The latter's powers for sharing state revenue for personal expenditure was unlimited in spite of the Princes' Chamber's resolution, stating that only a certain percentage of the state revenues must be taken by the Princes for personal expenditure. As regards representation in the Round Table Conference, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that the Congress had not yet committed itself to any course. If at all the offer was accepted, the premier political organisation, whose main object was to look to public interests whether that of Britisn India or Indian India, would watch the States' subjects' interests too. The House need not entertain any doubts about it.

Mr. K. M. Munshi and Mr. L. R. Tairsee, President Indian Merchants' Chamber, also spoke.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference :—

"This Conference is of opinion that if the Indian National Congress decides to participate in the Round Table Conference foreshadowed in the declaration of H. E. the Viceroy dated the 1st November last, timely steps should be taken to include an adequate number of representatives of the Indian States' people in the Congress Delegation.

Subject to Clause No. 1.—"This Conference welcomes the inclusion of the relations between the British Government and the Indian States among the questions to be discussed at the proposed Round Table Conference in London, but emphatically protests against the exclusion of the representatives of States from this conference on the ground that Princes alone have the right to conduct diplomatic relations on behalf of the States. This Conference is firmly of opinion that no constitutional impropriety is involved in inviting the States' people to the Conference, and indeed that their participation is as necessary as that of British India for enabling the Conference to find a solution acceptable to all parties concerned.

"This Conference urges upon H. E. the Viceroy the fact that the times has arrived for taking some sort of guarantee from the Indian Princes for good government which is one of the specific stipulations in their treaties and upon which the British Government has guaranteed protection to them. This conference further urges that these questions which affect the very lives of the Indian States' subjects cannot be shelved by the paramount power with due regard to the treaties. Presence of the representatives of the Indian States' subjects at the Round-Table Conferance is absolutely necessary even from this point of view.

"This Conference desires to draw the attention of the public in all the Indian States and in British India to the Firman of H. E. H's Government regarding public meetings as a true picture of the civic rights and liberties which the people normally enjoy in Hyderabad State. The Firman requires prior consent to be taken of the Government for every public meeting likely to be interpreted as of a political nature, irrespective of what political opinions are expressed thereat or in however orderly a manner it may be conducted. The Conference urges that the utter absence of freedom of speech it implies should be regarded as a mark which entitles the people to invoke the intervention of the Imperial factor.

"This Conference deprecates the recent increase in the Postal rates in Hyderabad Dominion sanctioned by balances in the public treasury and the Nizam's private treasury.

"This Conference urges upon the people of Hyderabad and other States the desirability at this supreme juncture of sending a representative and influential deputation to England to counteract to some extent the pernicious propaganda carried on there and to educate and elighten the British public on all the rights of the people who are completely ignored in the discussions now taking place.

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(i) This Conference earnestly requests H. E. H. the Nizam to establish Responsible form of Government in the premier State of India in view of the recent declaration of Dominion Status for British India by H. E. the Viceroy, the recommendations of the Mont-Ford Report, resolutions passed by the Calcutta Congress and the All-India States' People's Conference and the public opinion.

(ii) This Conference also requests the British Government to advise H. E. H. the Nizam and other Rulers of Indian States to establish Responsible form of Government in their States.,

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The Punjab States' People's Conference.

The Punjab States' People's Conference opened at Lahore on the 27th December. Mr. P. L. Chudgar, President, in the course of his address, said, that with the exception of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, all States were under the absolute despotism of the Princes and of the Agents of the Political Department of the Government of India. While the Princes found plenty of money foy self-indulgence of all sorts for building palaces after palaces reminiscent of the scenes in the Arabian Nights, for frequent European travels, for races, shikar parties and lavish entertainments to Viceregal visitors, for dog-shows, for fleets of most expensive motor cars, for gambling, for speculation, and what not, every department of public utility was starved, and elementary needs like education, sanitation and medical relief were denied to the people. He said that in the Punjab States, even the honour of the wives and daughters of the people was not safe.

In answer to questions as to why this state of affairs was allowed to continue, the President said that it was mainly due to the everchanging policy of the British Government which was dictated neither in the interests of the Princes nor the people, but in imperialistic interests aiming at the weakening and dependence of both the Princes and the people. 'These actions of the Princes were possible simply because the British Government protected the Princes. Else, the States' people would put an end to this most scandalous state of affairs at once. He warned the Princes not to continue their present policy as even the Labour Government, which had a socialist wing, were opposed to their own landed aristocracy, whom they would soon wipe out.

The President continued : The Butler Committee's recommendations aimed at the continuance of the paramountcy of Indian States and said that if any decision prejudicial to the States' people were reached at the Round Table Conference without giving the States' people any chance of expressing their views the States' people would not be bound by them and would do everything in their power to use them. The remedy for the present state of affairs was that the States' people should have a complete responsible Government at once in internal administration. If their demands were not satisfied within a reasonable time they must take up the matter in their own hands, and adopt all means to secure their goal.

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